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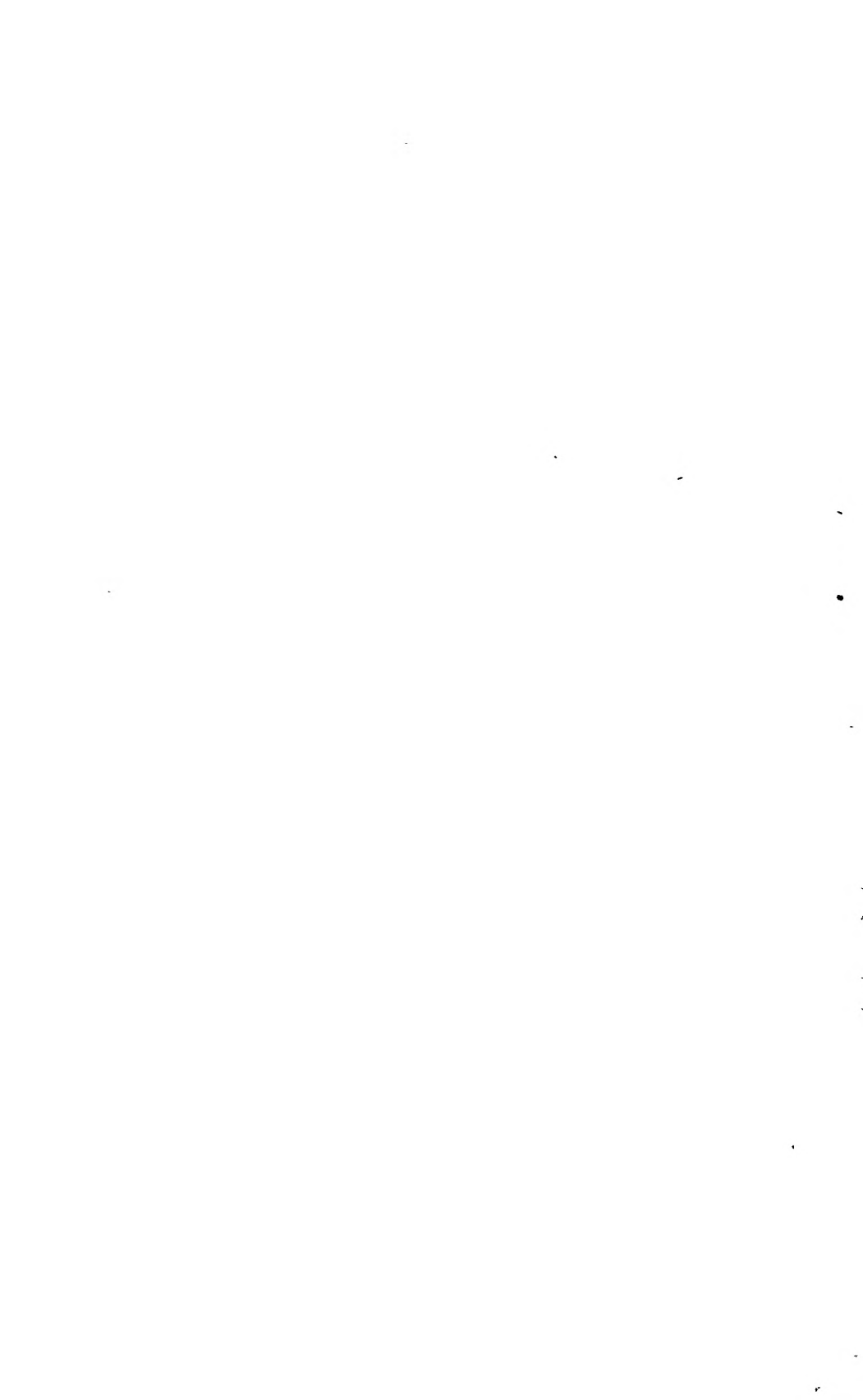
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# ĀKIMCAÑÑĀ : SELF-NAUGHTING

By

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

Vivo autem jam non ego (Gal. 11.20)

Eyā diz solte du sēle scheiden von allem dem, daz iht isl (Eckhart, PFEIFFER 525).  
Her umbe sol der mensch geflizzen sīn, daz er sich entbilde sīn  
selbes unt aller crēatüre noch keinen vater wizze denne got alleine....  
Diz ist aller menschen fremde....Ich wolde, das irz befunden hētet  
mit lebenne" (Eckhart, PFEIFFER pp. 421, 464).

"When thou standest still from the thinking of self, and the willing of self" (Jacob Böhme, *Of the Supersensual Life*).

An ego-mania occasioned the fall of Lucifer, who would be "like the Most High" (Is. XIII. 14), thinking "Who is like me in Heaven or Earth?" (Tabārī, Ch. XXIV), and desiring to deify himself (Augustine, *De qu. vet. Test.* CXIII) not in the way discussed below by an abnegation of selfhood, but as St. Thomas Aquinas says "by the virtue of his own nature" and "of his own power" (*Sum. Theol.* I. 63.3 c). We are all to a greater or less extent ego-maniacs, and to the same extent followers of Satan. Act V. 36 refers to a certain Theudas as "boasting himself to be somebody".

In the vernacular, when a man is presumptuous, we ask him "who do you think you are", and when we refer to someone's insignificance we call him a "nobody", or in earlier English a "nithing". In this worldly sense it is a good thing to be "someone" and a misfortune to be "nobody", and from this point of view we think well of "ambition" (*īti-bhavābhava tanhā*). To be "someone" is to have a name and lineage (*nāma-gotta*), or at least to have a place or rank in the world, some distinction that makes us recognizable and conspicuous. Our modern civilisation is essentially individualistic and self-assertive, even our educational systems being more and more designed to foster "self-expression" and "self-realisation": and if we are at all concerned about what happens after death, it is in terms of the survival of our treasured "personality"<sup>2</sup> with all its attachments and memories.

On the other hand, in the words of Eckhart, "Holy scripture cries aloud for freedom from self". In this unanimous and universal teaching, which affirms an absolute liberty and autonomy, spacial and temporal, attainable as well here and now as anywhere else, this treasured "personality" of ours is at

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1. Mainly based, as the title implies, on Christian and Buddhist sources.

2. We write "personality" because we are using the word here in its vulgar sense and not in the stricter and technical sense in which the veritable "person" is distinguished from the phenomenal "individual", e.g. in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* II. 3.2 and Boethius, *Contra Eutychen*, II.

once a prison and a fallacy, from which only the Truth shall set you free :<sup>3</sup> a prison, because all definition limits that which is defined, and a fallacy because in this ever changing composite and corruptible psycho-physical "personality" it is impossible to grasp a constant, and impossible therefore to recognize any authentic or "real" substance. In so far as man is merely a "reasoning and mortal animal" tradition is in agreement with the modern determinist in affirming that "this man", so-and-so, has neither free will<sup>4</sup> nor any element of immortality. How little validity attaches to this man's conviction of free-will will appear if we reflect that while we speak of "doing what we like", we never speak of "being when we like" and that to conceive of a spatial liberty that is not also a temporal liberty involves a contradiction. Tradition, however, departs from science by replying to the man who confesses himself to be only the reasoning and mortal animal that he has

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3. The doctrine is one of escape and the pursuit of happiness. It will not be confused with what has been called escapism. Escapism is an essentially selfish activity, failure to "face the music" (as when one "drowns one's sorrows in drink"), and the choice of easier paths; escapism is a symptom of disappointment, and cynical rather than mature. We need hardly say that to "wish one had never been born" is the antithesis of the perfect sorrow that may be occasioned by the sense of a continued existence: we are born in order to die, but this death is not one that can be attained by suicide or suffering death at the hands of others; it is not of ourselves or others, but only of God that it can be said in the words of St. John of the Cross, "and, slaying, dost from death to life translate."

At the same time, the true way of "escape" is by far more strenuous than the life that is escaped (hence the designation of the religious in India as a "Toiler", *śramaṇa*), and it is the degree of a man's maturity (in Skr. the extent to which he is *pakva*, "pukka", and no longer *āma*, "raw") that is the measure of the possibility of his escape, and consequent beatitude.

"The minds of some are set on Union (*yoga*), the minds of others on comfort (*kṣema*)" (TS. V. 2. 17, cf. KU. II. 1-4).

4. The denial of freewill in "this man", the individual, is explicit in Sn. 350. "It does not belong to the many-folk to do what they will (*na kāmākāro hi puthujjanānam*, cf. "Ye cannot do the things that ye would", Gal. V. 17) : and this denial is made in a very striking manner in S. III. 66-67 where for the usual formula according to which the body and mentality are *anattā*, not I, nor mine, the proof is offered that this body, sensibility, etc., cannot be "mine", cannot be "I", for if these were myself, or mine, they would never be sick, since in this case one could say "Let my body, sensibility, etc. be thus, or not-thus"; nothing being really *ours* except to the extent that we have it altogether in our power, nor anything variable any part of an identity such as the notion of a "very person" (*satpuruṣa*) intends. A further consideration is this, that if the becoming (*bhava*) of the finite individual were not absolutely determined by "fate", "mediate causes", or "karma" (the terms are synonymous), the idea of an omniscient providence (*prajñā*, *paññā*; knowledge of things not derived from the things themselves) would be unintelligible. In this connection we may remark that we are not, of course, concerned to prove any doctrine whatever dialectically, but only to exhibit its consistency, and therewith intelligibility. The consistency of the *Philosophia Perennis* is indeed good ground for "faith" (i.e. confidence, as distinguished from mere belief); but as this "Philosophy" is neither a "system" nor a "philosophy", it cannot be argued for or against.

"forgotten who he is" (Boethius, *De Consol.*, prose vi), requires of him to "Know thyself",<sup>5</sup> and warns him "If thou knowest not thyself, begone" (*si ignoras te, egredere*, Cant. I. 8). Tradition, in other words, affirms the validity of our consciousness of being but distinguishes it from the so-and-so that we think we are : the validity of our consciousness of being is not established in metaphysics (as it is in philosophy) by the fact of thought or knowledge ; on the contrary, our veritable being is distinguished from the operations of discursive thought and empirical knowing, which are simply the casually determined workings of the "reasoning and mortal animal", which are to be regarded *yathābhūtam*, not as affects but only as effects in which we (in our veritable being) are not really, but only supposedly involved. Tradition, then, differs from the "nothing-morist" (Skr. *nāstika*, Pali *nat-thika*) in affirming a spiritual nature that is not in any wise, but immeasurable, inconnumerable, infinite and inaccessible to observation, and of which, therefore, empirical science can neither affirm nor deny the reality. It is to this "spirit"<sup>6</sup> (Gk. *pneuma*, Skr. *ātman*, Pali *Attā*, Arabi *ruh*, etc.) as distinguished from body and soul, i.e. whatever is phenomenal and formal (Gk. *soma* and *psyche*, Skr. and Pali *nāma-rūpa*, and *saviññāna-kāya*, *saviññāna-kāya*, "name and appearance", the "body with its consciousness") that tradition attributes with perfect consistency an absolute liberty, spatial and temporal. Our sense of free will is as valid in itself as our sense of being, and as invalid as our sense of being So-and-so. There is a free will, a will, that is, unconstrained by anything external to its own nature ; but it is only "ours" to the extent that we have abandoned all that we mean in common sense by "ourselves" and our "own" willing ; only *His* service is perfect freedom. "Fate lies in the created causes themselves" (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 116. 2) : "Whatever departeth farthest from the First Mind is involved more deeply in the meshes of Fate (i.e., *karma*, the ineluctable operation of "mediate causes") ; and everything is so much the freer from Fate, by how much it draweth nigh to the pivot of all things.

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5. E.g., Avencebrol, *Fons Vitae*, I. 2, quid est ergo quod debet homo inquirere in hac vita ? . . . hoc est ut sciat se ipsum. The reader will not confuse the "science of self" (*ātmavidyā*) here intended the psychologist, whether ancient or modern ; as remarked by Vansteenbergh, the *gnōthi seautōn* with which Nicholas of Cusa opens his *De docta ignorantia* "n'est plus le 'Connais toi-même' du psychologue Socrate, c'est le 'Sois maitre de toi (= Dh. 160 *attā hi attano nātho*) des moralistes stoiciens" (*Autour de la Docte Ignorance*, 1915, p. 42). In the same way, the only *raison d'être* of "Buddhist psychology" is not "scientific", but to break down the illusion of self. Whereas the modern psychologist's only concern and curiosity are with the all-too-human self, that very self which even in its highest and least suspected extensions is still a prison. Traditional metaphysics has nothing in common with this psychology which restricts itself to "what can be psychically experienced" (JUNG's own definition).

6. The phenomena of this "spirit" (the realisations of its possibilities of manifestation under given conditions) are all phenomena whatever (amongst which those which are called "spiritualistic" have no privileged rank,—on the contrary, "A mouse is miracle enough . . .").

And if it sticketh to the constancy of the Supernal Mind, that needs not move, it is superior to the necessity of Fate" (Boethius, *De Consol.* prose IX). This freedom of the Unmoved Mover ("That which, itself at rest, outgoeth them that run," *Īśā Up.* 4) from any *necessitas coactionis* is that of the spirit that bloweth where and as it will (*hópon thélei pnei*, John III.8; *carati yathā vāsam*, RV. X.168.4);<sup>7</sup> to possess it, one must have been "born again... of the Spirit" (John III.7-8), and thus "in the spirit" (St. Paul, *passim*), must have "found and awakened to the Spirit"<sup>8</sup> (*yasyānuvittah pratibuddha ātmā*, BU. IV.4.13), must be in *excessus* ("gone out of" oneself, one's senses), in *samādhi* (etymologically and semantically "synthesis"), unified (*eko bhūtaḥ*), or in other words "dead" in the sense that "the kingdom of God is for none but the thoroughly dead" (Eckhart) and that Rūmī speaks of a "dead man walking" (*Mathnavī*, VI. 742-755), or again that of initiatory death as the prelude to a regeneration. There is not, of course,

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7. RV. X. 168. 3-4, John III. 7-8 and Gylfiginning 18 present remarkable parallels.

8. "He who sees, thinks and discriminates this Spirit, whose pleasure and play are with the Spirit, whose dalliance is with the Spirit (as in BU. IV. 3. 21. "All creation is female to God") and whose joy is in the Spirit, he becomes autonomous (*svarāj*), he becomes a Mover-at-will (*kāmācārī*) in every world; but his worlds whose knowledge is otherwise than this are corruptible, he does not become a Mover-at-will in any world" (CU. VII. 25. 2). The conception of Motion-at-will is developed in very many texts, from RV. IX. 113.9. "Make me undying there where motion is at will" (*yatrānukāmaṁ caraṇam... māṁ amṛtaṁ kṛdhi*) onwards. The Christian equivalent can be found in John III. 8 and X. 9 ("shall go in and out and find pasture" like Taitt. Up. III. 10.5 "he goes up and down these worlds, eating what he will and assuming what aspect he will").

Motion-at-will is a necessary consequence of filiation or deification; the Spirit moving "as it will" in virtue of its omni-and total presence, and because "He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit" (I Cor. VI.17); all possession of "powers" (*īddhi*, *iddhi*, such as flying through the air or walking on the water) being gifts of the Spirit and depending upon a more or less *ablatio omnis alteritatis et diversitatis* (Nicolas of Cusa). In other words, our freedom and beatitude are the less the more we are still "ourselves", *un tel*. The "miracle" is never an "impossibility", but only so according to our way of thinking: performance is always the demonstration of a possibility. It is not opposites (as "possible" and "impossible", but contraries (for example rest and motion, both of which are "possibles") that are reconciled in *divinis*. "Primitive" languages retain the stamp of this polarity in words which may mean either of two contrary things (cf. FREUD on ABEL, "Gegensinn der Urwort" in *Jahrb. für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen*, Bd. II, 1910, and Betty HEIMANN, "The Polarity of the Infinite" in *Journ. Indian Society of Oriental Art*, V, 1938).

It may be added that because of the identity of the immanent and transcendent Spirit (I Cor. VI. 17: "That art thou" of the Upaniṣads, etc.) we make no real distinction in the present article between "my spirit" (the "ghost" that we "give up", at death) and "the spirit" (the Holy Ghost), although sometimes writing "spirit" with reference to the immanent essence (*antarātman*) and "Spirit" with reference to the transcendent essence (*paramātman*). So far as a distinction can be made, it is "logical but not real" (*secundum rationem, non secundum rem*).

any necessary connection between liberation and physical death :<sup>9</sup> a man can as well be liberated “now in the time of this life” (*jīvan mukta*) as at any other time, all depending only upon his remembering “who he is”, and this is the same as to forget oneself, to “hate one’s own life” (psyche, “soul” or “self”, Luke, XIV. 26), *deficere a se tota* and *a semetipsa liquescere* (St Bernard),<sup>10</sup> the “death of the soul” (Eckhart), “nothing else than that the spirit goeth out of itself, out of time, and entereth into a pure nothingness” (Tauler), becoming thus “free as the Godhead in its non-existence” (Eckhart) ; to have said “Thy will be done, not mine” or in other words, to have been perfected in “Islām”.

Man has thus two selves, lives or “souls”, one rational and mortal, the other spiritual and not in any way conditioned by time or space, but of which the life is a now “where every where and every when is focussed” (*Paradiso*, XXIX, 12), and “apart from what has been or shall be” (KU.II.14), that “now that stands still” of which we as temporal beings knowing only a past and future can have no empirical experience. Liberation is not a matter only of shaking off the physical body—oneself is not so easily evaded—but, as Indian texts express it, of shaking off all bodies, mental or psychic as well as physical. “The word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even unto the dividing asunder of soul (*psyche*) and spirit (*pneuma*),<sup>11</sup> Heb. IV.12. It is between these two that our choice

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9. “Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it” (Eccl. XII. 7). Our sense of being may be “in the dust” or “in the spirit”, and so either “saved or lost”. It is well for him “who has been of strength to awaken before the body is unstrung” (KU. VI.4).

10. For St. Bernard see GILSON, *La Théologie Mystique de Saint Bernard*, Paris 1934, Ch. V. How close to Indian formulation St. Bernard comes appears in his distinction of *proprium* from *esse* (*mama* from *attā*) and in ROUSSELET’s summary (*ib.* p. 150, note 2) “Cela revient à dire qu’on ne peut pleinement posséder dieu sans pleinement se posséder soi-même”, at the same time that (*ib.*—152, note 1) “Il n’y a plus de *suum*, l’être s’est vidé de lui-même”, as in SB. III. 8. 1. 2-3, where the initiated sacrificer is “as if emptied out of himself” (*irīcāna ivātmā bhavati*) in order to enter into possession of his “whole self” (*sarvātmānam*), or as in A. I. 249 where the man who “has brought into full being-body, will and foreknowing (*bhāvita-kāyo*, -*citto*, -*pañño*, i.e. whole self) is not emptied out (*aparitto aprarikta*) but the Great Spiritual-Self of which the way is beyond all measure” (*mahattā appamāna-vihāri*).

11. As far as possible this clear distinction of “soul” (psyche, anima, *nafs*, *vedanā*, etc.) from “spirit” (*pneuma*, *spiritus*, *rūh*, *ātman*, etc.) is maintained in the present article ; cf. Origen, cited by Eckhart, PFEIFFER p. 351 *der geist ist dir nicht genomen : die krefte diner sele sint dir genomen* (“It is not thy spirit, but the powers of thy soul that art taken from thee”). It must also be recognized, however, that in the European tradition the word “soul” is used in many senses (for example, “animal” is literally “ensouled”, *anima* here as *spiraculum vitae*, cf. Skr. *prāṇa-bhṛt*) and that in one of these senses (which is strictly that of Philo’s “soul of the soul”, *Heres.* 55, cf. Augustine, *De duobus animabus contra Manicheos* “soul” means “spirit”. In what sense “soul” is or is not to be taken to mean “spirit” is discussed by William of Thierry in the *Golden Epistle*, 50 (p. 87 in SHEWRING’s English version, London, 1930). In the same way *ātman* may refer to



lies ; between ourselves as we are in ourselves and to others, and ourselves as we are in God—not forgetting that, as Eckhart says, “Any flea as it is in God is higher than the highest of the angels as he is in himself”. Of these two “selves”, the psycho-physical and spiritual, one is the “life” (*psyche*) to be rejected, the other the “life” that is thereby saved of Luke XVII. 33 and Math. XVI. 25 : and of these again the former is that “life” (*psyche*) which “he who hateth in this world shall keep it unto life eternal” (John XII. 25) and which a man *must* “hate, if he would be my disciple” (Luke XIV. 26). It is assuredly all that is meant by *psyche* in our word “psychology” that is in this way “le moi haïssable”; all of us, in fact, that is subject to affects or affections or wants of any sort, or entertains opinions “of its own”.<sup>12</sup>

The unknown author of the *Cloud of Unknowing* is therefore altogether in order when he says (Ch. 44) so poignantly that “All men have matter of sorrow : but most specially he feeleth matter of sorrow, that wotteth and feeleth that he is. . . . And whoso never felt this sorrow, he may make sorrow : for why, he never yet felt perfect sorrow.<sup>13</sup> This sorrow, when it is had. . . . maketh a soul able to receive that joy, the which reeveth from a man all witting and feeling of his being”. And so also BLAKE, when he says “I would go down unto annihilation and Eternal Death,<sup>14</sup> lest the last Judgment come and find me Unannihilate, and I be seiz’d and giv’n into the hands of my own Selfhood”. In the same way St. Paul, *Vivo, autem jam*

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the psycho-physical “self” or to the spiritual self ; from the latter point of view, the psycho-physical self is *anattā*, “not spiritual” ! It is because both “soul” and “spirit” are selves, although of very different orders, that an equivocation is inevitable : the use of the words in their context has always to be very carefully considered ; the proper sense can always be made out.

12. Cf. the citation from Jacob Böhme at the head of this article. It is comparatively easy for us to admit that a “self-willing” is egotistical ; it is far more difficult, but equally indispensable to realise that a “self-thinking”, i.e. “thinking for oneself” or “having opinions of one’s own” is as much an error, or “sin,” defined as “any departure from the order to the end” as any wilfulness can be. A good case of “thinking for oneself” is what is called the “free examination of scripture ; and here, as was lately remarked by Mr. David MACIVER, “the number of possible objections to a point of doctrine is equal to the number of ways of misunderstanding it, and therefore indefinite”.

13. *Vairāgya*, “dis-gust”, as distinguished from *āśa bhaṅga*, “disappointment”. *nekkhamana-sīta* as distinguished from *geha-sīta* in D. II. 279 ; or *kata theon lupē* as distinguished from *tou kosmou lupē* in II Cor. VII. 10.

14. As remarked by St. Thomas Aquinas (*Sum. Theol.* I. 63. 3), “no creature can attain a higher grade of nature without ceasing to exist”, which self-denial is a thing “against the natural desire”. It is not of its “own” will that the creature can desire its own “annihilation” or “death”. But our consciousness of being (as distinguished from any conceit of being So-and-so or such and such) is precisely *not* the “creature” ; it is another will in me than “mine”, the lover of another (S. IV. 158) self than “mine” that “longs intensely for the Great Self” (*mahattam abhikhaṅkatā*, M. II. 21) i.e. for Itself ; this does not pertain to *our* self-love, but God’s, who is in all things self-intent and loves no one but himself.

*non ego : vivit in me Christus* (Gal. 11. 20).

We are sometimes shocked by the Buddhist disparagement of natural affections and family ties. But it is not the Christian who can thus recoil, for no man can be Christ's disciple "who hateth not father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren, and sisters", as well as himself (Luke XIV. 26). These uncompromising words, from one who endorsed the command to honour father and mother and who equated contempt with murder, show clearly enough that it is not an ethical doctrine of unselfishness or altruism that we are dealing with, but a purely metaphysical doctrine of the transcending of individuation. It is in the same sense that he exclaims "Who are my mother and my brethren?" (Mark III. 34 etc.), and accordingly that Eckhart warns "As long as thou still knowest who thy father and thy mother have been in time, thou art not dead with the real death" (PFEIFFER, p. 462).

There can be no return of the prodigal, no "turning in" (*nivṛtti*) except of same to same. "Whoever serves a God, of whom he thinks that 'He is one and I another', is an ignoramus" (BU.I.4.10) : "If then you do not make yourself equal to God, you cannot apprehend God : for like is known by like" (Hermes, *Lib.* XI. ii. 20 b). The question is asked of the home-corer, "Who art thou?" and if he answers by his own or a family name, he is dragged away by the factors of time on the threshold of success (JUB. III. 14. 1-2) :<sup>15</sup> "that ill-fated soul is dragged back again, reverses its course, and having failed to know itself, lives in bondage to uncouth and miserable bodies. The fault of this soul is its ignorance"<sup>16</sup> (Hermes, *Lib.* X. 8 a). He should answer "Who I am is the light Thou art. What heavenly light Thou art, as such I come to Thee", and answering thus is welcomed accordingly, "Who thou art, that am I ; and who I am, art thou. Come in" (JUB. III. 14. 3-4) : to the question "Who is at the door?" he answers "*Thou* art at the door" and

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15. The traveller, at the end of life's journey, knocks at the Sundoor (as in JUB. etc.) ; which is the door of the house of Death (as in KU.), and that of Yama's paradise (as in RV.), and would be received as a guest ; or as expressed in Pali, *amala-dvāram āhacca tiṭṭhati*. Admission, however, depends upon anonymity, with all its implications of "being in the spirit" (*ātmany etya mukha ādatte*, "going in the spirit, the gate receives him", JUB. III. 33. 8). There can be no doubt that the same mythical and profound eschatology underlies the Homeric legend of Ulysses and Polyphemus. The latter is assuredly Death (his one eye corresponds to Śiva's third ; that is blinded and thus "closed" means that the world illumined by sun and moon, the *two* eyes of the Gods, is to persist for Ulysses and his companions ; it must be an initiatory, not in final death that is overcome, as is also suggested by the "cave") ; his land which yields crops untillied is a Paradise, like Yama's or Varuṇa's ; Ulysses would be his guest. The story as told by Homer (and Euripides) has become an adventure rather than a myth, but it remains that the hero who overcomes Death is the one man who when he is asked "who art thou" answers "No one" ; and it is noteworthy that in the Euripides version when the blinded Cyclops cries out "Where is Nobody", the Chorus answers "Nowhere, O Cyclops". It would be hard to say whether or not Homer still "understood his material" : it may be taken for granted that Euripides did not.

16. Cf. Dh. 243 where after a list of "faults", we have "the supreme fault is ignorance" (*avijjā paramam malam*).

is welcomed with the words "Come in, O myself" (Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, I. 3062-3); it is not as *un tel* that he can be received,—“Whoever enters, saying ‘I am So-and-so’, I smite him in the face” (Shams-i-Tabrīz); as in Cant. I. 7 *si ignoras te, egredere*.

“He that is joined unto the Lord, is one spirit” (I Cor. VI. 27). But this Spirit (*ātman*), Brahman, God, the “What?” of JUB. III.14, “hath not come anywhence nor become anyone” (KU. II.18); the Imperishable has neither personal nor family name (BU. III. 8.8, *Mādhyaṃdina* text), nor any caste (Muṇḍ. Up. I. 1.6); “God himself does not know what he is, because he is not any what”<sup>17</sup> (Erivgena); the Buddha is “neither priest nor prince nor husbandman nor any one at all (*uda koci no’mhi*)...I wander in the world a veritable naught (*akimcana*)...Useless to ask my kin (*gottam* Sn. 455-6).<sup>18</sup>

The outlines of the universal doctrine of self-naughting and of self-sacrifice or devotion in the most literal sense of the words having been drawn above, we propose to devote the remainder of our demonstration to its specifically Buddhist formulation in terms of *ākimcāññāyatana*, “the station of no-what-ness”, or more freely “the Cell of Self-naughting”. “When it is realised that ‘There is no aught’ (*n’atthi kimci*), that is ‘Emancipation of the

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17. The deiformed soul in which an *ablatio omnis alteritatis et diversitatis* has been effected (Nicolas of Cusa) is therefore beyond our speechways (*vādapatha*, Sn. 1076), “unknown to herself or any creature, she knows well that she is, but does not know what she is” (Eckhart, PFEIFFER, p. 537).

18. In the same way the famous Ode of Shams-i-Tabrīz (XXXI in NICHOLSON), “... I know not myself. ... I am not of Adam nor of Eve.... My place is the Placeless, my trace is the Traceless; nor body nor life, since I am of the life of the Beloved” (*na tan nāsad na jānt nāsad, ki man az jān jānān-am*). NICHOLSON comments: “‘I am nought’ means ‘God is all’”. From the Indian point of view, the “Beloved” is, of course, “the Spirit which is also one’s own spiritual essence”,—“For one who has attained, there is none dearer than the Spirit”, or “than the Self” (*na piyataram attanā*, S.I. 75, cf. BU. I.4.8 *tad etat preyaḥ putrāt... yad ayam ātmā... ātmānam eva priyam upāsita*; II.4; IV. 5; CU. VII. 25 etc.). With “traceless” compare Dh. 179 *tam buddham anantaḡocaram apadam, kena padena nessatha*, “That Buddha, whose pasture is without end, the footless (or trackless), by what track you find him out?” (complementary to the usual doctrine of the *vestigium pedis*, according to which the intelligible Buddha (or Agni) can be tracked by his spoor, *pādā* or *padāni*). “A Tathāgata, I say, is actually (*dhamme*) beyond our ken (*anamuvejjo*, M. J. 140); and in the same way of Arhats “there is no demonstration” (*tesaṃ natthi paññāpanāya*, ib.): “Him neither gods nor men can see” (*tam ce hi nādakkhum*, S.I. 23). The last is spoken in the Buddha’s physical presence, and corresponds to the well known text of the *Vajracchedika Sūtra*, “Those who see me in the body (*rūpeṇa*) or think of me in words, their way of thinking is mistaken, they do not see me at all; the Blessed Ones are to be seen only in the Body of the Law, the Buddha can only be rightly understood as the Principle of the Law, assuredly not by any means”; cf. St. Thomas “Therefore if anyone in seeing God conceives something in his mind, this is not God, but one of God’s effects” (*Summa Theologica*, III. 92. 1 ad 4).... “We have no means for considering what God is, but rather how He is not” (*ib.* I.3.1).

will"<sup>19</sup> (*ceto-vimutti*) in the 'Station of No what-ness'" (S. IV. 296, cf. D. II. 112). The exact meaning of "There is naught", i.e. "naught of mine"<sup>20</sup> is brought out in A. II.177 "The Brāhman<sup>21</sup> speaks the truth and no lie when he says 'I am naught of an anyone anywhere, and therein there is naught of mine anywhere soever'" (*nāhaṃ kvacani kassaci kimcanam, tasmīn na ca mama kvacani katthaci kimcanam n'atthi*, also in A.I.206),<sup>22</sup> the text con-

19. *Ceto-vimutti* (often rendered "Heart's release") is contrasted with *pañña-vimutti*, "Intellectual emancipation" (*ceto-* and *pañña-* denoting both the means or way of liberation and the respect in which liberation is obtained); the texts often speak of a "being free in both departments" *ubhato-bhāga-vimutti*, as well as of other types of liberation; and it is evident that the two ways, which are those of the will and the intellect converge and ultimately coincide. A.II.36 *ceto-visippato hoti vitakka-pathesu*, "He is a past master of the will in matters of choice" or "matters of counsel", brings out very clearly the conative connotations of *ceto*, which are evident also for *cetas* in AV. VI. 116. 3. S. III 60 defines *saṅkhārā* as *saṃcetanā*, rendered by Mrs. Rhys DAVIDS "seats of will". It is clear, then that the connection of *ceto-vimutti* with *ākimcañña* is intrinsic; since it is just to the extent that one ceases to feel that one is anyone and to the extent that one loses all sense of *proprium* (*mama*) that self-willing and self-thinking must cease. It is just because *ceto* implies both willing and thinking that it is difficult to represent it by a single English word; however, it is in just the same way that English "to have a mind to" is the same as "to wish to" or "to want to", and so too that Skr. *man* to "think" and *kam* to "wish" or "want" are virtually synonymous in many contexts. *Paññā* is not, of course, "thought" in this sense, but much rather "speculation" in the strict sense of this word (*āditye mahat... ādarśe pratrūpaḥ* Kauṣ Up. IV. 2, with very many Christian and other parallels, e.g. St. Thomas Aquinas, Sum. Theol. I. 12. 9 c "All things are seen in God as in an intelligible mirror", i.e. *the speculum aeternum*). It is asked in M. I. 437, How is it that some are liberated in one way and some in the other, the Buddha replying that it depends upon "a difference in faculties" (*indriya-vevattatam*). The difference is, in fact, typically that of the royal from the sacerdotal, Kṣatriya from Brahman character; because of which difference it is that a *bhakti-mārga* and *karma-mārga* are stressed in the Bhagavad Gīta and a *jñāna-mārga* in the Upaniṣads. The two ways, of *ceto-vimutti* (in *thoubaka* 19 identified with *mettā*, "charity") and *pañña-vimutti* correspond to and are essentially the same as the *bhakti-mārga* and *jñāna-mārga* of Brahmanical texts.

20. It will be seen that the Arhat or Brahman who has attained to self-naughting and confesses accordingly "n'atthi" or "n'atthi kimci" might have been called a "natthika", or *natthikavāda* ("Denier"). If he is never in fact so called (but rather, *śūnyavādi*), it is because these were designations current in a very different sense, with reference viz. to the "materialist" or "sceptic" who denies that there is another world or hereafter (as in M. I. 402-3) or takes the extreme view (*natthitā*) that there is absolutely nothing in common between the individual that acts and the individual that experiences the results of the act (S.II.17). We propose to discuss this other "Denier" upon another occasion.

21. Pali Buddhism not only equates *brahma-bhūta* with *buddha*, *brahma-cakka* with *dhamma-cakka*, etc., but (where there is no polemic involved) maintains the old and familiar distinction of the Brāhman by birth (*brahma-bandhu*) from the Brāhman as Comprehensor (*brahma-vit*), in the latter sense equating Brāhman with Arhat, passim.

22. *Netti* 62 (cited in *Gradual Sayings*, p. 184) explains *kimcana* here by *rāga-moha-dosa*, i.e. ethically, and this is true in the sense that when self is let go,

tinuing "Therewith he has no conceit of being 'a Toiler' (*samaṇa*) or 'a Brahman', nor conceit that 'I am better than', or 'I am equal to', or 'inferior to' (anyone). Moreover, by a full-comprehension of this truth, he reaches the goal of veritable 'naughting'" (*ākimcaññaṃ yeva paṭipadam*). What is neither "I" nor "mine" is above all body, sensibility, volitional conformations, and empirical consciousness (i.e. the psycho-physical self), and to have rejected these is "for your best good and beatitude" (S. III. 33, chapter entitled *Natumhāka*, "What is not 'Yours'"). Accordingly, "Behold the Arhats' beatitude! No wanting can be found in them: excised the thought 'I am' (*asmi*)";<sup>23</sup> delusion's net is rent... Unmoving, unoriginated... Brahma-become... true 'Persons' (*sappurisā*), natural sons of the Wake... That heart-wood of the Brahma-life is their eternal-reason; unshaken in whatever plight, release from 'still-becoming' (*punabbhava*), on ground of 'dompted (-self)' they stand, they in the world have won their battle... They roar the 'Lion's Roar'. Incomparable are the Wake" (*Buddhā*, S. III, 83-84). No question of a post-mortem "annihilation" here, then, but of "Persons" triumphant here and now; their unconditionality will not be changed by death, which is not an event for those who have "died before they die" (*Rūmī*), not an event for the *jīvan-mukta*, the veritable *dīkṣita* for whom the funeral rites have already been performed and for whom his relatives have already mourned (JUB. III. 7-9): of these it is only the mani-

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there remains no ground for any "selfish" passion: *kimcana* is the "somewhat" of the man who still feels that he is "somebody", and accordingly the ground in which interest, delusion and ill-will can flourish.

In all respects equivalent to *n'atthi* (Skr. *nāsti*) is Persian *nēst* in Shams-i-Tabrizi (T. 139.12 a, cited by NICHOLSON, p. 233), "Be thou naught (*nēst shū*), naughted of self, for there is no crime more heinous than thine existence".

23. This does not imply that the Arhat "is not", but excludes from an ineffable essence the process of thought. From this point of view, *Cogito ergo sum* is altogether without validity; what I call "my" thinking is by no means my Self. The Arhat does not wonder whether he is, or what he is, or how he is, or has been, or will be (S. II. 26, Sn. 774). "He does not worry about what is unreal" (*asaṭi na paritassati*, M. 1.135) he is self-synthesised (*ajjhataṃ susamāhito*, passim), and in this state of synthesis (*samādhi*) though he is unaware of anything, yet there is awareness in him" (S. V. 7, cf. BU. IV. 3. 28. 30). The Buddha neither teaches that *nibbāna* is a "nothingness" nor that the Arhat "comes to naught": "there *is* (*atthi*) an unborn, unbecome, uncreated, uncompound, and were there not, there would be no way out of this here born, become, created and compound existence" (*Udāna*, 80); a Tathāgata, whose "I am has been cast off" (*asmimāno pahino*) is not "destroyed",—"It is in the very presence of such a Tathāgata that I call him 'past finding out' (*anaruvejjo*) and yet there are some who naughtily, vainly, falsely and contrary to what is the fact (*asaṭa tucchā musā abhūtena*) charge that the Tathāgata is a misleader (*venayika*, cf. *dunnaya*, heresy) who propounds the cutting off, destruction and ceasing to be of essences. That is just what I am not, and what I do not propound. The stoppage (*nirodha*) that I have preached, both of old and now, is nothing but the stoppage of Grief" (*dukkhassa*, i.e. of that which is *anattā*, not I nor mine), M. I. 139-140 (the coincidence of *anattā* with *dukkha* correspond exactly to the *eṣa ta ātmā sarvāntaraḥ ato'nyad antam* of BU. III. 4.2).

festation in terms of "name and appearance" (*nāma-rūpa*) that comes to an end (as all things must that have had a beginning), so that after death they will be sought for in vain by Devas or men in this world or any other (S. I. 23, D. I. 46 etc.), just as one might seek in vain for God *anywhere*, of whom it is asked "Whence did he come to be?" (*kuta ā babbhūva*, RV. X. 168.3), "In what quarter is He or in what?" (TS. V. 4. 3. 4), and "Who knows where He is?" (KU. II. 25),—"Thou canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth : so is everyone that is born of the Spirit" (John III. 8) : in spite of all which it must be remarked that the attainment of infinite is not a destruction of finite possibility, for the deceased Comprehensor, being a Mover-at-will (*kāmācārīn*), can always therefore reappear if, when, where and as he will ; of which "resurrection" examples may be cited in JUB. III. 29-30 (where the *noli me tangere* offers a notable parallel to the Christian resurrection), and in the Parosahassa Jātaka (No. 99) where a Bodhisattva is asked on his deathbed "What good he has gotten?" and answers "There is naught" (*n'atthi kiṃci*) and this is misunderstood by his disciples to mean that he has gotten "no good" by his holy life. But when the conversation is reported to his chief disciple, who had not been present, he says "You have not understood the meaning of the Master's words. What the Master said was that he had attained to the 'Station of No-what-ness' (*ākimcaññāyatana*).<sup>24</sup> And thereupon the deceased Master reappears from the Brahma-world to confirm the chief disciple's explanation.<sup>25</sup>

The man self-naughted is a happy man, not so those still conscious of their human ties. "Look you, how they are blest, these 'Nobodies', yea these Comprehensors who are 'men of naught' : and see how hindered he for whom there is an 'aught', the man whose mind tied up with 'other men'" (*Udāna* 14).<sup>26</sup> For "to have known the forthcoming of not being 'any-

24. It may be noted here that *Alāra Kalāma's* doctrine and realisation extended to the *ākimcaññāyatana* (m. 165).

25. Again a sufficient proof that even in "late" Hinayāna Buddhism, to have become "no one" was by no means the same as to have been "annihilated". The Buddhist position is in no way inconsistent with the "Never have I not been and never hast thou not been....nor ever shall not be" of BG. II. 12. It should be observed that the resurrections of JUB. III. 29-30 and J. as cited above are wholly "in order", and have nothing in common with the phenomena of spiritualism. An almost identical situation is described in J. I. 143. It is as much a Buddhist as is a Brahmanical commonplace that "the dead are not seen again amongst the living as asked in J.

26. The context is with reference to a man who steals for his wife. The contrasted terms are *akimcana*, "man of naught" and *sakimcana*, "man of aught" the man, that is, who "has" what he calls "his" individuality, which individuality in this case "expresses itself" in an act of partiality. This "man of aught" is hindered by the notions of "him-self" and of "his" wide, the "tie" being as between these two selves, subjective and objective ; in so far as he does not "hate" both himself and his wife, he is not the Buddha's disciple, but is troubled and gets into trouble. In all these contexts it must be remembered that it is a question of the *summum bonum* and man's last end, and not of the "good of society", which is not a final end. The man's first duty is to work out his own salvation. Aban-

one' (*ākimcaññā-sambhavaṃ ñātvā*)...that is 'gnosis' " (*etaṃ, ñānam* Sn. 1115): this is Way, "Perceiving that there is 'No-what-ness' (*ākimcaññam*) ...convinced that 'There is not' (*n'atthi*, i.e. 'naught mine', as above), so cross the flood" (Sn. 1070). And this is not an easy matter: "Hard to perceive what's false (*anattam*, here probably = *anṛtam*),<sup>27</sup> nor is it easy to perceive the truth (*saccam* = *satyam*); he knows, whose wanting has been smitten through, who sees that 'There is naught' " (*n'atthi kimcanam, Udāna* 80), "who hath overpast becoming or not becoming in any way" (*iti-bhavā-bhavam*, all relativity, *Udāna* 20).<sup>28</sup>

It will be seen that anonymity is an essential aspect of *ākimcaññā*. All initiations (*dīkṣā*), and likewise Buddhist ordination (*pabbajana*), which as in monasticism elsewhere is a kind of initiation,<sup>29</sup> involves at the outset

donment of self and of all ties is not only literally "un-self-ish," but it is also both better and kinder to point out the way to happiness by following it than to be "sympathetic", i.e. to "suffer with" those who will not "seek peace, and ensue it."

27. The PTS. editor (Paul STEINTHAL) reads *anattam*, but what is admittedly the best Ms. (A) has *anataṃ*, which is the form that would be assumed by *anṛtam* in Pali (cf *amṛtam, amalam*). A commentary has *anataṃ*, but apparently in the sense of the "not-bent", hence *nibbāna*, and it must be with this in view that WOODWARD translates by "infinite". But it is almost impossible to doubt that what we have is the familiar antithesis of *anṛtam* to *satyam*. The uncertainty of the reading nevertheless expresses a sort of double entendre; that which is *anattā*, "not what I really am" (*na me so attā*, *passim*) but "devoid of any spiritual-essence" (S. IV. 54), and "naught-y" (*asat*, M. I. 135) is equally from the Brahmanical point of view at the same time "false" and "human" as distinguished from what is "true" and "non-human", i.e. divine, as is explicit in VS. I. 5 and SB. I. 9. 3. 23. (Cf. AB. VII. 24), where the sacrificer (always in the last analysis the sacrificer of himself) when initiated and during the performance of the rite "has entered from the untruth (*anṛtam*) into the truth" (*satyam*), and when at the close of the operation he formally desecrates himself, but does not like to say plainly the converse of this, says instead "Now I am he that I actually (empirically) am", So-and-so.

28. "It is the Spirit in thee, O man, that knows which is the true and which the false (*attā te purisa jānāti saccam vā yadī vā musā*) the 'fair self' (*kalyāṇam* . . . *attānam*) . . . or the 'foul' " (*pāpam attānam*) (A. I. 149), in other words the "great self" (*mahattā*) or the "petty" (*appātumo*) of A. I. 249, the "Self that is Lord of self" or the "self whose Lord is the Self" of Dh. 380. The false view is to see "self in not-self" (*anattani* . . . *atta*, A. II. 52 etc.) i.e. in the empirical subject or its percepts (S. III. 130 etc.). It is "well for him that knows himself" (*atta-saññato*, S. I. 106; *attaññū* D. III 552), "whose light is the Spirit" (*atta-dīpa*, D. II. 100), the "Self-lover" (*attakāmo*, S. I. 75, etc.), "inwardly self-intent" (*ajjhatam susamāhito*, A. II. 31 etc.), "in whom the Spirit has been brought to birth" (*bhāvitattā*, *passim*), and so "Go seek your Self" *attānam gaveseyyātha*, *Mahāvagga* I. 23), "Quicken thy Self" (*coday' attānam*, Dh. 379, for "Self is the Lord of self" (*ib.* 380).

29. The initiate is "nameless" in KB. VII. 2-3 and speaks of none by name; he is not himself, but Agni. In SB. III. 8. 1. 2 he is "emptied of self". Buddhist ordination (*pabbajana* from the point of view of the ordained, *pabbājana* from that of the ordainer, who during the Buddha's lifetime is the Buddha himself) has many of the characteristics of, and is sometimes called an initiation (S. I. 226

a self-denial;<sup>30</sup> as is explicit in *Udāna* 55, where "Just as rivers lose their former name and lineage (*purimāni nāma-gottāni*) when they reach the sea, and are accounted just as 'the great sea', so men of the four castes (*khattiyā brāhmaṇo vessā suddā*), when they as-wanderers-are-ordained' (*pabbajitvā*), discard their former names and lineage, and are reckoned only to be 'Toilers', 'Sons of the Sakyan'". It is thus that the "exile" (*pabbajaka*) sets to work to "deform himself of himself" as Eckhart expresses it (*daz er sin entbilde sin selbes*), or in other words to "transform" himself.

The anonymity which we have described above as a doctrinally inculcated principle is by no means only a monastic ideal but has far-reaching repercussions in traditional societies, where our distinctions of sacred from profane (distinctions that are, in the last analysis the signature of an internal conflict too rarely resolved) can hardly be found. It reappears, for example, in the sphere of art. We have discussed elsewhere "The Traditional Conception of Ideal Portraiture"<sup>31</sup> (citing, for example, the *Pratimānātaka*, III. 5, where Bharata, though he exclaims at the artists' skill, is unable to recognize the effigies of his own parents): and may point out here that there is a corresponding anonymity of the artist himself, not only in the field of the so-called "folk arts" but equally in a more sophisticated environment. Thus, as H. SWAZENSKI has recently remarked, "It is in the very nature of Mediaeval Art that extremely few names of artists have been transmitted to us... the entire mania for connecting the few names preserved by tradition<sup>32</sup> with well-known masterpieces,—all this is characteristic of the nineteenth century's cult of individualism, based upon ideals of the Renaissance"<sup>33</sup>. Dh. 74 exclaims,

Comm. explains *cira-dikkhita*, "long since initiated" by *cira-pabbājita*, "long since ordained"; in *Jātakamālā* X. 32 a Bodhisattva is *dīkṣita*).

The primary senses of *pabbājati* are to "wander", "travel" and "be in exile"; and so to become a fellow in the "Companionship" (*saṅgha*) of Mendicant Travellers (*bhikkhu*, *padbājaka*), a true Wayfarer; cf. my "Pilgrim's way in *JBORS*. XXIII and XXIV, 1938,—the Traveller is bound for a World's End that is within himself.

30. The ethical aspect of this self-denial is a dispositive means to the end of self-naughting and Self-realisation, not an end in itself. *Tapas*, whether Brahmanical or Buddhist, is never a "penance", but in its disciplinary aspect a part of that training by means of which the petty self is subjected to the Great Self, or in a familiar symbolism, by which the steeds are brought under the driver's control, apart from which the man is "at war with himself" (S. I. 71-72, like BG. VI. 5-6); and in its intrinsic character, a radiance, reflecting his "Who glows (*tapati*) yonder".

31. To appear in the third issue of "Twice a Year" (New York), 1939.

32. "History", rather than "tradition" in our stricter sense.

33. *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, I, 1938, p. 55. Cf. STRZYGOWSKI, "the artist in Viking times is not to be thought of as an individual, as would be the case today... It is a creative art" (*Early Church Art in Northern Europe*, 1928, pp. 159-160: and with respect to this distinction of "individual" from "creative" art, "I do nothing of myself" (John VIII. 28) and "I take note, and even as He dictates within me, I set it forth" (Dante, *Purgatorio*, XXIV. 52). Better to be an amenuensis of the Spirit than to "think for oneself"!



"May it to religious and profane that 'This was my work'<sup>34</sup>...that is an infantile thought." DhA I. 270 relates the story of thirty-three youths who are building a 'Rest Hall' at four cross roads, and it is explicit that "The names of the thirty-three comrades did not appear," but only that of Sudhammā, the donor of the roof plate (the keystone of the dome).<sup>35</sup> One is irresistibly reminded of the "Millennial Law" of the Shakers, that "No one should write or print his name on any article of manufacture, that others may hereafter know the work of his hands."<sup>36</sup> And all this has not only to do with the body of the work and its æsthetic surfaces, it has just as much to do with its "weight" (*gravitas*) or essence (*ātman*); the notion of a possible property in ideas is altogether alien to the *Philosophia Perennis* of which we are speaking. It is of ideas and the inventive power that we can properly say, if we are thinking in terms of the psycho-physical ego, that this is not "mine," or if self has been naughted so that, to use the Brāhmaṇa phrase, we have "come into our own," that these gifts of the Spirit are truly "mine"; since it is the Synteresis, the Divine Eros, inwit, in-genium immanent spirit, daimon, and not the natural individual that is the ground of the inventive

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34. The words of the original could mean either my "work" or my "doing," *kamma* covering both things made and done. The same ambiguity, or rather ambivalence, is present in the corresponding text of BG. III. 27, "One whose self is confounded by the concept of an 'I' imagines that 'I am the doer,'" and V. 8, where the Comprehensor does not think of "himself as the doer of anything," the word for "doer," *kartṛ*, meaning equally "maker" or "creator"; cf. JUB. 1. 5. 2. "Thou (God) art the doer," and IV. 12. 2 "I (God) am the doer," or "maker." Like BG. as cited above is *Udāna* 70 "Those who give ear to the notion 'I am the doer' (*ahamkāra*), or are captivated by the notion 'Another is the doer' (*paramkāra*), do not understand this matter, they have not seen the point."

We need hardly remind the reader that this is a metaphysical position, and must not be confused with the *akiriyavāda* heresy, that viz. of the man in *Udāna* 45 is represented as saying, even while acting, 'It is not I that am agent' (*yo c'āpi katvā na karomī 'ti c'āha*). "I," "this man," *un tel*, have no right to evade "my" responsibility in this way, by maintaining that it does not matter what I do, because it is not really I that am doing it. It is only when the non-entity of this "I" has been *verified* (*sacchiktvā*) that in the sense of I John III. 9 being "born of God, cannot sin," or that of Gal. V. 18 "am not under the law."

35. In early Indian art, the names of donors are constantly met with, those of artists almost never. The donor's name is recorded, because he wishes to "acquire merit" for what has been done; the artist is not, as such, in this specifically moral sense, acquiring merit, but on the one hand earning his wages, and on the other working for the good of the work to be done, neither of these points of view implying any wish for fame.

36. E.D. and F. ANDREWS, *Shaker Furniture*, 1937, p. 44. In all these connections, however, it is the spirit rather than the letter that matters. In the same community, for example, furniture could not be owned "as private property, or individual interests," and yet might be marked with a person's initials "for purposes of distinction"; and it was in just the same way in order for a Buddhist monk to say "I" or "mine" when convenient. In the same way an artist's signature need not be an advertisement, but can be, like a hall-mark, a simple guarantee of quality and acceptance of responsibility.

power, and it is precisely of this inwit, this intellectual light, and not our own "mentality" of which it is said that "That art thou."

In conclusion, the student must not be misled by such terms as self-naughting, non-being, or any other of the phrases of the negative theology. Non-being, for example, in such an expression as Eckhart's "non-existence of the Godhead" is that transcendent aspect of the Supreme Identity which is not, indeed, being but that to which all being, even God's, can be reduced, as to its principle ; it is that of God's which is not susceptible of manifestation, of which therefore we cannot speak in terms that are applicable only to states of manifestation, yet without which God would be only a "pantheon," a "pantheistic" deity, rather than "all this" *and* "more than this", "within" *and* "without." In the same way it must be realised that of one assimilated to God by self-naughting, and therefore no longer anyone, we have no longer any human means or speechway (*vādapatha*) to say what he is, but only to say that he is not such or such ; it would be even more untrue to say that he is not, than that he is ; he is simply inaccessible to analysis. Even a theoretical grasp of metaphysics is impossible until we have learnt that there are "things which our intellect cannot behold...we cannot understand what they are except by denying things of them" (Dante, *Convito*, III. 15), and that these very things are the greater part of man's last end. If, for example, the Arhat no longer desires, it is not because he is in human language "apathetic," but because all desires are possessed, and pursuit has no longer any meaning ; if the Arhat no longer moves, it is not as a stone lies still, but because he no longer needs any means of locomotion in order to be anywhere ; if he is not curious about empirical truths, whether "this is so" or "not so," it is not because he does not know, but because he does not know as we know in these terms ; for example he does not think in terms of past or future, but only is now. If he is "idle," from our point of view who still have "things to do," it is because he is "all in act" (*kṛtakṛtyah, katakarnīyo*), with an activity independent of time.

But if we cannot know him, it does not follow that he cannot know or manifest himself to us. Just as in this life whilst in *samādhi* he is inaccessible and for all practical purposes dead, but on emerging from this synthesis and "returning to his senses" can conveniently make use of such expressions as "I" or "mine" for practical and contingent purposes without attainer of his freedom (S. I. 14), so after death, by which he is not changed, a resurrection is always possible in any guise ("he shall go in and out, and find pasture," John X. 9, with many Indian parallels, e.g., Taitt. Up. III. 5 "he goes up and down these worlds, eating what he desires and assuming what aspect he will"), this possibility by no means excluding that of reappearance in that very (dis-)guise by which he had been known in the world as so-and-so. Examples of such resurrection can be cited not only in the case of Jesus, but in that of Uccaiśravas Kaupayeya (JUB. III. 29-30), in that of the Bodhisattva of the Parosahassa Jātaka, and in that of the former Buddha Prabhūtaratna. Such a resurrection, indeed, is only one of innumerable "powers" (*iddhi*),

such as those of walking in the water, flying through the air, or disappearing from sight, which are possessed by one who is no longer "in himself" but "in the spirit," and inevitably possessed precisely because they are the powers of the Spirit with which he is "one" (I Cor. VI. 27):<sup>37</sup> which powers (as listed for example in S. II. 212 f., A. I. 254 f., and S. V. 254 f.) are precisely the "greater works" of John XIV. 12, "the works that I do shall he do also : and greater works shall he do." There can, indeed, be no question for those who know the "facts," that in so far as the Yogin is what the designation implies, "joined unto the Lord," these "powers" are at his command : he is only too well aware, however, that to make of these powers an end in themselves would be to fail of the real end.

It will be seen that in speaking of those who have done what was to be done, we have been describing those who have become "perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect." There will be many to say that even if all this hold good for the all-abandoner, it can have no meaning for "me : and it is true that it cannot have its full meaning for "me" who, *en etant un tel* am insusceptible of deification and therefore incapable of reaching God. Few or none of "us" are yet qualified to abandon ourselves. But so far as there is a Way, it can be trodden step by step. There is an intellectual preparation, which not merely prepares the way to a verification (*sacchakiriya*) but is indispensable to it. So long as we love "our" selves, and conceive of a "self-denial" only in terms of "altruism," or cling to the idea of a "personal" immortality for our or other selves, we are standing still. But a long stride has been taken if at least we have learned to accept the idea of the naughting of self as a good, however contrary it may be to our "natural" desire, however *aller menschen fremde*. For if the spirit be thus willing, the time will come when the flesh, whether in this or in any other ensemble of possibilities forming a "world," will be no longer weak. The doctrine of self-naughting is therefore addressed to *all*, in the measure of their capacity, and by no means only to those who have already formally abandoned name and lineage. It is not the saint, but the sinner, that is called to repent of his existence.

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37. This unification is to be understood in the same way that the "eternal reasons" are one with the intellect that entertains them, and yet distinguishable amongst themselves, so as to be in posse to project their images upon the walls of our cave. Filiation or theosis by *an ablatio omnis alteritatis et diversitatis* can be expressed in terms of "glorification" as a becoming consciously a ray of the Light of lights : the relation of a ray, although of light throughout its course, is that of identity with its source at one end, and separate recognizability at the other, where its effect is observed as colour. In no better way than by this adequate symbol, made use of in all traditions, can we express or suggest the meaning of Eckhart's "fused but not confused," or Indian *bhedābheda*, "distinction without difference."

## EXPANSION OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA AND ABROAD\*

By

BIMALA CHURN LAW

### VII. *Korea*<sup>26</sup>

Korea has its importance in the history of Buddhist expansion from the fact that it was from Korea that Buddhism first entered Japan and the earliest extant edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka known only by a single copy was preserved in Korea and thence taken to Japan. Buddhism entered Korea as early as the last half of the 4th century A.D. In the middle of the 6th century Korea fell out with Japan, and anxious to have an alliance with the Emperor of Japan, sent him presents which included Buddhist texts and images. Korea maintained friendly intercourse with the Táng Dynasty in China and became largely imbued with Chinese Buddhist culture. In the 7th century the capital of Silla came to be a centre of Buddhist culture and trade. Merchants and missionaries from India and Tibet visited Korea and Korean pilgrims made journeys to India. From the 10th to the 14th century under the patronage of the Wang and Yuan dynasties Buddhism had a flourishing existence but in the domain of scholarship and learning it was more or less sterile. Magnificent monasteries were founded and the religion received state patronage in many ways. Towards the end of the 14th century, however, the reigning dynasty was overthrown by a revolution which was mainly the work of a section of the nobility that came to be attached to confucianism. In the 15th century restrictive measures, sometimes amounting to persecution, were imposed against Buddhism. Buddhist statues were broken or melted down and Buddhist learning was forbidden. Towards the end of the 16th century, Korea successfully withstood a Japanese attack, but Buddhism does not seem to have enjoyed any very serious consideration in the succeeding centuries. Since the annexation by Japan in 1910, conditions have changed and the religion is being encouraged.

### VIII. *Japan*<sup>27</sup>

Japan received the doctrine of the Buddha from China through Korea in about the middle of the 6th century A.D. but there are many elements of

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\* Continued from p. 709 of Vol. II.

26. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Korea, See ELIOT—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III.

27. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Japan, See ELIOT—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III ; E. STEINLHER OBERLIN, *Buddhist Sects of Japan : Their History, philosophical Doctrines and Sanctuaries*.

difference between Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. Buddhism in Japan had always an intimate connection with social, political and even military matters of the country and from the 7th century until the Meiji era all Shinto shrines with a few exceptions were according to an agreement handed over to the custody of the Buddhist priests.

Among the undernoted twelve sects of Japanese Buddhists the first eight called by the Japanese Hasshū are all imported from China and represent the Buddhism of the Nara and Hei-an periods. The rest are later than 1170 A.D. and were "all remodelled, if not created, in Japan."

The twelve sects are as follows :—

- |                                      |                       |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. <i>Kusha</i>                      | 7. <i>Tendai</i>      |
| 2. <i>Jo-jitsu</i>                   | 8. <i>Shingon</i>     |
| 3. <i>Ritsu-Shu</i> or <i>Risshu</i> | 9. <i>Jōdo</i>        |
| 4. <i>Sanron</i>                     | 10. <i>Zen</i>        |
| 5. <i>Hossō</i>                      | 11. <i>Shin</i>       |
| 6. <i>Kegon</i>                      | 12. <i>Nichiren</i> . |

All Japanese sects of importance are Mahāyānists. The Hinayāna is represented only by the Kusha, Jo-jitsu and Risshu. The two former are both extinct : the third still numbers a few adherents, but is not anti-Mahāyānist. It merely insists on the importance of discipline.

Of the above twelve sects, the Tendai and Shingon, onwards for 700 years from the 9th century, played a very great part in the history of Japanese art and literature as well as in political and literary matters. The culture of the Fujiwara period was almost entirely their contribution. Of the four remodelled sects, the Jōdo and Shin-Shū are Amidists, i.e., those who have absolute faith in the mercy of Amida. The Nichiren sect is purely Japanese and is a protest against Amidism and an attempt to restore the historical Buddha to his proper position. Zen is the Japanese equivalent of Chinese Ch'an and is the name given to the sect founded in China by Bodhidharma. It is said to have been introduced into Japan in the 7th century, but died out till it was later revived under the patronage of the Hōjō-Regents and specially during the Ashikaga period. Zen monks profoundly influenced the art and literature of Japan.

### IX. Ceylon<sup>28</sup>

Ceylon along with Burma and Siam is one of the three countries which still adheres to Theravāda Buddhism. According to tradition, Ceylon was colonised from India from a region known as Lāla by a Kshatriya prince named Vijayasingha but the introduction of Buddhism did not take place

28. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Ceylon, See *Dīpavamsa*, ed. by GEIGER; *Mahāvamsa* ed. by GEIGER; *Mahāvamsa Commentary*, 2 Vols. (PTS) ed. by MALALASEKERA; DE SILVA—"History of Buddhism in Ceylon" (in *Buddhist Studies* ed. by B. C. LAW); ELIOT—"Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III; GEIGER—"A Short History of Ceylon" (in *Buddhist Studies* ed. by B. C. LAW).

earlier than the reign of Asoka, when the king of Ceylon sought the friendship of the great emperor and sent an embassy to him with presents. King Asoka sent two representatives of his own family, Thera Mahinda and Therī Saṅghamittā to Ceylon to propagate the religion there. The reigning king of Ceylon, Devānampiya Tissa accorded them a cordial reception and became a patron of the religion and thus the religion gained a foothold in the island-country, according to tradition. Even within the life-time of the two vanguards, hundreds of men and women sought refuge in the religion and the religion was well-established. Monasteries, Stūpas and other Buddhist establishments came to be founded, hundreds became Bhikshus and Bhikshuṇīs receiving support from the laity, and studies in the three piṭakas commenced in full earnest. After the death of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā the hierarchy of the disciples was continued in pupillary succession. In the 2nd century B.C. King *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi* gave a good fillip to the religion and during the two centuries that followed Buddhism became almost the sole channel through which the social and cultural development of the island followed. The religion of the Ceylonese people during this period came to be purely and entirely Buddhist and traditions as recorded in the chronicles of the island indicate much practical activity in religious affairs, both in endowment and maintenance of religious institutions and the practice of religious principles. Towards the beginning of the 1st century B.C., during the reign of King *Vaṭṭagāmaṇi*, two important events that concerned the Buddhist religion took place; the first was the committing of the Buddhist teachings into writing and secondly the introduction for the first time of a schism in the Buddhist church of the island. The order of monks at *Mahāvihāra* at *Anurādhapura* held a convocation and under the patronage of the king appointed scribes to commit into writing the teachings of the religion.

The schism that occurred in the church of Ceylon in about the 1st century A.D. was due to the infringement of certain rules of monastic discipline. Outside the precincts of the established church there was another Vihāra known as *Abhayagiri* where the dissentient Bhikshus had taken up their abode. They were later on joined by disciples of Dhammaruci Āchāryya. They adopted the Vaitulya piṭaka and proclaimed it to be the teaching of the Buddha. For centuries the Mahāvihāra monks carried on successfully under the patronage of the reigning kings a long struggle against the Vaitulya fraternities of the Abhayagiri vihāra. But intercourse with India during all these centuries was so frequent that from time to time non-orthodox doctrines and their followers occasionally found their way to Ceylon and were favoured by certain classes of monks. But these had no marked effect on the general progress or the stability of the orthodox church.

In about the first quarter of the 9th century A.D. an ascetic of the *Vajraparvata Nikāya* clad in the robes of a Buddhist monk came to Ceylon obviously from the mainland of India and converted the reigning king into his secret doctrine. To-day it is difficult to find any books of either the Vaitulya piṭaka or any other heterodox teachings. But the ruins of Anu-

rādhapura and archæological explorations on other sites in Ceylon have yielded not only inscriptions but also images that are definitely not only Mahāyānistic but also frankly tantric.

To resume the story of the orthodox church one must refer to the activities of the great Thera Buddhaghosa in about the first half of the 5th century A.D. Buddhaghosa came from South India to Ceylon where under the patronage of the reigning king, Mahānāma, he engaged himself in the work of compilation of the celebrated *aṭṭhakathās* or commentaries of the Buddhist piṭakas. His well-known works, the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, the *Papañcasudani*, the *Manorathapurāṇī*, the *Sāratthapakāsinī* and a host of other works were all written down in Ceylon. Buddhaghosa thus raised the position and prestige of the Theravāda Church of Ceylon to a great extent.

Towards the end of the 8th century Ceylon suffered severe political unrest and the Ceylonese Church felt the consequences for more than two centuries, so much so that towards the middle of the 11th century, it was once found difficult to get a chapter of ordained monks to continue valid ordinations. This was, however, restored by the help of a number of learned Theras who were brought out from Arakan by king Vijayavāhu. In the middle of the 12th century, under the patronage of the king *Parākramavāhu*, the religion received infusion of new life. *Parākramavāhu* restored vihāras and monasteries, built new religious edifices and brought about the unification of the three contending sects, namely, the *Mahāvihāra Nikāya*, the *Abhayagiri Nikāya*, and the *Vaitulya Nikāya*, and also brought about the restoration of the power and influence of the orthodox church, the *Mahāvihāra Nikāya*. He also brought into existence, probably for the first time, a code of regulations for the guidance of the Bhikshus. From the time of Buddhaghosa upto the time of king *Parākramavāhu*, numerous Buddhist works by celebrated scholars were composed in Pali and Sinhalese. During the reign of *Parākramavāhu* the Great, a systematic compilation of sub-commentaries took place under the guidance of Kassapa Thera. After his death unfortunately there were again political unrests in the island. Within a hundred years, the Bhikshus were again disorganised, but the *sāsana* was again restored (1266 A.D.) with the help of monks brought from the Coḷa country in South India. Monasteries were again established and there was again activity in the cause of religion.

The reputation of the Saṅgha in Ceylon became so well established that towards the middle of the 15th century when Burma was faced with a crisis of the cessation of valid ordination, the reigning king of the country sought the help of the *Mahāvihāra* in Ceylon for restoration of the *Sāsana*. From Burma at a later period the ordination of this Nikāya was carried to Siam. "The connection of Burma at this period has an important bearing on the fortunes of the Saṅgha fraternity and of Buddhism in Ceylon. For through these embassies the books that existed in Ceylon were taken to Burma, Siam and Cambodia and the Mahānikāya was established in these countries, which

helped Ceylon to get back the books and the ordination at a subsequent period when ordination had disappeared in the island and books were lost."<sup>29</sup>

In about this time the Portuguese arrived at the island and established a fort in Colombo, besides introducing Christianity into the island. The then reigning king Bhuvanekavāhu III (1552 A.D.) allied himself with the Portuguese and brought ruin not only upon himself but also upon the religion. But a still more severe blow came from king Rājasingha I. He did havoc with the monks and monastic establishments. The king of Kotte with whom the Portuguese gained influence also pursued more or less the same policy. The king of other provinces also turned against Buddhism. But with the arrival of the Dutch in the 17th century conditions took a better turn. Their attitude was more conciliatory towards the religion and the subsequent kings were able to devote their times and energy to restore the status of Buddhism. During this time a great man arose in *Saranākara* who was a *Sāmaṇera* as ordination had disappeared in the land. He made known to king Śrī Vijaya Rājasingha (1734 A.D.) that the religion of the Buddha had deceased in the island because the order of the Bhikshus had become extinct. He prevailed upon the king to bring out a mission of Bhikshus from Siam for the restoration of the order. The Siamese mission started for Ceylon but the voyage was eventually abandoned. *Saranākara* persisted in his attempt and finally prevailed upon the succeeding king *Kittisiri Rājasiha* to send another mission to Siam. This mission was cordially received by King *Dhammika* of Siam who sent *Upāli Thera* with a chapter of Ten *Bhikshus* and the order was eventually restored in Ceylon and *Saranākara* was appointed *Sangha-rāja*, the head of the Sangha. In 1815 the island came into the possession of the English who pledged for the protection and maintenance of the Buddhist religion.

### X. Siam<sup>30</sup>

The Buddhism of Siam belongs to the Theravāda school. The Siamese belonged to Thai family of a South Chinese people. The history of Thai rule in Siam may roughly be described as a succession of three kingdoms with capitals at Sukhothai, Ayuthia and Bangkok respectively.

The Southern regions of Siam came into contact with Buddhism at a considerably early period. The eastern coasts in India had intercourse not only with Burma but also with the Malaya Peninsula. Epigraphic evidence proves that the reign of Ligor came into contact with Buddhism as early at least as the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. and it is only probable that Siam was also touched by this wave of Indian religious expansion. In fact, some of the ancient sites of Siam, e.g. *Dvārāvati* have yielded sculptures and other antiquities that are either frankly Buddhist or are affiliated to Buddhism. An

29. De Silva, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon in Buddhistic Studies*, ed. B. C. Law, p. 502.

30. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Siam see ELIOT—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III.



inscription of about the 4th century found in Kekah and another of the 7th or 8th century from Pra Pratom, both contained the well known-Buddhist formula of causation. The latter inscription and also one from Margui seem to be in mixed Sanskrit and Pali.

In an important inscription found at Sukhothai and now preserved at Bangkok and probably datable in about 1300 A.D. it is stated that the Siamese kingdom of the time extended on the South to the sea as far as Ligor and on the west to Pegu. From the same inscription we derive the knowledge that the court and the inhabitants of Sukhothai were devout Buddhists regularly observing the *Vassa* and the festival of *Kaṭhina* and also that there were several arch monasteries, many Buddha statues and Buddhist relics. The form of Buddhism described seems to have differed little from the Hinayanism found in Siam to-day. In any case, it seems that at least during this period the Siamese were acquainted with Pali Buddhism. Whatever may have been the earlier form of Buddhism and wherever we may trace the source of the religion of earlier times, there seems to be very little doubt that when the Thai poured into Siam the religion was a certain kind of Hinayānism which in all likelihood was imported from Burma. We all know that towards the middle of the 11th century Buddhism in Burma received a new infusion of life and spread over very quickly to the Shan estates and it is not altogether impossible that it found its way to the not very distant kingdom of Siam. In a subsequent period "the Siamese recognised the seniority and authority of the Sinhalese Church by inviting an instructor to come from Ceylon, but in earlier times they can hardly have had direct relation with the island. A Khmer inscription composed in 1361 or a little later shows that the reigning king learned both in Buddhist and Brahmanical lore was a cosmopolitan in religious practices. In 1361 he had a Saṅgharāja learned in the Pīṭakas brought from Ceylon. He was received with great honour and became eventually the head of the Buddhist Church. Two other inscriptions apparently datable in this period refer to the importation of a branch of the Bodhi tree from Ceylon and certain Buddhist relics, probably from India, which were all installed with great solemnity. To this date may also be referred series of engravings on stone illustrating about one hundred Jātakas.

Towards the middle of the 14th century the seat of power in Siam was transferred to Ayuthia where we have several gigantic images of the Buddha and the ruins of numerous Buddhist establishments. A curious inscription engraved on an image of Siva found at Sukhothai and dated 1510 A.D. asserts, however, the identity of Buddhism and Brahmanism. At Lophburi we have some ancient buildings which were originally constructed for the Brahmanic cult were later on adapted to Buddhist uses. Ayuthia continued to be the capital of Siam until 1767 when it was sacked and ruined by the Burmese who, though Buddhists, did not scruple to destroy and deface Buddhist temples, establishments and statues. Phāya Tāk Sin, a Chinese in origin, repulsed the Burmese attack, made Bangkok the seat of Government but was soon deposed in 1782 by Chao Phāya Chakkri who established a new

dynasty. This king convoked a council and had the whole Tripiṭaka revised by monk scholars and built a hall in which the texts were preserved. During the reign of one of his successors, Mongkut who spent 26 years as a monk and then became King, Buddhism in Siam received a new lease of life. During the reign of his successor, Chulalongkorn, an edition of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka was published and printed in Siamese type.

### XI. *Burma*<sup>31</sup>

Tradition ascribes the introduction of Buddhism into Burma to Asoka. Four centuries later, in the 3rd century A.D., Chinese evidence points to the existence of Buddhism in a place called Lin-Yang which may be tentatively identified with a place in Burma. With the 5th and subsequent centuries we are on surer grounds. Epigraphic records provide us henceforward with definite evidences of a flourishing state of Pali Buddhism in the metropolis of the kingdom of the Pyus, Hwawan and old Prome, indicating at the same time a very intimate intercourse of Lower Burma with the Kadamba-Coḷa countries of South India. Buddhist records, in Sanskrit have been found in old Prome pointing to a very close relation with the Magadhan countries of Eastern India. Epigraphic records are supplemented by quite a good number of Buddhist monuments and sculptures and terracotta tablets which have been unearthed in old Prome and are datable from the 6th to the 10th and 11th centuries. All these evidences point to a resurgence of the religion in the old kingdom of Prome in about the beginning of the 5th century.

In 1057 A.D. took place the fateful invasion of Thaton by Anawrata. The story of this invasion really indicates a very flourishing state of the religion in Lower Burma. The story of the religion now centres round Pagan where the royal dynasty and gradually the people found in the Theravāda imported from Thaton, a purer and simpler faith, a religion with a more direct appeal and a fresh message of deliverance. The religion slowly but steadily secured a solid ground and spread far and near on all sides. Hundreds of Buddhist monuments and monastic establishments came to be erected and embellished with Buddhist sculptures and painting. Even during the reign of Ambadatta the fame of Pagan as a centre of the Theravāda faith was so well established that she exchanged religious gifts with Ceylon, with which she came gradually to be linked up in all matters concerning the religion. The clergyman of Burma looked up to the brotherhood of Ceylon as the source of all inspiration. This attitude of the Burmese brotherhood was in reality responsible for the introduction of the Sīhala Saṅgha in 1181-82 A.D.

The Sīhala Saṅgha gradually established itself also in Lower Burma. The splitting up of these two saṅghas into various factions naturally led to

31. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Burma, see ELIOT—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III ; RAY—"Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma" in *Journal of the Greater India Society* ; *Sāsanaṇvamsa* ed. by BODE ( Introduction ) ; BODE—*Pali Literature in Burma*.

the degeneration of the religious order. A movement for reform was successfully initiated by king Dhammaceti of Pegu in 1472. The Ceylonese brotherhood again came to the aid of the Burmese church and Dhammaceti's reformation practically led to the final triumph of the Sihala Saṅgha.

But Theravāda was not the only form of Buddhism in the country. Probably Sarvāstivāda, on the evidence of Sanskrit Buddhist epigraphs as well as on that of I-Tsing, was another form prevalent in about the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. Some sort of Mahāyānism and Mahāyānist Tantricism had also penetrated into upper Burma. Towards the end of the 17th century the church in Burma began to show signs of slackness of discipline and of transgression of rules by individuals and groups within the order. The order divided itself into two factions which came to engage themselves in a long struggle. The story of the religion in the 18th century is the story of this struggle but eventually the orthodox school won and again the word and spirit of the original teachings of the Buddha were strictly adhered to.

The dawn of the 19th century saw the introduction of the Amarapura school or Burma Saṅgha (Burmese order) in Ceylon. This event may be interpreted as the first return gift of Burma to Ceylon. About 60 years later two deputations from Ceylon came to Burma to receive valid ordination from the Burmese fraternity, and Burma was thus able to return the gift Ceylon had made in the 15th century. The last figure in the history of Buddhism in Burma is that of Mindon-Min who brought another triumph for the orthodox Buddhist church in Burma. Mindon-Min observed with regret that laxity in monastic discipline was much in evidence. He wanted to enforce the disciplinary code of the monks and thought it well to impose a vow enjoining strict conformity to Vinaya discipline and eventually acted up to his thought.

In 1885 the English occupied Mandalay and thus came in possession of the whole of Burma. It signalled the termination of the old order of things and the beginning of the new.

## XII. *Indo-China*<sup>2</sup>

(Champa and Kamboj)

The earliest trace of Buddhism in Indo-China is indicated in a Sanskrit inscription palæographically datable in the 2nd or 3rd century of the Christian era and found not far from modern Nhatrang. One cannot say definitely that it is a Buddhistic inscription but from some phrases and ideas used in the inscription it can more or less definitely be ascribed to Buddhistic inspiration. But more definite information about Buddhism in Champa is traceable not earlier than the 9th century. In the second quarter of that century,

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32. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Indo-China, See CHATTERJI—*Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*; MAJUMDAR—*Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol. I, *Champa*; ELIOT—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III; *Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China* by Louis FINOT (*Buddhistic Studies* ed. by B. C. LAW, p. 749 ff.).

a Buddhist of Pāṇḍurāṅga, Samanta by name, dedicated the monasteries and temples to the Jina and Siva. This indicates a very close association of Buddhism with Saivism which remained up to the end as one of the salient features of Indian religious life in Champa, as in other places of Indo-China as well as in Java and Sumatra. The growing importance of Buddhism is affirmed by the foundation of the great monastery of Lokeśvara, a pious work of King Indravarman II. In 902 A.D., a Mahāyānist śhāvīra set up another Lokeśvara monastery and in the foundation charter one finds a clear resumé of the Mahāyānist theogony. All these inscriptions prove definitely that Mahāyānism was the prevailing form of Buddhism in Champa. At the end of the 12th century a King of Pāṇḍurāṅga boasted of practising the Mahāyāna Dharma and erected in the district of Buddhhaloka an image of Buddha Lokeśvara. Even as late as the 2nd half of the 13th century a fragment of inscription begins with the invocation "Om Namo Buddhaya" proving that Buddhism was not extinct even at that time. The ruins of Champa have yielded a large number of bronze and stone statues of Buddha Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā. A number of clay medallions bearing images of the Buddha and Lokeśvara were picked up in the caves of Northern Annam.

But it is only likely that Mahāyānism in Champa was preceded by Hīnayāna period. According to him, the Buddhists of Champa in the 7th century A.D. belonged to the Ārya Sammiti School and there were also a few followers of the Sarvāstivāda School. But the evidence of I-Tsing is open to doubt, for the pilgrim never visited Champa and there has not been found any archaeological evidence to support his contention. Towards the end of the 15th century Champa was seized by the Anāmites who burnt down the capital and took possession of the whole kingdom where they introduced a debased mixture of Mahāyānism.

Funan, a great empire that had its centre of power in the modern territory of Cambodia, is known to us only through Chinese historians. The hey-day of its glory occupies the first five centuries of the Christian era. As in Champa so also in Funan Saivism and Buddhism peacefully existed side by side. I-Tsing testifies that the people of the country were mostly worshippers of Devas but later on Buddhism came to flourish there. By the time the pilgrim wrote his account a wicked king had expelled and exterminated all Buddhists and there were no members, of the Buddhist brotherhood at all. Śākya Nāgasena, who went to the court of China as an ambassador in 484 A.D. saw a Buddhist monk. The Bhikshus of Funan went to China for the translation of the holy books of Buddhism, among them were Saṅghapāla and Mandrasena.

In the south of Funan the Malay Peninsula was essentially a Buddhist country. The inscriptions found in Ligor and in the province of the Wellesley prove that in the 4th century A.D., there were some important Buddhistic centres on the coast. Inscriptions discovered on the south of the Isthmus of Kra dating from the 8th and 9th centuries prove that the religion was con-

tinued in those countries. One of these inscriptions commemorates the construction of three Caityas in honour of Bôdhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi, and Buddha in 775 A.D.

Towards the middle of the 6th century the Kambojas came into prominence and overthrew the kingdom of Funan. An inscription of 664 A.D., praises two eminent Bhikshus of the realm. Another inscription of the same period refers to the worship of Maitreya Avalokiteśvara and the Buddha. Lokeśvara who is often associated with Vajrapāṇi and Prajñāpāramitā was a very popular Buddhist divinity in the Mahāyānist pantheon of Cambodia. Tantrism seems to have exercised very little influence upon the Khmer cults although several images of Hevajra have been found in the ruins of Angkor ; cult of Bodhidruma was also a popular one. Sūryavarman I who probably belonged to the Buddhist religion as is shown by his posthumous name *Paramarvāṇapada* was probably indirectly responsible for the first Khmer inscriptions found at Lophburi in Siam. One of these inscriptions makes a distinction between the Sthaviras and Mahāyāna Bhikshus. It is, however, probable that the regions round Lophburi were the meeting ground of Mahāyānism of Cambodia. The Khmer kings had to abandon their capital in the course of the 15th century and their disappearance marked also the disappearance of Hinduism and Mahāyānism.

### XIII. *Java-Sumatra-Bali*<sup>33</sup>

The trace of Buddhism in Java is available in the accounts of Fa-Hien who visited the island in about 413 A.D. The Chinese pilgrim states that in that country there were many Brāhmaṇas but that the Buddhist religion was not of sufficient importance. Prince Gunavarman of Kashmir who turned the Buddhist missionary, visited the island in 423 A.D., but we do not know how far he succeeded in preaching religion in the island. Towards the end of the 6th century Central Java rose into importance which lasted for about two centuries. Towards the middle of the 8th century Java, especially Central and Western Java, passed from the hands of the Śaiva rulers into the control of a Mahāyānist dynasty from Sumatra, known to historians as the Sailendras of Śrīvijaya, who had a mighty empire extending over the Malay Peninsula and Central Java besides Sumatra. These Sailendras were fervent Buddhists professing the Mahāyāna faith. The temple of Kalasan in Central Java was erected by one of their kings in honour of the Mahāyāna divinity Tara in 1778 A.D. The magnificent monument of Barabudur in Central Java also was the work of the Sailendras. Towards the end of the 7th century I-Tsing had visited Sumatra and described it as a great centre of Hinayāna learning ; but evidently after I-Tsing it had become a great stronghold of Mahāyāna Buddhism under the patronage of the

33. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Java-Sumatra-Bali see CHAKRAVARTY & CHATTERJEE *India & Java*, 2nd Ed. G. I. S. Bulletin ; MAJUMDAR — *Svarṇadīpa*, 2 Vols. N. J. KROM — *The Life of Buddha 1926—The Life of Buddha on Barabudur*.

Sailendras who had extended their supremacy over Central Java as well. In the 10th century a Buddhist temple was constructed at Negapaṭam near Madras at the expense of a king of the Sailendras with the permission of a Coṣa Prince Nalanda. A copper plate of Devapāla records the grant of some villages by the Pāla sovereign of Bengal for the upkeep of a monastery at Nālandā which was built at the instance of Balaputradeva of the Sailendra dynasty out of devotion to Buddhism. Dharmapāla the famous Guru of Nālandā passed his last days in Sumatrā. Under the Pala kings the Mahāyāna doctrine flourished in Bengal and Magadha as they did nowhere else in India and it was Mahāyāna tinged with Tantrayāna. We find exactly the same blend of Buddhistic and Tantric doctrines in Sumatrā, Java, and to some extent in Cambodia. The earliest Mahāyāna inscriptions of the Śrī Vijaya kings in Java are also written in South Indian Grantha characters but in a Central Indian script almost exactly like that of the 9th century inscriptions discovered at Nālandā.

All sorts and varieties of Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna, Bodhisattvas and Śaktis, Ādi-Buddhas, Dhyānī-Buddhas, etc., have come to our view and iconographically they follow the Eastern School of Indian art. The study of Buddhistic literature in Java is proved not only by the discovery of important Buddhist texts but also by the sculptures of Barabudur and other religious monuments which presuppose a wide range of knowledge in its various branches. The later phases of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India are also met with in Java especially in Eastern Java. We may note in particular the adoption of Hindu gods in Buddhist Pantheon, the introduction of minor and miscellaneous divinities, of Tantric mode of worship etc.

Towards the middle of the 10th century the Śaiva princes who had been ousted from Central Java and had settled in Eastern Java, won back their lost territories from the Sailendras and there was a Śaivite revival in Central Java which, however, was soon abandoned. The scene now shifts to modern Java where it took some time for Buddhism to establish itself. The famous image of Prajñāpāramitā now in the Leiden Museum is ascribed to the second quarter of the 13th century to the reign of Ken Arok. To the middle of the 14th century belong the curious inscriptions of Ādityavarman, a prince of Sumatrā, who was a relation of a vassal to the Queen of Madjapahit, the centre of royalty in eastern Java. The language of these inscriptions clearly shows the prevalence of Tantric doctrine in Sumatrā and Java. After his death Ādityavarman was supposed to be identified with Avalokiteśvara. In this connection may also be mentioned the Tantric practices ascribed to Kretanāgara by Prapañcha. The Nāgar-kretāgama also refers to the Tantric chakra rites diligently carried out by Kretanāgara.

In the reign of Hyam Wuruk, there was a set of royal officials called Bhūjaṅgas or learned priests. They were Brahmanical as well as Buddhistic. The Nāgar-kretāgama gives a detailed account of the capital city, namely, Madjapahit. In the southern part of the city lived the Buddhists, the head

of the Saṅgha was Sthavira Rengkarnedi. Contemporary sources seem to point out that Buddhism flourished mostly in aristocratic circles ; this explains the large number of fine Buddhist shrines which arose during this period but the religion does not seem to have entered much into the life of the people. Javanese literature is Brahmanical. Buddhism could not make much headway in Bali, and though the religion still survives in the island, Hinduism is in the ascendant.

## YASNA HĀ XI.—HŌM YAŠT \*

By

ERVAD MANECK F. KANGA

(1) The three righteous (creatures), the ox, the horse and the haoma, openly utter imprecations.<sup>1</sup> The ox curses the Zaoatar :<sup>2</sup> 'mayest thou be childless and followed by disrepute, who dost not distribute me when cooked,<sup>3</sup> but thou makest me fatten for the belly<sup>4</sup> of the wife, or of the son or of thy own.'

(2) The horse curses the rider : 'mayest thou not bridle race-horses, mayest thou not mount race-horses, mayest thou not drive race-horses, who dost not demand (any feat of) strength from me in the much-attended festival<sup>5</sup> meeting of the country<sup>6</sup> thronged-with-men.'

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\* Chapters IX-XI of Yasna Literature, which comprise the Hōm Yašt are specially recited in preparing the Haoma as part of the sacrifice. The term Haoma which is the same as the Vedic word Soma, is used in a double sense in the Avesta. In the first place it is the name of a yazata occupying a definite place in the Avestan Pantheon. In the second place it is the name of a Plant of magical and healing properties used in the Yasna Ceremony. Now-a-days only a few dry twigs of the Plant are used by the Parsi priests for the purpose.

1. Āfrivacah-adj. lit. 'speaking benedictions'; here used euphemistically in the sense of "pronouncing curses, maledictions" (BARTHOLOMÆ ALTIRANISHES *Wörterbuch*, 331). The Pahlavi rendering āfrīn-gobishnih and Skr. version āśīrvacasā are both used here euphemistically and this is quite obvious from Pahlavi and Skr. glosses : "they pronounce curses". Cf. Pahl. "ku nafrīn kunand" and Skr. "kila śapaṁ kurvanti" respy. For Av. word āfri—meaning 'curse' see Sitzungsberichte der philosphilol. und historischen klasse der k. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München. 1868. 2. 536.

2. The chief priest entrusted with the recitation of the Gāthās; he conducts the religious ceremonies usually with seven subordinate priests called 'ratav's'. This name is a relic of an Aryan Age, for it is also found in the Veda, where it appears as Hotar. (*Air Wb.* 1653). He is the representative of the priestly class.

3. Adj. meaning 'cooked'. The Pahlavi version curiously translates it by Xr-āstak, Ir. hēr meaning "wealth, riches." This passage indicates that the custom of offering animal sacrifice to Hōm was prevalent in the period of the Later Avesta.

4. gen. sg. instead of dat. sg.

5. Av. pourumaiti. loc. sg. from pourumant—'having or containing many'; hence 'much-visited, attended' (BARTH. *Air Wb.* 901). The Pahlavi version curiously translates it by "vas mat ēstēnd" as though av. suffix maiti. is derived from √ gam—to come.

6. Av. Karshū-subs. fem. 'cultivated land, agricultural borough from √ karsh—to cultivate, to till (*Air. Wb.* 458). Pahlavi version incorrectly translates it by "kartār" meaning "doer, performer" as though the word is derived from √ kar—to perform. SPIEGEL reads karshyo and translates "family-circle." Ervad KANGA translates "a meeting, a thick crowd" (Dictionary p. 129).



(3) Haoma curses the partaker : 'mayest thou be childless and accompanied by infamy, who dost keep me, when I have been pressed, in custody, like a thief sentenced-to-death. I who (am) Haoma, the righteous, warding off death, am not one-sentenced-to-death.'

(4) The Holy Father Ahura Mazdā has assigned<sup>7</sup> to me, the Haoma, as a portion the cheek with the tongue and the left eye.

(5-6) Whoso deprives me of that portion viz. the cheek with the tongue and the left eye, or steals it or takes it away, which the Holy Ahura Mazdā gave me, never in this house will be born a priest, neither the warrior nor even the prosperity-bringing agriculturist ; but in this house will be born the Dahaka, mūraka as well as the varshna<sup>8</sup> of various sorts.

(7) Quickly cut off the portion of the ox for the most powerful Haoma. May Haoma not bind thee just as he bound the wicked Turanian Frangarasyan who was surrounded by iron in the middle third part of this earth.<sup>9</sup>

(8) Thereupon Zarathushtra spoke : 'Obeisance (be) unto Haoma, created by Mazdā ! Good is Haoma created by Mazdā ! Homage (be) unto Haoma !'

(9) When from us comes one, those which have come to us from you are two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine and ten.

(10) I dedicate to thee, O Righteous. Asha-increasing, Haoma ! this body which appears to me beautiful, for Haoma's energetic intoxication, for good life and for the possession of the highest claim. Mayest thou grant me, O righteous Haoma, warding off-death ! the heaven of the holy, bright and all-comfortable.

(11) At will and desire, Thou, O Ahura Mazdā, rulest over Thine own creations : at will, the waters, at will the trees and at will all the good

7. frērēnaot—Imperfect 3rd pers. sg. from √ ar—with fra-prefix = he assigned, he bestowed. (Air Wb. 185.) The Pahlavi rendering is franāft. from caus. inf. franāftan, "to go forth, to take a course". Av. word ar—has various meanings : (i) to move (ii) to grant, to allot & (iii) to stick. Here the Pahlavi translator has derived the av. word from the stem ar—to move.

8. The names of Dævaic Creatures ; they are the antitheses of the Ahurian priests, warriors and agriculturists. The Pahlavi translator translates the av. word dahakāca by "dakhshak-kāhēnītār" meaning "the diminisher of sign" and explains in the gloss "ke dakhshak i Ohrmazd bē kāhēnēt" i.e. "who diminishes the sign of Ohrmazd". I compare dahaka, subs. mas. with av. dahāka and translate "men of the type of azi-dahāka". The Pahlavi rendering of av. word mūrakacha is mūtak-kartār, meaning "making weak, destructive". This is further explained by the gloss thus : Chich tapāh bē kunēt i.e. he destroys everything. Of av. maodhano-kara in yas. IX. 32, where the Pahlavi translator translates "mūtak-kartār". Av maodhanō-kara (Air. Wb. 1109) means voluptuous, lascivious, preparing lust. The word mūtak is the Pahl. rendering of av. mrūrō "destructive" in Vend II. 22. Av word varshna—is curiously translated into Pahlavi by varzītār. See BARTH. Air. Wb. 704, 1189 and 1380.

9. Reference to the subterranean iron fortress of Afrāsīyāb, where he took shelter after being defeated by Kay Husrav. It is known in the Shāhnāmeḥ as Hang-i Afrāsīyāb. Cf. Ābān Yašt. 41.

(creation), the seed of Asha. Make you (O Ahura Mazdā!) the righteous one powerful (but) the wicked without power.

(12) May the righteous (man) be ruling-at-will, but may the wicked be without-free-power, defeated, suppressed<sup>11</sup> and thrown-out from the creations of the Holy Spirit. (May he who) turned away<sup>12</sup> (from the Religion be) without-free-power.

(13) Even I who am Zarathushtra, shall incite the leaders of the houses, villages, countries and provinces to think in confirmity with, to speak in conformity with and to act in conformity with this Religion, which is of Ahura, revealed by Zarathushtra.<sup>13</sup>

(14) I pray for affluence and ease to the world of the righteous, and distress and difficulty to that of the wicked.

(15) I praise good thoughts, good works, and good deeds through thought, through word and through deed. I hold fast all good thoughts, good words and good deeds. I renounce all evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds. I dedicate unto you, O Holy Immortals, worship and praise, with thought, with word, with deed, with the impulse of the soul, with the very life of my body. I praise righteousness.<sup>14</sup>

10. Av. havanghva, sub. n. "good life, blessedness" which is translated into Pahlavi by hu-okh vih. This is further explained by the commentator in yas. Hā LXII. 6. 17. as nēvak-dilīh pa+chyān vitarg. Vendidad Fargard XVIII. 6 adds a gloss to this word thus: tak-dilīh pa+chyān vitarg, meaning "courage on the Chinvat Bridge." Dr. DHALLA reads vindagarīh "acquisition" which is wrong. From a comparison of these glosses it follows that the word nēvak-dilīh and tag-dilīh are one and the same.

11. Hamistō. BARTH. (*Air. Wb.* 1778) takes it as perf. part. pass. of ham + √ maēd and translates "thrown down" "defeated". In Pahlavi version of Hōshbām it is translated by "hamistārīh" antagonism, opposition. (DHABHAR khurtak Avistāk p. 13.)

12. Vare tō (var. varatō) nom. sg. of vare ta, adj. "captive, captured, taken, driven away as booty. BARTHOLOMÆ translates "surrounded, i.e. deprived of free movement", deriving it from the stem var—to surround. Pahlavi. pa vartakīh.

13. Sections 11-13 occur in the hymn Hōshbām-prayer which is addressed to the Dawn, in Yasna Hā VIII. 5-7, Hā LII. 5-7, LXVIII. 16-18. and LXXI. 26-28.

14. This section is known as "Frastuyē-prayer", which is written in the Gāthic style and dialect. Spiegel remarks that this section has nothing in common with this Hā, but that it forms a sort of prelude to the yasna Hā XII, which deals with the Confession of Faith of a Zoroastrian. Note that this Hā XII is also one of the pieces written in the Gāthic Dialect. We have the Pāzand version of this section with some additional glosses, which forms part of the first karda of the Patēt Pashēmāni.

## MISCELLANEA

### PRATYABHIJÑĀ AND ADVAITA

ABHINAVA'S MAHOPADEŚA-VIMŚATIKA AND ŚAṆKARA'S

NIRGUṆA-MĀNASA-PŪJĀ

After a critical examination of the *Paramārtha-sāra-saṅgraha* of Abhinavagupta in its relation to the Āryās of Śeṣa in NIA, 1. i. pp. 37-72, Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana SASTRI observes: "The conclusion reached here has a significance not confined to the *Paramārtha-sāra*. It is possible that more than one Pratyabhijñā work has derived from Advaita sources." One more Pratyabhijñā work of this nature, deriving, though in part, from an Advaitic minor work, is the minor poem of Abhinava called the *Mahopadeśa Vimśatika* edited by Dr. K. C. PANDEY at the end of his book on Abhinava, (pp. 407-408, Chowk. Series, Studies I). Of these twenty verses of Abhinava, the verses 13 to 18 forming the latter part of the poem are more or less completely taken from a minor poem ascribed to Śaṅkara called variously Nirguṇa-mānasa-pūjā, Ātma-pūjā, Parā-pūjā and so on.

This minor work of Śaṅkara is printed as *Nirguṇa-mānasa-pūjā* in volume 18 of the Complete Works of Śaṅkara of the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, but in this text there are a few omissions. The two Stotra Collections of the Gujarati News Press of Bombay give this work as *Nirguṇa-mānasa-pūjā* and the texts here are full. (*Bṛhat-stotra-ratna-hāra*, part 2, pp. 801-3 and *Bṛhat-stotra-muktāhāra*, part 2, pp. 424-427). The text comprises two parts, the first being the pupil's questions as to how one could do the ritual of worship in the case of the one, attributeless and all-comprehending Ātman, and the second part being the teacher's answers setting forth a scheme of 'ideal' worship. Abhinava takes the former question-part and incorporates it in his work with an introduction, a few elaborations and a brief finish, of his own. When we examine the mss of this work of Śaṅkara we find that it is available in a shorter version also containing the former question-part only, but with a verse or two at the end containing a brief reply or explanation. We also see that the name of the work varies with each ms almost.

In the Tanjore Descriptive Catalogue, No. 7400 is the same work, but called *Svātma-pūjā* and containing only the answer portion. This is the BURNELL Ms noted by AUFRECHT on p. 75lb. of his C.C., I. In the Descriptive Catalogues of the Madras Government Oriental Library, No. 8610 gives, like the Tanjore ms, only the latter answer-part but calls the work *Ātma-mānasika-pūjā*; No. 8611 in the same Catalogue represents a ms of the whole work with both the question-part and the answer-part, but the work is here named *Ātma-līṅgārcana*; the next number, 8612, in the same Catalogue, contains only the former part of question and is described in the colophon as *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-mānasa-pūjā (vidhi)*, and this last is the same ms as noted by AUFRECHT in C.C., III. p. 52b, Śg. I. 112. In the Triennial Catalogues of the same Madras Library there are two more mss, Nos. R. 1419 (n) and 1419 (o). These two texts contain only the answer-part with a few lines at the end by way of answer. The former of these two mss is called *Ātma-pūjā* and the latter *Nirguṇa-ṣṭaka-pūjā*. The readings of these two mss agree with those known to Abhinava; and the concluding verse of the latter, R. 1419 (o), seems to be the germ out of which the first 12 verses of Abhinava's *Mahopadeśa-vimśatika* have grown. We have the same work of Śaṅkara in the *Ātma-līṅga-pūjā-paddhati* in HALL, p. 132.

The 7th verse in the text in ms R. 1419 (n) describes this worship as 'Parā

pūjā', and this expression is retained by Abhinava in the last verse. In the *Bṛhat-stotra-ratnākara* of the N. S. Press and in the first part of one of the Stotra Collections of the Gujarati Press, this shorter version is printed with the title *Parā-pūjā*. AUFRECHT notes also a ms. of this work with the name *Parā-pūjā*. (B. iv. 68. C. C. I, 327a).

I give below the correspondences between the latter part of Abhinava's *Mahopadeśa-vimśatika* and the former part of the *Nirguṇa-mānasa-pūjā* of Śaṅkara, showing also the differences which are only slight.

MAHOPADEŚA-VIMŚATIKA	NIRGUṆA-MĀNASA-PŪJĀ
अरूपस्य कुतो ध्यानं 12c. } निर्गुणस्य च नाम किम् 12d. } पुर्णस्यावाहनं कुत्र 13a. सर्वाधारस्य चासनम् 13b. स्वच्छस्य पाद्यमर्घ्यं च 13c. शुद्धस्याचमनं कुतः 13d. निर्मलस्य कुतस्तानम् 14a. वस्त्रं विश्वोदरस्य च 14b. निर्लेपस्य कुतो गन्धः 14c. रम्यस्याभरणं कुतः 14d.	Additions of Abhinava.  same 2a. same 2b. same 2c. same 2d. same 3a. वासो विश्वोदरस्य 3b. same 4a. same 4b in Madras ms. R. 1419 (o); same in R. 1419(n) but 3d here. In the printed texts we read as 4c-d: निर्विशेषस्य का भूषा कोऽलंकारो निराकृतेः । same 4c in R. 1419 (o) and same 3c in R. 1419 (n). but in the printed text we have 3c-d: अगोत्रस्य त्ववर्णस्य कुतस्तस्योपवीतकम् । same 4d in R. 1419 (o); 4b in R. 1419 (n). 4b in printed texts: अघ्राणस्य कुतो धूपः 5a in R. 1419 (o). निर्गन्धस्य कुतो धूपः 4c in R. 1419 (n). निरञ्जनस्य किं धूपैः 5a in printed texts. चक्षुर्हीनस्य दीपकम् 5b in R. 1419 (o). स्वप्रकाशस्य दीपकम् 4d in R. 1419 (n). दीपैर्वा सर्वसाक्षिणः 5b in printed texts. same 5c-d in R. 1419 (o). नित्यतृप्तस्य नैवेद्यं निष्कामस्य फलं कुतः । तांबूलं च विभोः कुत्र 5a-b-c in R. 1419(n). निजानन्दैकतृप्तस्य नैवेद्यं किं भवेदिह । विश्वानन्दयितुस्तस्य किं तांबूलं प्रकल्पते ॥ 5c-d and 6a-b in printed texts. same 7a in R. 1419 (o). same 6c in R. 1419 (n).
निरालम्बस्योपवीतम् 15a.	
पुष्पं निर्वासनस्य च 15b.	
अप्राणस्य कुतो धूपः 15c.	
चक्षुर्हीनस्य दीपकः 15d.	
नित्यतृप्तस्य नैवेद्यम् } तांबूलं च कुतो विभोः } 16 a-b.	
प्रदक्षिणमनन्तस्य 16c.	

अद्वितीयस्य कुतो नतिः 16d.

स्वयं प्रकाशमानस्य  
कुतो नीराजनं विभोः } 17a-b.

वेदवानामवेदस्य  
कुतस्तोत्रं विधीयते । 17c-d.  
अन्तर्बहिश्च पूर्णस्य  
कथमुद्भासनं भवेत् । 18a-b.

भेदहीनस्य विश्वत्र  
कर्षं च हवनं भवेत् । 18c-d.  
पूर्णस्य दक्षिणा कुत्र 19a.

नित्यतृप्तस्य तर्पणम्  
नित्यर्जनं व्यापकस्य } 19b-c-d.  
अप्रत्यक्षस्य क्षमापणम् }

same 7c in printed texts.

same 7b in R. 1419 (o).

अद्वितीयस्य का नतिः 6d in R. 1419 (n).

same 7d in D. 8612.

प्रमाणोऽद्वयवस्तुनः 7d in printed texts.

same 6c-d in R. 1419 (o) but with भवेत्  
for विभोः

same 6a-b in R. 1419 (n) but with नीराज-  
नविधिः at the end.

स्वयंप्रकाशचिद्रूपः योऽसावर्कादिभासकः ।

गीयते श्रुतिभिस्तस्य नीराजनविधिः कुतः ॥

6c-d. 7a-b in printed texts.

same in printed texts; 8a-b.

same in R. 1419n; 7a-b.

same except for विभो in place of भवेत्  
in D. 8612.

अन्तर्बहिः संस्थितस्य चोद्भासनविधिः कुतः ।

8c-d in printed texts.

an addition of Abhinava.

लक्ष्मीनाथस्य दक्षिणा 6b in R. 1419 (o).

नित्यानन्दस्य दक्षिणा 5d in R. 1419 (n)

additions of Abhinava.

Madras

V. RAGHAVAN.

## THE UTTARA KĀŚĪ PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF GUHA.

This inscription was discovered at Uttara Kāśī in Tehri-Gharwal, by Paṇḍit Chiddure Maṭha Virabhadra ŚARMA of Secunderabad (Deccan), who took an impression of it and has published some preliminary notices.<sup>1</sup> The inscription is engraved on the *dhvaja stambha* before the temple of Siva at the Uttara Kāśī. The pillar is called a *Sakti stambha* in the inscription and was erected to commemorate the victories of the ruler Guha. The pillar is now called a *triśūla* and current legends assert that Siva's *triśūla* after the destruction of Tripurāsura, was established in this place.

The inscription is engraved in late Gupta characters of about the sixth century, but earlier than the Banskhera grants of Harṣa. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the florid Kāvya style of the record is reminiscent of the Allahabad inscription of Harihara and the Mehrauli inscription of Candraraja. The metres used

1 *Vibhūti*, 1939; *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, 1939.

are *Sardūla-vīkriḍita* and *Sragdharā*. The text begins with the symbol for *Om*. and ends with the letter *ṭha* (⊙).

#### Text.

*Om Āsīd yaḥ kṣitipo Gaṇeśvara iti prakhyāta kīrtīnaraiḥ  
Cakre yena Bhavasya veśma himavacchṛṅgōchhṛtam dīptimat |  
Kṛtvāṇun Vanajādhipaḥ svakṣapaṇaiḥ sāmāya bhāgya śriyam |  
Smṛtvā śakra suhṛttvam utsukamanā yātaḥ Sumērvālayam |  
Pratyastasya mahābhūjo vipuladṛk pinonnatōrasthaḥ |  
rūpa tyāga nayair ananḡa dhanada Vyāsāntīṭōdgataḥ |  
nāmnā Śrī Guha ityudāra caritaḥ saddharma dhuryas satām |  
śaktim śatrumānoratha pramathanim Sambhoś cakārāgrataḥ ||  
Prātaḥ prātar mayūkhair urubhīr aviralam śārvaram dhm ā(dhva) ntmōghnam  
nāluncan ścāru tārānikara parikarōdāra śārodaratvam |  
svambimbam ciltira bimbāmbara tala tilakam yāvadarkko vidhattē  
tāvat kīrtis sukīrtiś cīramarimathanasyāstu rājñāḥ sthīreyaḥ.*

#### Summary.

There was a ruler named Gaṇeśvara whose praises were sung by men and who erected the resplendant temple of Bhava, high as the peak of Himavat. This forest-ruler (*vanajādhipa*) considering all his wealth (including *amātya* etc.) as less than an atom and remembering the friendship of Indra, went to Sumeru with a cheerful mind. After him, his son, Guha by name, strong-armed, wide-eyed, broad-chested, who had surpassed Manmatha, Kubera and Vyāsa in good looks, charity and *naya* respectively, leading a gracious life and engaged in righteous activities, made this *śakti* (pillar) in front of Sambhu, to frustrate the ambition of the enemies. As long as the sun exists destroying darkness, like an ornament in the heavens, so long will remain the good fame of this king, who was the destroyer of his enemies.

This Gaṇeśvara, who was the ruler of the forests (unless *vanajādhipa* is a mistake for *manujādhipa*) may have been an *āṭavika rāja* as indicated in the inscription of Samudra Gupta.<sup>1</sup> As is well known Samudra Gupta is said to have uprooted the kings of Āryāvarta and to have been served by all the rulers of the forests.

*Rudradēva Matila Nāgadatta Candravarma  
Gaṇapatināga Nāgasēna-Acyutanandī Balavarma-  
ādyanēka Āryāvarta rāja prasabhōddharamōd-  
vṛtta prabhāva mahataḥ ; paricārikikṛta sar-  
vāṭavika rājasya . . . . .*

Gaṇapatināga however cannot be identified with Gaṇeśvara of the present inscription, though the names appear to be similar. The Allahabad inscription is far earlier and moreover Gaṇapati-nāga is a ruler of Āryāvarta and is distinguished from the *āṭavika rājas*. The present inscription does not mention the servitude of either Gaṇeśvara or Guha to any other paramount ruler. Gaṇapatināga's coins have been found at Narwar and Besnagar. K. P. JAYASWAL assigns him to c. 315-340 A.D. and says he is the author of the *Bhāva Sataka*.<sup>3</sup> But WINTERNITZ has rejected the reading *Gajavakra Śrī* and says that JAYASWAL's conjecture is baseless.<sup>4</sup>

The *āṭavika rājas* of the Allahabad inscription are usually taken to mean the forest-chiefs of the south. Dr. Roy CHAUDHURI points out that *Āṭavika* may be the equivalent of *Alavaka* (Ghazipur?) and the forest territory near Dabhāla. Sandhyākara Nandin in his *Rāma Carita* mentions Kōṭāṭavi. Rao Bahadur K. N.

2. C. I. I. III. Allahabad Inscription I. 19 ff.

3. *History of India* 150 to 300 A.D.

4. *I.H.Q.* March 1936.

DIKSHIT,<sup>5</sup> with reference to *Kōta Kulaja* of the Allahabad inscription mentions the find of Kōta coins in north-east Rajputana and Delhi, while RAPSON<sup>6</sup> mentions coins with the legend "Kota" near the Śrāvastī region. The connection with Kōtas of Nilagiris in the south seems to be far fetched. But in the Allahabad inscription the ātavika rājas are mentioned soon after the rulers of Uttarāpatha and before the southern rulers, implying that they belonged to the Himālayan regions. Therefore it may be conjectured that the ancestors of Gaṇeśvara may have paid tribute to the Guptas, but in the sixth century Gaṇeśvara seems to have thrown off the allegiance after the decline of the Gupta power.

Gaṇeśvara is said to have been the friend of Śakra. Yuwan-Chwang mentions one Buddha Gupta (*Fo-to-kio-to*) who was the son of Śakrāditya. Śakrāditya is identified by some scholars with Mahēndrāditya i.e. Kumāra Gupta I (413-456 A.C.). But the palaeography of the present inscription seems to prove the impossibility of the contemporaneity of the Gaṇeśvara and Kumāra Gupta I. Therefore the natural meaning of Śakra as Indra should be accepted.

Another point of interest is in the mention of Kubera and Vyāsa as well known for renunciation (*tyāga*) and *Naya*. Kubera as far as is known is a hoarder and not a dispenser of wealth. Vyāsa's proficiency in *naya* may refer to Vyāsa Smṛti, quoted by Aparārka and the *Smṛti Candrikā*.<sup>7</sup> But it is doubtful whether the Vyāsa Smṛti is so old and it is more probably a reference to the Rājanīti portions of the Mahābhārata.

Mysore.

S. SRIKANTHA SĀSTRĪ.

### VĀMADEVA-PĀD-ĀNUDHYĀTA

Verse 66 of the Malkāpuram inscription of Śaka 1183 (A.D. 1262) runs :—

अथ नृपशेखरमालालितपादोत्र वामशंभुभूत् ।

अद्यापि कलचुरीशा यच्चरणाराधकाः प्रशस्यन्ते ॥

The predecessor's predecessor of this Śaiva pontiff Vāmaśambhu was Sadbhāvaśambhu who founded the Golakī-maṭha in Ḍāhala at the time of Kalacuri Yuvarāja (I or II). Vāmaśambhu was therefore very probably a contemporary of Karṇa. Some early Cālukya grants, moreover, prove that a king was sometimes mentioned as *pādānudhyāta* of (or, by) his religious teacher. Considering all these facts, we thought that the identification of Vāmaśambhu with Vāmadeva of the passage *Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta* found in the inscriptions of Kalacuri Karṇa and his successors is now proved beyond doubt, in spite of the royal titles attributed to Vāmadeva. I tried to explain the significance of these titles in my paper in *IHQ*, IV, p. 96 ff, in which a few suggestions of Prof. H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI were also incorporated.

In *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of F. W. Thomas*, p. 152 ff., Prof. V. V. MIRASHI has offered a new suggestion regarding the problem. He refers to an inscription at Saugor, which is placed about the middle of the eighth century on grounds of palaeography. According to Prof. MIRASHI's reading, this epigraph refers to King Śaṅkaragaṇa who was *pādānudhyāta* of (or, by) VĀMARĀJADEVA (previously read by HIRALAL as Vāgharājadeva). This Vāmarājadeva has been identified by the Professor with Vāmadeva mentioned in the Benares grant (1042 A.D.) of Karṇa and several later Kalacuri inscriptions. It is however difficult

5. *Proc. First Oriental Conference ; Indian Museum Cat.* I. p. 258.

6. *JRAS.* 1898.

7. KANE, *History of Dharma Sāstra*, Vol. I.

to believe that Vāmarājadeva of the Saugor record was remembered *after full three centuries* by Karna and his successors who called themselves *Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta* in their records. We know of no such thing from the epigraphical literature of ancient India. This difficulty therefore has got to be explained. I am afraid, Prof. MIRASHI's suggestion cannot be accepted without further evidence.

Calcutta.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

## KOVIDĀNANDA WITH KĀDAMBINĪ OF ĀŚĀDHARA

Day by day the Ujjain Oriental Mss. Library is becoming a store-house of precious jems. Starting as an infant institution with only 676 MSS. in 1931, it has secured over 600 MSS. of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and other modern Indian languages. Recently it purchased a collection of MSS. from a local Pandit in which there are several unpublished works on literature and other sections of the Śāstras. The *Kovidānanda* is one of them. Notices of this work of Āśādhara are found in *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Theodore AUFRECHT and the published edition of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* by KANE but no reference to the existence of this work is found in any of the Oriental Libraries in India. From the information given in the works noted above, it appears that there were two authors of the same name. The first was a Jain author, his father and grandfather being Sallakṣṇa and Cāhaḍa respectively. He belonged to Vyāghreraṇāla varṇśa and compiled अष्टांगहृदयोद्योत, काव्यालंकारटीका, ग्रह-गणित etc. and his supposed time was about 1200 A.C. The author of the present work prepared कुवलयानन्दकारिका टीका, त्रिवेणिका and अद्वैतविवेक besides कोविदानन्द, and therefore appears to have flourished in the 17th century; for, Appaya Dikṣita's supposed time was between 1520 to 1592 A.D. (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, by KANE, p. 680).

The MS. is dated Śaka 1733, Kārtika, bright fortnight, Tuesday the 5th i.e. 1811 A.D., the 22nd, of October and is legibly written on Straw-paper in fine black ink by one Rama Kṛṣṇa Kadamba—the ancestor of the present holder Hari Śāstri KALAMAKA of Ujjain for his own use and is therefore 128 years old. It is only in 16 leaves and is of the size in 10"×4½". Half an inch space is left for margin. The text is written in the middle space of the page while the commentary is given on either sides of the text. Red pigment is used for marking the number of ślokaś, colophons, etc. There are no mistakes committed by the scribe. The Commentary mentions the following works and authors : वृत्तिवार्तिक, निरुक्त, विश्वकोश, अमरकोश, Pāṇini, शिशुपालवध, प्रातिशाख्य, कुमार संभव, कुवलयानन्द, वाक्यपदीय, महाभाष्य, शिवतत्त्वविवेक, कालिकापुराण, अभिधानचिन्तामणि, छांदोग्योपनिषत्, स्फोटवाद, व्यास, वामन. Quotations from unknown Smṛtis are also recorded. The language of the author's *Kādambinī* is easy to understand and is a good production of the text which only defines three powers of a word, viz. अभिधा, लक्षणा and व्यञ्जना. 'गंगायां घोषः' used generally as an example for indicating and suggesting the different meanings of powers by other authors, is altogether absent in this work and its place is taken up by a new similar example रेवायां उँकारलिङ्ग. The following is a table showing the number of Ślokaś of chapters :—

I.	अभिधा परिच्छेद	number of ślokaś	51
II.	लक्षणा	number of ślokaś	32
III.	व्यञ्जना	number of ślokaś	42



In this way there are altogether 125 verses. The Kārikās are easier than those appearing in other works such as काव्यप्रकाश or साहित्यदर्पण and the idea is expressed by the author commenting on the मंगलाचरण verse. The MS. begins thus :—

Com :—

श्रीमद्गणेशरामचंद्र गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीः ॥

प्रणम्य शंकरं सांबं कोविदानंदनामकं ।

ग्रंथं व्याख्यामि संक्षेपात्स्वकृतं बोधमिदमे ॥ १ ॥

अथात्र शब्दव्यापारसंशयविवृतिकामैः शिष्यैः प्रेरित आशाधरभट्टनामा कविः संक्षिप्तं युक्तियुक्तं कोविदानंदाख्यग्रंथं कुर्वन् शिवोत्कर्षरूपवस्तुनिर्देशात्मकं मंगलमाचरति ॥ त्रिनयनेति ।

Text :—

त्रिनयनलसत्पंचास्यश्रीः षडानननन्दनः

सततमहिमा सप्तर्ष्याद्यैः कृतस्तुतितोषितः ।

जयति जगतां व्याकुर्वाणो जयाकृति नामनी

पुनरपि दधत्कंटेकालः सकालकलोद्दिशतः ॥ १ ॥

प्राचां वाचां विचारेण शब्दव्यापारनिर्णयं ।

करोमि कोविदानंदं लक्ष्यलक्षणलक्षितं ॥ २ ॥

End of the text :—

शब्दब्रह्मविचारेण परंब्रह्मावगम्यते ।

शब्दवृत्तिविचारोयं कृतस्तस्माच्छिवप्रदः ॥ ४१ ॥

शिवस्य भक्त्या समवाप्तसिद्धि-

धीनीरधी रामजिभट्ट आसीत् ।

तत्सूनुनाशाधरभट्टनाम्ना

ग्रथः कृतोयं सुधियां मुदेस्तु ॥ ४२ ॥

इति तृतीयपरिच्छेदः ॥

End of the Com :—

शब्दब्रह्मेति । शिवप्रदः कल्याणदायकः यथाह भगवान्माध्यकारः । एकः शब्दः सम्यक्प्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे मर्त्ये च कामधुग्भवति ॥ ४१ ॥ अतः शिवशब्दो मंगलार्थः ॥ ४२ ॥

Colophon :—

इति श्रीपद्माक्षप्रमाणज्ञ रामजी भट्टात्मजाशाधर भट्ट विरचितायां कादंबिनी समाख्यायां स्वकृतकोविदानंदं व्याख्यायां व्यंजनापरिच्छेदस्तृतीयः ॥ ३ ॥ इदं पुस्तकं कदंब रामकृष्णेन शके १७३३ कार्ती [ ति ] क शुद्ध पंचम्यां भौमे जंबूसरसि लिखितं ॥ श्रीरामाय नमः ॥

There is a slight difference in the colophon for the word 'पारावारीण' is found added in the colophon given at the end of the MS कुवलयानन्द कारिकाव्याख्या by the same author (B. O. R. I., Poona, *Cat. of Alanikāra*, p. 176). The MS. is in a fine condition and deserves publication. The author gives no clue as regards his residence but the following verses in the text attributed in describing the present river Narmadā and its adjacent sacred temple of Sri Omkāreśvara clearly tell us that he

was a resident of that place which was somewhere near to it, i.e. in Nimar. These verses are given below :—

ॐकारलिङ्गं रेवायां शोणैरर्च्यं दिने दिने ।  
यतः प्रफुल्लः पद्मिन्यः तत्रेत्यादौ यथाक्रमं ॥  
प्रासादा संति रेवायां यष्टव्यः प्रविशति यत् ।  
प्रदोषे जनसंवाधे शंभावंभः क्षिपति च ॥  
रेवा वारीशालिगानि पुष्पिता यत्र पादपाः ।  
धन्यः स देश इत्यत्र पूजौत्सुक्यं प्रतीयते ॥

In the 15th verse of the last chapter the author definitely describes his inability of proceeding to Benares as a lone person and says that his last wishes can be fulfilled here at Omkārēśvara. The verse reads thus :—

एकाकिना मया काशी गंतुं शक्या कथं द्विजाः ।  
तदीयसहकारेच्छा सन्निधे रत्र गम्यते ॥

It can clearly be seen from the verse and others in Chapters I & II that he was a staunch devotee and lover of Śrī Śiva and Goddess Bhavānī.

Ujjain.

N. V. ATHALEY

## PURVĀCĀRYA SAMJÑĀS FOR LAKĀRAS

The ten Pāṇinean *Lakāras* are :

- (i) द series—लट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लेट्, लोट् ।
- (ii) ड् series—लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ् ।

These names appear to be *pāṇiny-upajñā*, but they were preceded by *samjñās* which perhaps had a better claim to express the tenses and moods they indicated. The earlier terms belonged to the category of *anvārtha-samjñās*. It is not a little significant that some of these should have been employed by Kātyāyana himself though the Pāṇinean terms were well-known to him. They were as follows :—

1. लट्=भवन्ती

Kātyāyana, III. 2. 123. 1 ; III. 2. 102. 4 ; III. 3. 133. 5.

Kātyāyana, II. 3. 1. 11.

Kaiyaṭa explaining III. 2. 123 says—भवन्तीति लटः पूर्वाचार्यसंज्ञा, and the same is repeated on III. 3. 133. 5 and II. 3. 1. 11.

2. लिट्=परोक्षा

Patañjali on I. 2. 18 quotes a *śloka-vārttika* in which the older *samjñā* is used.

3. लुट्=श्वस्तनी

Kātyāyana on III. 3. 15, has a *vārttika* in which the older term is employed :

परिदेवने श्वस्तनी भविष्यन्त्यर्थे । KIELHORN, Vol. II. p. 140.

4. लृट्=भविष्यन्ती

The *vārttika* quoted above uses this *samjñā* also.

5. लेट् — I am unable to trace its earlier equivalent in the writings of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. The Atharva Prātiśākhya edited by Pt. Visva Bandhu SASTRI, uses the term NAIGAMĪ (II. 3. 2) which is in all probability the name of *Leṭ*.

6. लोट्=प्रेषणी

This is also found in the Atharva Prātiśākhya in sūtra II. I. II and II. 3. 21.

7. लङ्=ह्यस्तनी

This *saṁjñā* is used in the Atharva Prātiśākhya in III. 2. 5. The distinction between *Śvastanī* and *Hyastanī* is brought out in the Pāṇinian system by a single word *anadyatana* as applied to *bhaviṣya* and *bhūta kālas*. Patañjali in one place (*ibid*, Vol. II. p. 57) distinguishing the three tenses (*kāla-viśeṣān*) uses the terms *adyatana*, *hyastana* and *śvastana*.

8. लिङ् — I have not yet traced the older *saṁjñās* for the *āṣiṣ* and *vidhi liṅs*.

9. लुङ्=प्रयतनी

This *saṁjñā* is used both in Kātyāyana, II. 4. 3. 2, III. 2. 102. 6, VI. 4. 114. 3 and in the Atharva Prātiśākhya, II. 2. 6. *Adyatani* is equivalent to *sāmānya-bhūta*. The *Udyota* remarks on II. 4. 3, 'प्रयतनीति लुङः संज्ञा', and this is supported in clearer terms by *Nyāsa*, 'लुङः पूर्वाचार्यप्रणीता एषा संज्ञा ।'

10. लृङ् — The *pūrvacārya* term for this mood is not yet available.

The prevalence of these terms in Kātyāyana shows his adherence to a tradition other than that of Pāṇini and perhaps older than the great grammarian. The lengthy discussions by Kātyāyana on the pivot of Pāṇini's sūtras frequently show that the Vārtikakāra did not confine himself strictly to the legitimate scope of the system with which he was primarily dealing.

Lucknow.

VĀSUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

## TOCHARIAN AND THE INVALIDITY OF THE SATEM-CENTUM HYPOTHESIS FORMING A PARALLEL TO THE HITTITE AND THE RATHAS-PATĪṢ HYPOTHESIS

In my paper, "Postulation of two probable degrees of abstraction in the primitive Indo-European tongue in the light of compound accentuation",<sup>1</sup> I have shown how unexpected and decisive confirmation for the theory of Holger PEDERSEN to explain the identity of the nominative and genitive singular forms of *-a*-stems of Hittite is furnished by my *Rāthas-pātīṣ*-hypothesis. I have also drawn attention to the fact that what seems to be an actual demonstration of this has been given by H. PEDERSEN in his recent work<sup>2</sup> which is in large part an argument against the Indo-Hittite hypothesis.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Thomas Commemoration Vol.* Bombay March, 1939, pp. 227-8.

2. H. PEDERSEN, *Hittitisch und die anderen Indo-Europäischen Sprachen*, 1938, Copenhagen, p. 26.

3. Cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language*, Vol. XIV, 1938, p. 290.

One interesting feature about my hypothesis is, whether we accept the Indo-Hittite hypothesis or not,<sup>4</sup> the proposal to interpret *Ráthas-páti-s* as containing the stem *rátha-* to which the genitive singular termination *-s* was added in pre-historic times most satisfactorily explains the curious phenomenon of *-a-* stems in the Hittite being identical both in the nominative and genitive singular.<sup>5</sup> The *-o-* declension in the primitive Indo-European has been hitherto supposed by all scholars to have the genitive singular in *-(i)o* or (In Italic, Lingurian, and Celtic) in *-i*.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless Holger PEDERSEN, always distinguished for his original and challenging ideas, has made an attractive suggestion<sup>7</sup> that the identity of the nominative and the genitive singular of the *-a-* stems may be an archaism in Hittite.<sup>8</sup> Until quite recently, E. H. STURTEVANT<sup>9</sup> was wavering between the theory of W. PEDERSEN (already referred to) and that of H. PEDERSEN. The value of my hypothesis lies in the fact that it gives an external proof from the old Indian to H. PEDERSEN's theory.

Here is a parallel to the question of Tocharian and *satem* -centum hypothesis. It was shown by MEILLET<sup>10</sup> that Tocharian cannot be assigned to the western group

4. This I have already hinted in my paper *Op. Cit.* p. 221, Footnote 2. BENVENISTE [*Origines de la formation des Noms en Indo-Européen I.* Paris 1935, pp. 100-8] establishes certain Hittite archaisms [cf. also E. H. STURTEVANT, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, 1933, p. 131. *Language*, Vol. 13, 1937, pp. 285-91, and also *Language* Vol. 9, 1933, pp. 1-11] which go to prove the Indo-Hittite hypothesis. In this connection it must be noted that Tocharian *ylār* 'way' the Lat. *iter* gen. *itineris* 'way, road' shows the original heteroclitic *n*-stem. WALTER PETERSEN, *Lan.* 15-1939, p. 75. [Contra BONFANTE, *Indo-Germanische Forschungen*, Vol. LII, p. 221. Benveniste himself does not seem to accept the Indo-Hittite hypothesis]. See E. H. STURTEVANT, *American Journal of Philology*, 1938, LIX, pp. 96-7.

5. For several theories regarding this question, see my paper *op. cit.* p. 228, footnote 1. In addition to them, it is interesting to note that E. H. STURTEVANT formerly advanced the theory that in the *a-* stems (originally *o-* stems) the ending might have represented original *eso* with loss of a final vowel, cf. *Language* pp. 30, 31, Vol. II, 1926. COUVREUR did not accept W. PETERSEN's theory of analogy with the genitive of *ā-* stems in I. E. *-ās*, cf. COUVREUR, *De hettitische h een bijdrage tot de studie van het Indo-Europaeische vacalisme* Bibliothèque du Muséon 5, Leuven, 1937, p. 211. E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language*, Vol. XIV, p. 75, 1938. WALTER PETERSEN, *Lang.*, IX, 1933, p. 24.

6. See LOUIS H. GRAY, on Indo European Noun-Declension especially of *-o-* and *-ā-* stems. *Language*, Vol. 8, 1932, p. 182. Cf. H. PEDERSEN, *Op. Cit.* p. 26.

7. See H. PEDERSEN, *Etudes Lituanienes*, Copenhagen, 1933, p. 23.

8. For instance, Hittite *atas at-at-as*. In this connection, it is interesting to note that there is a Hindustani word *attah* whose spelling is *ata* but whose pronunciation is *ah-tah*. Cf. Amarnath JHA, some Indian words in the Oxford English Dictionary: *The Kuppiswami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, p. 65.

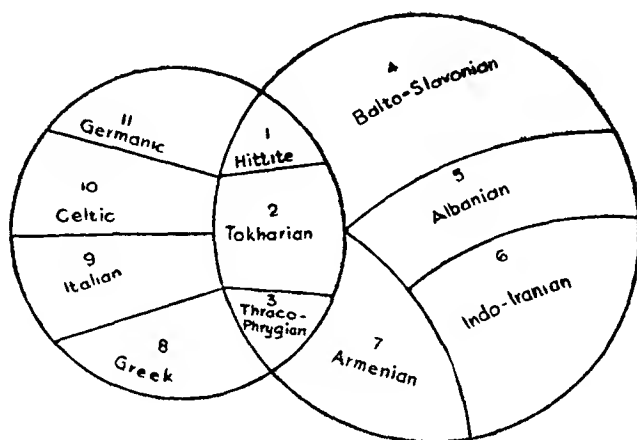
9. E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language*, Vol. XIV, p. 75.

10. MEILLET, *Indo-Germanische Jahrbuch*, Vol. I, pp. 14-17, 1914. OSTITIR joins to Thracophrygian the language of the ancestors of Scythians (Prescythian), which Herodotus mentions in book IV, chapter XI. The "Crimean" of "Crimea" preserves still perhaps the remnants [see OSTIR, *Illyro-Thrakisches Archiv za arbanasku starinu, jeziki etnologiju*, I, (Beograd, 1923), p. 133]. VASMER, *Die Iranier in Südrussland* (Veröff des balt und slav. Instit, III, Leipzig), p. 4. FEIST, *Kultur der Indo-Germanen*, p. 404. This hypothesis appears necessary because of Tokharian and Hittite. Sometimes Phrygothracian is assigned to the satem group and sometimes to the centum group according to the exigency of materials. See OSTIR, *Voridg, zahlw.*, p. 294, 290; E. HERMANN K. Z., 50, p. 307, 1922. J. POKORNY, *Die Stellung des Tocharischen im kreise der idg. Sprachen* in the *Ber. d. Forschunginst. f. Ost und Or. in Wien*, III, p. 24 ff. But in Tocharian and Hittite the change of *K*, > *k* is certain, and the preservation of *k*, uncertain. In Tocharian, the change of *k*, > *k* in all cases is convincing; for example idg. *G zen.*: A *Kakmu* "come, arrived" and A *Kam*, can easily be considered as a weak form;—idg. *pek*,: A *pakku* "cooked, done, dished" "B *pāk* "to cook" etc.; cf. also SCHRADER-NEHRING, *Reallexion*. "On ne se trompera sanadoute pas beaucoup en attribuant au tokharien une place intermédiaire entre l'italo-celtique d'une part, le slave et l'arménien d'autre" [MEILLET,

of languages. Tocharian does not seem to differentiate between the primitive Indo-European palatals and labio-velars. We find I. E.  $\hat{k}$  ( $c$ ) as  $-k$  in *kante* ('hundred'), *okt* ('eight').<sup>11</sup> In *Miço* ('urine') besides Gātha-Avestan *māzāiī*, ('he urinates')

*Indo Germanisches Jahrbuch*, 1, 1914, p. 17]. OSTIR's view nearly comes to this. Likewise in Hittite, the preservation of the labiovelar is at least uncertain and not ensured by the form *Kuw*—"who, which" which is ambiguous. See *Idg. Zahlw.*, p. 195.

## ISOGLOSSES.



- 1 + 2 + 3 : Central Indo-European (mere velars).  
 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 : Satem languages ( $K_0 > K$ ).  
 8 + 9 + 10 + 11 : Centum language ( $K_0 < K$ ).  
 1 + 2 + 3 + 9 + 10 : languages with ending  $r$ .  
 9 + 10 + 11 : languages with mixed preterite.  
 6 + 7 + 8 : languages with augment.

Cf. J. SCHRIJNEN, *MSL*, Vol. 23, p. 62.

11. For the theory postulating the existing of the quartel system in the primitive I.E. from the word for eight, cf. J. MCKENZIE, *The quartel system in I.E.* pp. 1-4. Leeds studies in English and Kindred languages, No. 6. 1937. J. MCKENZIE concludes 'the large number of elements both lexicocological and morphological, common to I.E. and Uralian' (i. e. Finno-Ugrian Plus Samoyede) forces us to conclude one of two things: either I.E. and Uralian are related or primitive Indo-European and primitive Uralian were in contact at an exceedingly early period. It is therefore highly significant that Samoyede presents an expression of '8' as '2×4' (thus identical with our postulated formation of I.E. *oktōu*) [on account of analogy with this, even the original *\*septm* has changed into *\*septm*. Cf. Hirt, *Handbuch der urgermanischen II*. Feil. 1932, p. 107, which is quite anomalous from the Uralian point of view." See J. MACKENZIE, *Ibid.* p. 4. Cf. B. COLLINDER, *Indo-Uralisches sprachgut*. A. S. C. ROSS, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, Vol. VIII, pp. 227-34. With regard to the theory of the Dravidic origin of the octaval system, cf. Mark COLLINS, *Dravidic Studies* No. 4, 1926, Univ. of Madras: Depuis longtemps on est convaincu que l' une des causes principales de l' altération de l' indo-européen primitif est le *substrat*, notamment en Europe qu'il s' est opéré fatalement un mélange de langue et de cultures. D' autre part, sans vouloir même parler de "œuvre sans doute géniale, mais renfermant trop de conclusions prématurées de M. Trombetti, des Savants, opérant d' après les méthodes les plus sévères voire même scrupuleuses, ont cru pouvoir rattacher à l' indo-européen les langues finno-ougriennes (avec le Samoyède) [Wiklund, Paasonen, Jokl], de même que le chamito-sémitique, peut-être avec plus de probabilité encore (Herm. MÖLLER, *Semitisch und Indo-Germanisch Konsonanten Teil I*. Copenhagen, 1907. Die gemein-indo-germanisch-semitischen

*palcalñe* ('a burning') besides Avestan *brāzaiti* ('it shines') and Greek *phlēgō* ('I burn'), there is secondly assibilation before original front vowels *ç*. Likewise in *pinkte* ('fifth') and in derivative of the relative-interrogative pronoun such as *kupre* ('if') and *kwri* ('when'), the *k* is from the primitive Indo-European *q\** (*k\**).

In *kaknu* is to be traced the perfect reduplication *g<sup>w</sup> em* (*g<sup>w</sup> em*) of the primitive Indo-European root *g<sup>w</sup>* (*g<sup>w</sup>*). There is secondary assibilation of I.E. *q<sup>w</sup>* (*k<sup>w</sup>*) in *piç piş* ('five'), *çem* ('he has come') etc. The I. E. labiovelar and the original palatal came to be respectively represented by a sibilant and a stop sound in *paçka* ('fifty') besides Sanskrit *pañcāśat* and Greek *pentēkon* Tocharian being neither *satem*- nor the *centum*-language, MEILLET's suggestion is that it probably lies between the two.<sup>12</sup> "Like a very deep furrow there runs through the Indo-Germanic Linguistic stock a dividing line, broken into capriciously by secondary shiftings, between the centum and satem languages. These shiftings have brought it about that we can no longer separate centum and satem from each other by a single line, as even centuries ago there were already centum languages in the satem area, and even further afield. . . . . However much stress we lay upon the division into centum and satem languages, there are still other considerations which open for us still deeper perspectives, still wider vistas. Through the whole of the Indo-Germanic mother language, cutting across both centum and satem there runs another, older, much more sharply defined line of division, which proves that the Indo-Germanic mother language itself was already a mixed language."<sup>13</sup>

Worttypen der zwei- und drei konsonantigen Wurzel und die indogermanisch-semitischen, Vokalischen Entsprechungen *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLII, 1909, pp. 174-91. *Indoeuropaisk-semitiske Sammenlignende Glossarium*: Holger PEDERSEN Die idg-semitische Hypothese und die idg. Lautlehre. *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Vol. 22, 1908, pp. 341-65. A Cuny, *Études Prégrammaticales sur le Domaine des Indo-Européennes et Chamito-Sémitiques*, Paris, 1924; *Contribution à la Phonétique comparée de l' Indo-Européen et du Chamito-Sémitique*, BSL, 32, 1931, pp. 29-53.] J. SCHRIJNEN, L' Alarodien et l' accent D' intensité initial dans le langues Indo-Européennes. *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, Vol. 24, p. 53. For the existence of *Vigesimal system* in Albanian, Etruscan, Basque and then in Sumerian [especially in Etruscan, see OSTIR, *Vorindogermanische (= alarodische) Zählwörter auf dem Balkan II*. [Archiv. III, Beograd, 1926, p. 144]. On the Vigesimal system in India, see PRZYLUSKI, *Roznik Orientalistyczny* IV, 230g. Also O. STEIN, The Numeral 18. *The Poona Orientalist*, Volume I. 1936, p. 36 and f. n. 4. The predilections for the number 18 in the Indian literature may be due to compromise between the decimal and the octaval system. See Collins, *ibid.* p. 20. See also P. B. Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 13-14. Cf. "counting by twenties is still current amongst some lower castes of Bengal." *ibid.* p. 16, f.n. "Some philolog" . . . . . Taylor and Kossinna, in fact believe that the Indo-European and . . . families are sprung from a common agglutinating stock. It is in any way certain that the Winno-Vgrians borrowed many words from many Indo-European languages, beginning possibly (but not probably) with primitive Aryan and then assimilating Indo-Iranian, Slavonic and Teutonic vocables." CHILDE, *The Aryans*, p. 68. In Tocharian we have *okāt* 'eight' beside *okta-*, *spāt* 'seven' beside *šapta-*. The dropping of the unstable vowel *ā* is clearly seen in —*māt*—of 1 pl. pres. *sika—mt—ār* which with the pret. *Kālpā-māt* gives good evidence of the detachability of *r*-endings in Tocharian, the endings with *r* being used in the present while those without *r* being used in the preterite or imperfect. Cf. Walter PETERSEN, Hittite and Tocharian. *Language*, Vol. IX, 1933, p. 14. *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 53, p. 209, f.n. 33, 1932. See also SIEG, SIEGLING and SCHULZE, *Toch. Gram.*, pp. 325, ff. and Walter PETERSEN, The Personal endings of the middle voice. *Language*, Vol. 12, 1936, p. 158.

12. E. H. STURTEVANT, Position of Hittite among Indo-European languages. *Language* Vol. 2. 1926. p. 28.

13. C. C. UHLENBECK, *The Indogermanic Mother language and mother tribes complex*, American Anthropologist Vol. 39, 1937. pp. 385-386. C. C. UHLENBECK thinks that the Indo-European Mother language was composed of two complexes of elements A and B. It is still an open question whether the correlation between

SOMMER<sup>14</sup> has demonstrated that the intractable language Venetic retained the palatals as stop sounds and that in it there was no trace of a labialization of the velars. The Indo-European enclitic *q<sup>w</sup>e* appears as Venetic *ke*.<sup>15</sup> SOMMER suggests that it might have lost the labialization on account of its lack of accent (see SOMMER, *Ibid.* p. 122). But E. H. STURTEVANT has shown that it is probable that Venetic *Ke* represents the regular treatment of the Velars in that language. His arguments are as follows :—Both Messapian and Albanian are without trace of the labialization of the Velars. Messapian of southern Italy is an off-shoot of Illyrian, and Albanian possibly descended from Illyrian. Herodotus, 1, 196, included the Venetic among the Illyrii, and their personal names correspond closely with those of Illyrii.<sup>16</sup> How the Veneto-Illyrian and Hittite and Tocharian invalidate the *Centum-satem* hypothesis has been demonstrated conclusively by E. H. STURTEVANT.<sup>17</sup>

the A complex and Centum languages can be definitely established. But "The Uralian character of the A-complex and mesocephaly of the centum speakers stands unchallenged." Cf. C. C. UHLENBECK, *Ibid.* p. 393. Cf. also C. C. UHLENBECK, der-Indogermaneschen der Indogermanen in *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde*, Amsterdam, 1935, Vol. 77, Series A No. 4. "As a matter of fact, it is possible to demonstrate that between A and centum there exists an anthropological affinity, which is lacking between A and satem or between B and centum" C. C. UHLENBECK, *ibid.*, p. 389. In this connection, it may be necessary if only in passing, to call attention to yet another problem. According to MEILLET [Essai De chronologie des Langues Indo-Européennes. La Théorie du féminin, pp. 1-28 (exp. p. 11). *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, Vol. 32, 1931. "En hittite, au 1<sup>er</sup> opposition de l animé et du neutre (inanimé) est nettement marquée, par les monyons qu'emploie l' Indo-Européen commun, on n' a pass, jusqu' ici, trouvé trace d une caractéristique du féminin. Étant donné la conservation générale des anciennes former nominales, il est difficile de croire que le hittite représente ici un état de langue où les caractéristiques du féminin auraient été déjà pleinement développées"], feminine gender is a relatively late development in the Indo-European. UHLENBECK does not subscribe to this view. As he says, NIEUWENHUIS' attempt to explain the origin of grammatical differentiation of the sexes on the basis of primeval sexual-totemistic conceptions deserves serious considerations, if only in view of the possibilities which it opens up. UHLENBECK further thinks that the classification of nouns in the PIE should have been derived from the B language [C. C. UHLENBECK, *ibid.* pp. 388-9.] Holger PEDERSEN [*Hittitisch und die anderen Indo-Europäischen Sprachen*, Copenhagen, 1938, pp. 13-18, 35 f. See E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language*, Vol. 14, 1938, p. 290] also does not subscribe to MEILLET's theory that the lack of the feminine gender is an archaic feature of Hittite. He seeks with ample justification traces of the former presence of this gender in Hittite. So it is certain that in the PIE if not in the Proto-Indo-Hittite, the feminine gender should have existed.

14. *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Vol. 42, pp. 90-182, 1934.

15. See SOMMER, *ibid.*, p. 122.

16. See KRETSCHMER, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* 270 f. 1896. *Idg. Sprachwissenschaft*, 10-22, 54, 1925.

17. See *Language*, 1926, Vol. II, p. 128. There is a considerable dispute over the question whether Messapic is a *centum*-language or a *satem*-language. Usually it is assumed that Albanian (a *satem*-language) is a modern representative of an ancient Illyrian dialect and very often Messapic is compared with Albanian. But there is no doubt that the IE palatal stops were not represented by sibilants in Illyrian. [See H. HIRT, *Indo-Germanen*, Vol. II, 1907, p. 609, and 'Stellung des Illyrischen' in *Festschrift für Kiepert*, 181 ff. 1894. Here Hirt criticises Kretschmer's view]. In view of the fact that in Messapic, there is nothing corresponding to the labiovelars of the *centum*-languages, [Latin *quinque*, Greek *pemptos*, Albanian *peseë*, representing the IE velar stops (*penkue*)] it is possible to surmise that the palatals in Messapic might have been accorded the same treatment as in the *satem*-languages. Suggestion has also been made that venetic belongs to a stratum of IE speech earlier than the cleavage into *centum*- and *satem*-dialects, on the high degree of probability of non-labialisation of the velars and non-sibilisation of the palatals in venetic [cf. CONWAO, *Annual Brit. Sch. et Athens*, 8.152, 1901-2]. Accepting this view, Albanian may be taken as a descendant of an Illyrian *satem*-dialect belonging perhaps to a later stratum of Indo-European speech. However, there are other explanations. [Cf. GILES in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* 2.26] J. Whatnough, on the phonology of the Messapic dialect

Now the *Centum-Satem* hypothesis can be invalidated purely through the method of reconstruction of the primitive Aryan. Leonard BLOOMFIELD has demonstrated<sup>18</sup> that the Indo-European palatals came to be represented by stop sounds in the earliest Sanskrit for instance I.E.  $\hat{g}$  ( $j$ ) appears in Sanskrit as  $j$ .<sup>19</sup> COLLITS<sup>20</sup> advances the argument that the Indo-European  $\hat{g}$  ( $j$ ) must have suffered some change before the Aryan change of  $g^w$  ( $g^w$ ) to  $g^l$  ( $j$ ) before  $e$  and  $i$ .

But this can be explained away by the assumption that the original  $\hat{g}$  ( $j$ ) and  $g^w$  ( $g^w$ ) before  $e$  and  $i$  were distinguished during the Aryan period by pronouncing the former further forward in the mouth than the latter. Thus the primitive Aryan seems to be a *centum* language as far as the treatment of the inherited palatals go. Since in regard to velars, it is a *satem*-language, therefore BRUGMANN's argument<sup>21</sup> that the classification of the I. E. languages according to the treatment of the palatals agrees with their classification according to the treatment of the labio-velars, falls to the ground.<sup>22</sup> In other words, the reconstructed primitive Aryan itself invalidated the *centum-satem* hypothesis. Thus we have seen that even as the invalidity of the *satem-centum* hypothesis established purely through the method of reconstruction of the primitive Aryan alone gets confirmed by independent facts in Tocharian (in Veneto-Illyrian and Hittite as well), the *râthas-pâtis*-hypothesis is also verified by the unique phenomenon presented by the Hittite *-a*-stems where the nominative and genitive singular are identical, which is undoubtedly a feature of the oldest phase of the primitive Indo-European, if not of the proto-Indo-Hittite tongue.

Madras.

C. R. SANKARAN.

#### ADDENDUM.

There can be no doubt that Hittite and Tocharian have retained old characteristics of the PIE. This is attested by the existence of the labiovelar in these two languages as against the loss of the labialization in adjoining territory. Evidence of the past existence of the labiovelars is thus undoubtedly furnished [cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language*, 6.224]. The palatal stops were developed from the older velars of the PIE, in the *satem*-languages which gave up also the labial element of the labiovelars of the PIE [cf. paper, *NIA*, Vol. I. 1939, p. 632]. H. HIRT came to the conclusion [H. HIRT, *Zur lösung der gutturalfrage im Indo-Germanischen. Bezenberger's Beiträge*, 24, 218 ff. 1899, *Idg. Gram.* I. 233 ff.] that the palatal stops in the IE were secondary developments from the original velars. "We have only to assume that this change did not reach as far as the *centum*-languages of the West or as Hittite and Tocharian in the East. It was of central origin and failed to penetrate a large part of the IE territory in the one direction and comparatively small part in the other." [Cf. Walter PETERSEN, Hittite and Tocharian, *Language*, Vol. IX, 1933, pp. 12-3]. As regards the Indo-European labiovelars and palatals, both Hittite and Tocharian reflect an older state of affairs. It must be here remembered that J. KURYLOWICZ [*Études indoeuropéennes* I, 1935, Ch. I] advances cogent arguments for establishing definite conditions under which labialized velars must have occurred in the prehistory of the *centum* languages, but his thesis that the labialized velars arose quite independently in the *centum* languages very late does not seem to be tenable and

*Language*, Vol. III, 1897, p. 26. [Compare also A. Mayer, *Der Satem charakter des Illyrischen. Glotta* XXIV, 161 ff. and also *Illyrisches K. Z.* 66, 1939, p. 100].

18. *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 36-57, 1911.

19. See my paper, *The New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, p. 632, 1939, E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language* II, pp. 26-27, 1926.

20. *Bezenberger's Beiträge zur kunde der Indogermanischen sprachen*, Vol. III, p. 179. 1879.

21. BRUGMANN, K. V. G. 44.

22. See E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language* II, p. 27, 1926.



sound and it is a matter least susceptible of proof. [Cf. J. Whatmough, the development of Indo-European labiovelars with special reference to the dialects of ancient Italy. *Mélanges Linguistiques offerts à M. Holger Pedersen*. Aarhus 1937, p. 47.] It is not easy to agree with Kurylowicz [*op. cit.* pp. 22-23] that the earliest phase of the primitive Indo-European had only palatals and pure velars and that it is even inadmissible to put on the same chronology the problem of labiovelar series with those of the palatal series. [See also E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language*, 12, 1936, p. 141]. The identical treatment of IE explosives leaves us in no doubt as to the question of the early separation of Tocharian and Hittite from the parent language which must have taken place in common. [Cf. Walter PETERSEN, *ibid.* pp. 25-6].

Poona,

C. R. SANKARAN.

## REVIEWS

*The Silappadikāram* or *The Lay of the Anklet*, translated with an Introduction and Notes by V. R. Ramachandra DIKSHITAR, with a Foreword by Jules BLOCH. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1939, Royal 8-vo, XI + 392. Price Rs. 15/-.

As Prof. Jules BLOCH mentions in his Foreword this translation of a Tamil classic serves two purposes : it brings to scholars not familiar with Tamil its literary excellences in a readable form ; it lays before historians source material which would otherwise be inaccessible to non-Tamil scholars. It is based on the edition of *Silappadikāram* by Mm. Dr. V. Swaminatha AIYAR.

The Sangam period in Tamil Literature is its Augustan age and Prof. DIKSHITAR demonstrates beyond doubt that the *Sil.* takes its legitimate place among the extant Sangam works and his own researches have shown its importance to the historians of South India. It also represents in a way the earlier musical and dramatic pieces which have been lost beyond recovery. The approximate period of its composition is assigned as the second century A.D. by Prof. DIKSHITAR.

In his learned introduction the translator deals with such topics as the story in the work, the place of *Sil.* in Sangam works, the date of *Ceran̄ Senguttuvan̄* and his achievements, an estimate of his character, *Karikāla* in the *Sil.*, political conditions in Northern India of the period, and of South India, some features of the administration, geographical and religious data, social conditions, superstitions, traces of Aryan culture, etc. It is worthy of the scholar whose contributions to South Indian History are of outstanding merit.

As a piece of literature, as a romance, as a source book for history and sociology, the *Sil.* ranks among the best works produced in early India, and all historians and sociologists should be thankful to Prof. DIKSHITAR for his successful translation of this Sangam masterpiece, presented in beautiful print. For a work printed in India it is remarkably free from misprints and very excellently produced.

S. M. K.

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*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, 1781—1785, 1938, Price 15-2-0.

The Imperial Record Department of the Government of India have recently issued the 6th volume of a very useful series of historical Correspondence known as the Persian Calendars, which contain an English summary of the vast amount of Persian letters that passed between the Company's officials in India and the numerous Indian powers. This Persian Correspondence gives a graphic inside picture of Indian politics and very materially supplements the historical information in numerous English papers already published by FORREST and other writers. This series commences with the year 1759, of which five volumes were already out and which had brought the story upto the year 1780. The present volume comprises an account of the transactions of the next five years, the culminating period of Warren Hastings' regime. A short introduction to the volume reviews the important events of this period and will be found suggestive and helpful by the reader in following the contents with interest and ease.

These five years cover the second half of Warren Hastings' administration and possess an absorbing interest in Indian history as they practically ensured the

establishment of British rule in India. The volume contains more than sixteen hundred (1600) letters that passed between the Governor General or his subordinates on the one hand, and the various Indian potentates and chiefs, such as the Emperor of Delhi and his agents, the Nawabs of Oudh, Bengal, Karnatak and Hyderabad, the Rajas of Benares and Nagpur etc. on the other. There are also many news-letters that came to the Government of the Company from the various Indian Courts. The work, it is understood, is to be continued to the end of the 18th century. When completed, it will indeed render a phenomenal service to Indian history.

Books of this kind are not expected to interest the general reader ; they will be required mostly by the student-class in the higher grades of Universities. Thus their sale is likely to be very limited, particularly as the prices are rather prohibitive. Will not Government offer these Calendars to genuine students at some concession rates ? If they do so, they will indeed earn the lasting gratitude of the poor Indian student.

G. S. SARDESAI.

# NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA : THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION

By

V. M. APTE, Poona.

## Introductory.

This study is an investigation into the *sources and interpretation* of all the mantras other than those taken from the ṚgVeda, liturgically employed in the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra which belongs to the ṚgVeda. The connotation of the term *Mantra* is here extended so as to comprise all kinds of liturgical formulas viz. mantras from Saṁhitās other than the Ṛg-Veda, passages from the Brāhmaṇas, *Yajus*, *Praśas*, *gāthās* etc.

Only a very small number of such mantras have been traced to their *sources* in Professor STENZLER'S edition of the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra in the 'Indische Hausregeln, Leipzig 1864' (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft III Band No. 4) and the translation of the work by Professor OLDENBERG in the Sacred Books of the East, Vol.

Sources. XXIX. In the other editions of the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra viz. the one with the commentary of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa in the Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta 1869), another with a translation in Marathi by LOKAHITAVADI, Bombay 1880, a third with the commentary of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, the Grhyapariśiṣṭam and Grhyakārikās (second edition by Bhavanishankar SUKHTANKAR, Bombay 1909), a fourth one with a Marathi translation by Nana Yadava TAKLE, (2nd edition by Mahadeo Gangadhar BAKRE, Bombay 1915) and the fifth with the commentary of Haradattācārya edited by T. Ganapati SASTRI, in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. LXXVIII 1923, not even an attempt is made to trace such mantras to their sources.

The Āśvalāyana-grhya-mantra-Vyākhyā edited by K. Sāmbaśiva ŚĀSTRĪ in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. CXXXVIII (Śrī Citrodayamañjarī No. XXVII) 1938, is a Sanskrit commentary on the mantras employed in the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra by Śrī Haradattamiśra and it was expected that it would throw some light on the sources of obscure and untraced mantras. But as regards 'sources' the commentator quotes Śaunaka :—

“ Anukṛṣṭastu yaḥ kaścit kalpe'tha brāhmaṇe'pivā |  
mantraḥ padyo'thavā gadyo Vāmadevyam nibodhata || ”

[Whenever a yajus is cited in Kalpa or a Brāhmaṇa text, Vāmadeva is to be taken as the Ṛṣi or author thereof]. A number of early Vedic texts have been published since (i.e. in the period of time following the editions of Professors

STENZLER and OLDENBERG, to date) and more aids in the form of concordances, indexes etc. are now available. I am, therefore, in a position to make the humble claim in the following pages that nearly every non-RgVedic Mantra cited in the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra has been traced as a whole or in parts to some definite early source. This problem, I regret to say, has not received the attention it deserves from scholars because in the many excellent editions of Gṛhya Sūtras that have been published till now, the matter has but rarely been taken up with any zeal. This is all the more regrettable in view of the fact that after allowing for mantra variations in the different Vedic Schools we find a fair residuum of Gṛhya mantras common to nearly all the extant Gṛhya Sūtras and that therefore a very thorough-going attempt in connection with one Gṛhya Sūtra would have helped similar attempts in connection with other Gṛhya Sūtras. To take but one instance, in the very scholarly edition of the Vārāha-Gṛhya-Sūtra by Dr. RAGHU VĪRA (published by the University of the Punjab, 1932), Appendix II gives a mantra index in which "Such of the mantras as are not to be found in the Vedic Concordance or as show some variations therefrom are marked with an asterisk" (p. 54), but the problem is taken up no further, probably because it was not part of the original scheme. A number of mantras marked thus in that edition whose variants are employed in ĀG.\* I. 7. 3, 6 & 13 ; I. 17. 6 & 7 ; I. 21. 1 ; I. 24. 32 etc. have been traced to their sources in the following pages.

In view of this almost general neglect of the valuable mantra-material (non-RgVedic, I mean) in the Gṛhya Sūtras, a few exceptions being the edition of the 'Mantrapāṭha', by Dr. WINTERNITZ, the edition of the Jaiminīya Gṛhya-Sūtra by Dr. CALAND and that of the Vārāha Gṛhya-Sūtra by Dr. RAGHU VĪRA, a special study of such mantras in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra is attempted in this paper, with respect to their interpretation and especially their *sources* in earlier Vedic literature.

The term 'sources' has been used here *in a special sense*. In the matter of the liturgical employment of Mantras, *a Vedic school did not regard as inviolable or unalterable, the text of a mantra which was not taken from the Samhitā to which it belonged!* A large number of such formulas, besides, belonged to the common stock of Gṛhya tradition and was drawn upon by the different Gṛhya texts and all possible variations of what virtually is the same mantra, are found in these texts. Compare for example the formula 'imam aśmānam āroha' etc. quoted in ĀG. I. 7. 7 and the different versions of this same formula in ŚG. I. 13. 12 ; PG. I. 7. 1 ; ĀPMB. 1. 5. 1 and HG. I. 4. 1.

ĀG. I. 7. 7. :— परिणीय परिणीयाश्मानमारोहयति " इमश्मानमारोहामेव त्वं स्थिरा भव । सहस्व वृतनायतोऽभितिष्ठ वृतन्यतः " इति । ७ ।

ŚG. I. 13. 12 :— " एहश्मानमातिष्ठामेव त्वं स्थिरा भव । अभि तिष्ठ वृतन्यतः सहस्व वृतनायतः " इति दक्षिणेन प्रपदेनाश्मानमाक्रमय । १२ ।

\* For abbreviations see p. 60 seq.

PG. I. 7. 1 :— अथैनामश्मानमारोहयत्युत्तरतोऽग्नेर्दक्षिणपादेन । “ आरोहेम-  
श्मानमश्मेव त्वं स्थिरा भव । अभितिष्ठ पृतन्यतोऽवबाधस्व  
पृतनायत ” इति । १ ।

ĀPMB. I. 5. 1 :— आति॑ष्टेम॒ मश्मा॑नमश्मे॒व त्वं स्थि॒रा भव॑ ।  
अ॒भि ति॑ष्ठ पृत॒न्यत॑स्सह॒स्व पृत॑नायतः ॥ १ ॥

HG. I. 4. 1 :— कुमारमास्थापयति । “ आतिष्टेममश्मानमश्मेव स्थिरो भव । प्रमृणी-  
हि दुरस्यूनसहस्व पृतनायतः ” ॥ इति । १ ।

It is impossible, therefore, in many cases to point to any particular early Vedic text as the source in the sense that the formula occurs there *in an identical form*. The only aim of a Gṛhya text was to see that the formula it cited was suitable to the particular context in which it was employed and to this end, the utmost liberty was taken with the text of a suitable mantra occurring in an early text. *A formula could also be improvised by joining together parts or lines of mantras drawn from different sources!* Compare, for example, the mantra cited in our text ĀG. II. 9. 2, which is made up of one pāda “Rtena sthūpām adhiroha Varikṣa”, taken from AV. III. 12. 6<sup>a</sup> and another from RV. X. 18. 3<sup>d</sup> i.e. “Drāghīya āyuh prataraṁ dadhānaḥ” ! Words of course, could be altered easily (compare the formula quoted in ĀG. I. 7. 6 where the last clause ‘jīveva śaradaḥ śatam’ has the dual ‘jīveva’ which is not found in any of the numerous parallel passages *though all the remaining words are the same everywhere* !).

I have therefore, adopted the following procedure in the paragraph on ‘sources’ under each sūtra. In the first place, an attempt is made to trace a mantra in the ĀG. to an earlier text where it occurs in an identical form. As, however, this is not always possible, a mantra or formula in an early Vedic text or failing that, a parallel Gṛhya text with the nearest approach in words and sense to the formula in our text *as a whole* is pointed out, if available, first. The formula is next considered part by part (whether it be a pāda or a line or a clause) and the ‘sources’ of each of these parts (in the sense of ‘passages or lines most closely allied in words and sense’) are pointed out, wherever available.

A survey of these *sources* reveals the following list of chapters or passages in early Vedic texts (i.e. Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas Āraṇyakas and Śrauta-sūtras), which treat of the same Gṛhya topics as are treated in the different chapters of the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-sūtra and *which may, therefore, have influenced the latter*. In certain cases, the identity of not only formulas but also of the sūtras in our text quoting them, with corresponding passages in these early texts, turns this probability into a certainty ; e.g. for I. 3. 3 (the purification of Ājya) compare TS. 1. 2. 1. 2 and VS. I. 31. For I. 7-8 (Kañḍikās treating of the marriage ceremony), compare AV. XIV. 2 (borrowing from RV. X. 85). For I. 10. 12 and 15 (the pāraṇa sthāli-pāka) compare AV. XIX. 64. 2 and ŚB. I. 6. 38 respectively. For Kāṇḍikās I. 13-15 (rites connected with pregnancy and the birth of a son) compare KBU.

II. 8-10. For I. 17. 6, 7 and 10 ('Caulam' or the tonsure of the child's head) compare AV. VI. 68. 1-3; for I. 17. 8-9 (the same topic) compare TS. 1. 2. 1. 1 and for I. 17. 16 (Caulam) and I. 18. 5 (the parallel 'Godāna' rite) compare AV. VIII. 2. 17. For I. 20. 6-8, (the ceremony of Upanayana) compare ŚB. XI. 5. 4. 1 seqq. For I. 23 (choosing of the R̥tvijs) compare ĀPS. X. 1. 4, 10-14. For I. 24 (guest-reception with the Madhuparka), compare ŚŚ. IV. 21. For II. 6. 1-4 (mounting a new chariot) compare LŚ. 2. 8. 2, 6-8 seqq. For II. 8. 16 (house-building), compare AV. III. 12. 2. 6-7. For III. 1-4 (the five daily sacrifices, especially Svādhyāya), compare TA. II. 10-15. For IV. 1-3 (funeral rites on the death of an āhitāgni), compare ŚŚ. IV. 14. 17-35 and for IV. 8 (the Śūlagava sacrifice), compare ŚŚ. IV. 17.

This rapid preview of the sources of non-R̥gVedic Mantras in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra discussed in the following investigation reveals that Gṛhya passages and not merely mantras crop up in the most unsuspected places in the earlier or pre-Gṛhya-sūtra literature! Already in my monograph<sup>1</sup> entitled "R̥gVeda Mantras in their ritual setting in the Gṛhya-sūtras with special reference to the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra", I have shown that genuine Gṛhya Mantras in the R̥g-Veda *are not confined* to its Marriage and Funeral Hymns nor only to its *late* parts as was supposed by Professor OLDENBERG (S. B. E. Vol. XXX, Introduction : p. X seq.) but are scattered all over the R̥gVeda. The above preview of the sources of non-R̥gVedic Mantras has a similar story to tell. We find that among Samhitās other than the R̥g-Veda Samhitā genuine Gṛhya-Mantras and passages and sections of Gṛhya origin are found not only in the Atharva Veda which is well-known as a treasure of Gṛhya verses but also in the Taittirīya and Vājasaneyi Samhitās. Again, notable texts from this point of view are the 'Śatapatha' among the Brāhmaṇas, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka among the Āraṇyakas, the Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇopaniṣad among the Upaniṣads and even the Śrauta-Sūtras of Śāṅkhāyana, Latyāyana and Āpastamba among the Śrauta-Sūtras. *Thus every phase of Vedic literature takes its place in this Gṛhya-pageant!*

Secondly, as regards the interpretation of these Non R̥g-Vedic Mantras, quite a number of them remain obscure in spite of the help  
 Interpretation afforded by the two Sanskrit Commentaries of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa and Hardattācārya and the German, English and Marathi translations mentioned above. Professors STENZLER and OLDENBERG propose emendations in the text of a number of these formulas. In the majority of these cases, I have attempted to show that the emendations are unnecessary and that the Mantras admit of a natural and satisfactory interpretation *just as they stand* and have adduced parallel passages in support of the original readings they propose to emend unnecessarily in my opinion. Finally in the case of some formulas, I have given interpretations which are *new* and which in my humble opinion are more natural.

1. Reprinted from the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* : Vol. I. (1939-40).

The plan adopted in the following investigation is this :—In the first paragraph is given the text of the sūtra in the ĀG. and the formula cited therein. The different parts, clauses or pādas of the formula are marked as (a), (b), etc. not only to facilitate reference but also because, for reasons stated already, the formula very often can be traced *only in parts* scattered in different earlier texts. Then follows my own translation of the sūtra and the mantra (which in many cases differs from that of Professors STENZLER and OLDENBERG). Next comes the paragraph on 'Sources' and I invariably state at the very outset, whether any such are pointed out by Prof. STENZLER or OLDENBERG. This is followed by a discussion of the text and interpretation of the formula *if these offer any difficulties* and of the emendations, if any such are suggested by Prof. STENZLER or OLDENBERG.

This whole material, therefore, I may humbly claim, is original except where Prof. STENZLER or OLDENBERG have made suggestions regarding the sources, *these being invariably acknowledged in the proper places.*

*Sūtras in the text citing non-Rg-Vedic Mantras.*

ĀG. I. 1. 4 ; 'Yo namasā svadhvara' iti (RV. VIII. 19. 5<sup>a</sup>), (a) 'Namas-kāreṇa vai khalvapi, (b) na vai devā namaskāramati, (c) Yajño vai nama' iti hi brāhmaṇam bhavati |

Trans : 'He who (as) a good sacrificer (sacrifices to Agni) with homage,' so (the RV. verse quoted above in Sūtra 3 goes on to say) ; 'even through homage, indeed, to be sure (a sacrifice may be said to have been offered) ; (b) not beyond (the reach of) homage, (are) the gods surely ; (c) homage, surely, is (itself) a sacrifice' thus (runs) a Brāhmaṇa.

The wording of the passage gives the impression that these three clauses form part of a single connected quotation from some Brāhmaṇa. As a matter of fact the three clauses are syntactically separate and represent bits of Brāhmaṇa sayings, picked up at random because of their general unity of sense.

*Context* : The sacrificial character of the last two divisions of Pāka-yajñas viz. (1) the 'Prahutas' or those offered over something not the fire and (2) the 'Brahmaṇi-hutas' or those offered at the feeding of Brāhmaṇas is established by the citation of the RV. verse, VIII. 19. 5 which says that a sacrifice may be offered not only by pouring an oblation into the fire but also by placing a fuel-stick on the fire or by knowledge or homage. This (so-called) Brāhmaṇa is cited by way of comment on the last pāda of that verse.

*Sources* : (a) & (c). No dictionary, concordance or index gives a clue. The nearest Brāhmaṇa passage that I could find to (a) and (c) is ŚB. VII. 4. 1. 20 (also IX. 1. 1. 16) where, in connection with a salutation to serpents, it is said "Namo nama iti Yajño vai namo, Yajñenaivenān etan-namas-kāreṇa namasyati." When it is said 'A homage ! A homage !'—a homage, indeed, is a sacrifice—he worships them with a sacrifice when he worships them with homage (namaskāreṇa).

(b). The nearest approach to the words and sense of this part is found in GB. 2. 2. 1. 18 (pp. 117 & 118, :—Na hi namaskāram ati devāh



"The gods are not beyond (the influence of) homage." A salutation to Prajāpati is the context. Very nearly identical is also the passage : ŚĀ. I. 5.

ĀG. I.3.3 : " (a) *Savituṣṭvā prasava utpūnāmy* (b) *achidreṇa pavitreṇa vasoḥ sūryasya raśmibhir* " *iti prāg utpūnāti, sakṛn mantrēṇa, dvistūṣṇim* |

*Trans* : (a) "At the inspiration of Savitr, I purify thee, (b) with (this) purifier without holes, with the rays of the Sun—the Vasu (the Beneficent one)". With this mantra he purifies (the Ājya), (in an) eastward (direction) once and twice silently.

The context is the purification of the Ājya with two Kuśa blades as strainers as a necessary preliminary of all Gṛhya sacrifices whose general outlines are described in this Kaṇḍikā.

*Sources* : Prof. STENZLER compares VS. I. 31, a mantra employed at the purification of the Ājya in KŚ. 2. 7. 7 (*not in KŚ. 2. 3. 31 as STENZLER states*). This mantra is identical with ours except for the word 'Vasoḥ' in (b), which it omits. Part (b) with '*Vasoḥ sūryasya*' etc. i.e. in a form exactly identical with ours, is traced to TS. 1. 2. 1. 2. where we have it after "Devastvā savitā punātu", the context being the purification of himself by the sacrificer. As pointed out in the Introduction, the tradition of these Gṛhya-mantras admitted of different parts from different sources being fitted together, to make a mantra suitable to a particular context.

ĀG. I. 3. 10 :—*Tad eṣābhijajña-gāthā gīyate* :—

'*Pākayajñān samāsādyai kājyān ekabarhiṣaḥ |*  
*ekasviṣṭakṛtaḥ kuryān nānāpi sati daivate ||*'

*Trans* : In this connection, the following sacrificial gāthā is sung. "If one has (before one, the performance of different) pākayajñas (at the same time), one should perform them with the same common Ājya, barhis and the same common Sviṣṭakṛt (oblations), though the deities (of these pākayajñas) may not be the same."

The context is the same as before :—general rules for the Gṛhya sacrifices.

*Sources* : Kauś. VI. 34 has "Athāpi ślokaḥ bhavataḥ | " followed by two ślokaḥ, of which *the second is our verse*. Both the commentators—Dārila and Keśava (p. 21 BLOOMFIELD'S edition : JAOS vol. 14.) remark that the ślokaḥ are from the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa ; but in the existing edition of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (Bibliotheca Indica), the Ślokaḥ are not traced ! One can only hope that some manuscript of the Brāhmaṇa contains the two Ślokaḥ.

ĀG. I. 5. 4 : *Aṣṭau piṇḍān kṛtvā* (a) "*Ṛtam agre prathamam jajñe*, (b) *ṛte satyaṁ pratiṣṭhitam* | (c) *yadiyam kumāry abhijātā* (d) *tadiyam iha pratipadyatām* | (e) *yat satyaṁ tad dṛśyatām*" *iti piṇḍān abhimantrya kumarim brūyāt* 'Eṣāṁ ekaṁ gṛhāṇ'eli |

*Trans* : He makes eight lumps of earth (taken from different places) and consecrates these lumps with the Mantra " (a) Ṛtam (the world-order ordained beforehand) was born in the beginning, the primeval. (b) On Ṛta

is established Satya (Truth or conformity of events to this world-order) ; (c) What this girl is born to (d) that she may attain here. (e) What the Truth is, may that be seen !” He then should say to the girl ‘Pick up one of these’.

Context : Sūtra 3rd enumerates the characteristics which a girl to be married, must possess. As these, such as intelligence, character etc. are difficult to ascertain, the procedure described in this Sūtra is adopted, so that the character of the origin (field, pool etc.) of the lump of earth picked up by her, may reveal her characteristics.

Sources : Clauses (c), (d) and (e) constitute Mantra-parts evidently improvised to suit the particular occasion and cannot be traced in early literature.

As regards (a) and (b), there are numerous passages in early Vedic texts containing the words ‘Rtaṁ’ and ‘Satyam’, describing their mutual relation and their relation to the ‘world-order’ but there is none that is identical with ours. Very similar to our (b) is “Rtaṁ satye’dhāyi, *satyam ṛte’dhām*” in TS. 7. 1. 18. 2 and “Rtaṁ satye’dhāyi, *satyam ṛte’ dhāyi*” in TB. 3. 7. 7. 4, the context in both passages being the ‘Seasonal consecrations’. The latter part (in italics) of TB. 3. 7. 7. 4 meaning ‘Satyam (Truth) was placed on Rta’ comes very near to our (b) in words and is identical in sense.

Among Sūtra-texts, the nearest parallel to our (a) can only be traced in GG. II. 1. 7 which reads :—“Rtameva prathamam rtaṁ nātyeti kaścana | ṛte bhūmir iyaṁ śrītā.” TB. 1. 5. 5. 1 has also a very similar passage to this with ‘parameṣṭhī’ for ‘prathamam’ and ‘Kiñcana’ for ‘Kaścana.’ So TB. 1. 5. 5. 1 and the source of GG. II. 1. 7 (i.e. some early Sāmaveda text, as GG. belongs to the Sāmaveda) may be said to be the chief influences. The consecration of lumps of earth with a mantra describing Rta and Satya in our text is explained by the fact that VS. 11. 47 “Rtaṁ satyam, rtaṁ satyam” is a mantra to be recited *while the lump of clay for the construction of the fire-altar, is held above the goat (one of the victims at the ceremony).*

ĀG. I. 6. 3 : “Saha dharmaṁ caratam”<sup>1</sup> iti prājāpatyaḥ.....|....

Trans. ‘Fulfil (ye) the law together’—(when) this (is said, it) is the Prājāpatya (form of marriage).

Sources : All the available parallel passages, support the reading adopted above. Baudhāyana I. 20. 3 has ‘Dharmaṁ cara’ ; Gautama Dharma-Sūtra 4. 7. has ‘Saha dharmaś caryatām’ ; we read in the Manusmṛiti. III. 30 :—“Sahobhau caratām dharmaṁ” and Nārada Dh. 12. 40 has ‘Saha dharmaṁ cara’, *which are all formulas addressed to the couple or the bridegroom.*

The commentator Haradatta pertinently remarks that although ‘fulfilling the law together’ is an essential condition of all marriage-forms, this special

1. Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG read ‘carataḥ’ (Third person dual of the Present Indicative) and translate accordingly :—“They fulfil the law together ; this is the Prājāpatya” but I prefer the reading ‘caratam’ (Imperative, 2nd. person dual), of the Trivandrum edition which makes the part (in italics) a mantra addressed as an exhortation to the couple.

mention of the exhortation implies that the bridegroom is not to take a second wife, nor leave the householder's life for any other Āśrama (or mode of life)—which distinguishes the 'Prājāpatya' from other forms of marriage like the Brāhma and the Daiva.

ĀG. I. 6. 8 : "*Hatvā bhittvā ca śīrṣāṇi rudatīṃ rudadbhyo haret*" sa *Rākṣasaḥ* ||

Trans : Should he carry her off (while she is) crying from (her) crying relatives after a smashing and breaking of heads, that is (the form of marriage called) Rākṣasa. Prof. OLDENBERG says (p. 167 footnote) "The text of this sūtra seems to be based on a hemistich 'hatvā bhittvā ca śīrṣāṇi rudadbhyo rudatīṃ haret'; comp. Manu III, 33". This is an ingenious suggestion but it may be pointed out that the words of a Sūtra in our text as well as other sūtra-texts sometimes just happen to be arranged in such a way as to give them quite unintentionally the appearance of a pāda or hemistich e.g. ĀG. I. 5. 1 : "*Kulam agre parīkṣeta*" is a perfect anuṣṭubh pāda ! Besides, if such an Anuṣṭubh hemistich had existed, it should have been traced in late works employing Śloka, as it conforms to the model of the later regular anuṣṭubh.

That this shocking recognition of the 'Rākṣasa' mode as a *form of marriage*, without any apology, is a survival of a very ancient custom, has been shown in my monograph entitled "*RgVeda mantras in their ritual setting in the Gṛhya sūtras, with special reference to the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-sūtra*" (reprinted from the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*) under ĀG. I. 8. 4 : '*Jivam rudanti*' iti rudatyām |.

ĀG. I. 7. 6 : *Pradakṣiṇam agniṃ udakumbhaṃ ca triḥ pariṇayaṇī japatī* "*(a) Amo'ham asmi sā tvam (b) sā tvam asy amo'ham (c) Dyauraham pṛthivī tvam (d) Sāmāham ṛk tvam (e) tāvehi vivahāvahai (f) prajāṃ prajānayāvahai | (g) Sampriyau rociṣṇū sumanasyamānau (h) jiveva śaradaḥ śatam*".

Trans : While leading her (the bride), round the fire and the water-pot, three times with the right side turned towards them, he (the bridegroom) mutters (a) "This I am, that thou ; (b) that art thou, this myself ; (c) the heaven I, the earth thou ; (d) the Sāman I, the Ṛk thou ; (e) come then (tau), let us marry ; (f) (and) beget offspring ; (g) dear to each other, bright and amiably-minded, (h) may we two live a hundred autumns" !

Sources :—(a) to (f). AV. 14. 2. 71 reads :—"Amo'hamasmi sā tvam, sāmāhamasmi ṛktvam, dyauraham pṛthivī tvam, tāviha sambhavāva, prajāṃ ājanayāvahai" | which is equivalent to our (a), (d), (c), (e) and (f) in order. Our (b) is nothing but (a) with a transposition of 'sā tvam' and 'amo'ham', so its omission in the AV. passage is immaterial. Our 'vivahāvahai' in (e), for the corresponding 'Sambhavāva' in AV. is just an adaptation suiting the exact context in the text. So this AV. mantra appears to be the source of our mantra-parts from (a) to (f). ŚB. 14. 9. 4. 19 has clauses very similar to ours from (a) to (d) cited as formulas for intercourse at a kāmya

rite aiming at the birth of a meritorious son. In a similar context in JUB. I. 54. 6 ; 57. 4 appear formulas similar to our (a) and (b). But of interest is the passage VIII. 27. 4 in AB. (which as a Rgveda-Brāhmaṇa is closely related to our text) containing clauses similar to our clauses (a) to (e), the context being the 'selection of a Purohita'. Now, as Prof. KEITH remarks (p. 341 HOS. vol. 25.), there is a parallelism between this ceremony and that of marriage. Our text gives evidence of this parallelism when both in I. 5. 1 (examination of the family of the bride or the bridegroom) and in I. 23. 1 (qualifications of Ṛtvigs to be chosen), it refers in identical terms "Ye mātṛtaḥ pitṛtaśceti yathoktam purastāt" to ĀŚ. IX. 3. 20, where are laid down the qualifications of a priest to be chosen for partaking of a camasa at the Daśapeya sacrifice.

*Clause (g).* For this, may be compared VS. 12. 57<sup>b</sup> as also TS. 4. 2. 5. 1<sup>b</sup> where the identical three words occur, the context being the throwing of the Ukhya fire (or the fire in the pan) on to the Gārhapatya hearth ; the words describing the mutual relation of the two fires thus brought together, are very similar to the phraseology in our text.

*Clause (h).* There are numerous passages with nearly identical words e.g. "Jivāti śaradaḥ śatam" is found in RV. X. 85. 39<sup>d</sup> and AV. 14. 2. 2<sup>d</sup> 63<sup>d</sup> ; "Adhā jīvena" etc. in AV. 18. 4. 70<sup>e</sup> ; 'Jivāni' etc. TB. 3. 7. 4. 10<sup>d</sup> ; "Jivāmi" etc. in TA. 10. 1. 8<sup>d</sup> and "Sa jīva" etc. in ŚB. 14. 9. 4. 26<sup>d</sup> and in our own text in I. 15. 3d, 9d but the dual 'Jiveva' that we have here is nowhere met with ! This is a very clear illustration of the liberty taken in the different Vedic schools in the adaptation of mantras or parts of mantras by alterations in words etc. to suit the particular context in hand !

ĀG. I. 7. 7 :—*Pariṇīya pariṇīyāśmānamārohayati :*

(a) "imam āsmānamāroha, (b) āsmeva tvaṁ sthīrā bhava |, (c) Sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ, (d) abhitiṣṭha pṛtanāyataḥ" iti.

*Trans :* Each time he conducts her round, he helps her step on the āsman (the lower mill-stone which plays an important part in the Grhya ritual, being the counterpart of the pressing-stone of the soma in the Śrauta ritual) with the mantra (a) "Mount on this stone ; (b) like the stone be firm ; (c) overcome the opposing (enemies) ; (d) tread down the enemies".

*Sources :* (a) to (c) : In a note to AV. 2.13.4 (WHITNEY'S Atharva-veda HOS. Vol. 7, p. 57), it is said that the Paippalāda or Kāśmīrian text of the AV. reads for that verse, (a) Imam āsmānam ātiṣṭha, (b) āsmeva tvaṁ sthīro bhava, (c) pramṛṇihi durasyataḥ, (d) Sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ.

The (a), (b) and (d) here, are nearly identical with our (a) to (c) with the following variations :—instead of 'sthīrā' in our (b) (addressed as the mantra is to the bride) we have here 'sthīro' masc. because the mantra is addressed to the male child, prayers for whose long life and welfare are contained in that AV. hymn ; our 'āroha' in (a), is a mere paraphrase of 'ātiṣṭha' in AV., our (c) is exactly identical with the AV. clause (d). The AV. clause (c) is a paraphrase in different words of our (d).

*Clause (d).*—The last pāda or clause is traced to TS. 4. 1. 2. 3<sup>d</sup> and VS. 11. 20<sup>d</sup>, the context in both places being, that the verse is recited while the Adhvaryu holds his hand on the horse's back during the agni-cayana ceremony.

It may be noted here, that the *aśman* verses (or those containing exhortations to be as firm as a stone) are found employed in our text as well as in parallel Sūtra-texts in *two* contexts viz. the ceremony of marriage and the ceremonies of birth-rites as 'addresses to the bride or the newly-born child' (compare our I, 15. 3 which has 'aśmā bhava' etc.).

How very fluid the tradition of these Gṛhya-mantras was, can best be seen by a glance at the parallel passage in other Sūtra texts viz. SMB. 1. 2. 1 ; PG. I. 7. 1 ; ŚG. I. 13. 2 ; ĀPMB. 1. 5. 1 and 2. 2. 2 ; HG. 1. 4. 1 ; 19. 8. cited already in the Introductory section. We find here *all possible variations* (of what essentially is the same mantra) that the words constituting it were capable of !

ĀG. I. 7. 13 :

(a) "Aryamṇam nu devaṁ kanyā agnimayakṣata |  
sa imām devo Aryamā preto muñcātu nāmutaḥ, svāhā ||

(b) Varuṇam nu devaṁ kanyā agnimayakṣata |  
sa imām devo Varuṇaḥ preto muñcātu nāmutaḥ svāhā ||

(c) Pūṣaṇam nu devaṁ kanyā agnim ayakṣata |  
Sa imām devaḥ Pūṣā preto muñcātu nāmutaḥ svāhā" |  
ityavicchindatyañjalīm sruceva juhuyāt |

*Trans :* (a) "To Aryaman the god, to Agni, have the girls sacrificed (i.e. to Agni as Aryaman ;<sup>1</sup>) may he—god Aryaman, release her from here (i.e. from her father's family), not from yonder (i.e. from her husband's home).

(b) To Varuṇa the god, to Agni etc. [as above with 'Varuṇa' in place of 'Aryaman'.]

(c) To Pūṣan the god etc. [as above with 'Pūṣan' instead of 'Aryaman'.]

*Context :*—After the 'leading round' of the bride, fried grain is poured into her joined hands by her brother or his representative. *The bride sacrifices this fried grain* without opening (lit. breaking open) her joined hands, as if she was sacrificing them with the 'Sruc' ladle *while the above* mantra is being recited by the bridegroom.

*Sources :* Only Sūtra-texts like ŚG., SMB., GG., PG., ĀPMB. and MG. have got parallel passages but the mantra cannot be traced to any early text—with the exception of 'Preto muñcātu nāmutaḥ' the concluding part of (a) (b) and (c) which is traced to RV. X. 85. 25<sup>a</sup> and AV. XIV. 1. 18<sup>a</sup>. OLDENBERG (SBE vol. 29. p. 44) on ŚG. I. 18. 3, compares Pāraskara I. 6. 2 "preto

1. That this is the construction and sense is clear from RV. V. 3 2<sup>a</sup> = "Tvam Aryamā bhavasi yat Kaninām" [Thou art Aryaman to the girls] as addressed to Agni and cited in our text elsewhere i.e. I. 4. 8.

muñcātu mā *pateḥ*” which shows what ‘itaḥ’ and ‘amutaḥ’ refer to. The RV. and the AV. verse-pādas also have the same implication. *I think that the influence here is AV. XIV. 1. 17* which reads “(a) Aryamaṇam yajāmahe (b) subandhum pativedanam | (c) urvārukamiva bandhanāt (d) preto muñcāmi nāmutaḥ | for the following reasons : (1) The last pāda of each of our (a) to (c) is the last pāda here ; our first pāda is reminiscent of the first of the AV. because of ‘Aryamaṇam’. (2) There is general unity of sense. (3) This mantra in our text is followed by the citation in I. 17, 17 and 18, of RV. X. 85. 24 and 25 which correspond to AV. XIV. 1. 19 and 18. Thus, AV. XIV. 1. 17, 19 and 18 which would correspond to the citations in our Sūtras I. 7.13, 17 and 18, *very likely influenced our text*.

ĀG. I. 7. 19 : ‘*Athainām aparājītāyām diśi sapta padāny abhyutkrāmayati, (a) “īṣa ekapadī (b) Ūrje dvīpadī (c) rāyaspoṣāya tripadī (d) māyobhavyāya catuṣpadī (e) prajābhyaḥ pañca-padī (f) rtubhyaḥ ṣaṭpadī (g) sakhā sapta-padī bhava (h) sāmām anuvratā bhava | (i) putrān vindāyāhai bahūn (j) te santu jaradaṣṭayaḥ” iti.*

*Trans* : He then (i.e. after the sacrifice of fried grain and the loosening of the bride's two locks of hair) helps her take seven steps forward with the mantra :—

- (a) For sap, (be thou) one who hast taken one step forward,
- (b) For juice, “ “ “ two steps “ ,
- (c) For the augmenting of riches, be thou one etc. three steps forward,
- (d) For comfort “ “ four steps forward,
- (e) For progeny “ “ five steps forward,
- (f) For the seasons “ “ six steps forward,
- (g) Be a friend, (thou) who hast taken seven steps,
- (h) So be thou devoted to me, (i) let us attain many sons,
- (j) let them reach old age.

*Sources* (a) to (g) : TB. 3. 7. 7. 11 reads as follows :—

- (a) ekam īṣe Viṣṇustvā anvetu,
- (b) dve ūrje “ “
- (c) trīṇi vratāya “ “
- (d) catvāri māyobhavyāya “
- (e) pañca paśubhyaḥ “ “
- (f) ṣaḍ rāyaspoṣāya “ “
- (g) sapta saptabhyo hotrābhyaḥ “ | sakhāyaḥ saptapadā abhūma |

sakhyam te gameyam |

The context is :—The Yajamāna follows in the steps of the *Soma-kṛayaṇī* cow while she is being led. The remarkable agreement of this passage with our mantra with the exception of a few unimportant differences suggests it as the influence on our text. As regards the differences, it is apparent that the TB. *has the better version*. Our text e.g. makes an abrupt syntactical change in (g).

The idea of friendship consummated by the walking of seven steps in company, can be traced to AV. V. 11. 10 “Saptapadaḥ sakhāsmi” (I am

thy comrade of seven steps). Perhaps the faint origin of 'seven' as the number of steps is in RV. VIII. 72. 16 :—"Adhukṣat pipyuṣīm *iṣam ūrjam saptapadīm ariḥ* | sūryasya sapta raśmibhiḥ" || where we not only come across the words '*iṣam*' and '*Ūrjam*' of our Mantra but also the association of the seven rays of the sun with the 'seven-stepped *ūrjam*'!

(h) (i) and (j) :—This part is only traced to JUB. 1. 54. 6° where it occurs after 'Amo'hamasmi' etc. a mantra parallel to our I. 7. 6. This part has the same position (as in JUB) in ŚG. I. 14. 6 and PG. I. 8. 1. This part of our Mantra then (*easily detachable from the rest in sense and syntax*) appears to have been a *separate* Mantra which our text has tacked on to our mantra (a) to (g) and which other texts have joined to other mantras in other contexts.

ĀG. I. 7. 22 : *Dhruvam arundhatīm sapta ṛṣin iti drṣṭvā vācam viśṛjeta "Jivapatnī prajāṁ vindeya" iti* |

Trans : After observing the polar star, the (star) Arundhatī and the Seven Ṛṣis (Ursa major), let her release her speech (i.e. break her silence with the words) "With my husband living, may I attain progeny."

Context—This follows after the saptapadī rite.

Sources. The part 'prajāṁ vindeya' can be traced only to ŚG. 1. 17. 4 (as compared by OLDENBERG) in exactly the same context as in our text. The Mantra is one of those unimportant short mantras of a general invocatory purport, the words of which could be improved upon in any vedic school and which need not supposed to have a traditionally fixed text.

*The Vedic texts cited or referred to in the present investigation, with abbreviations of their titles.*

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# JÑĀNAGHANA PŪJYAPĀDA

By

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Appayya Dīkṣita in his *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*,<sup>1</sup> refers to an advaita manual by name *Tattvaśuddhi*. This<sup>2</sup> is an authoritative work in 46 chapters,<sup>3</sup> called prakaraṇas, by one Jñānaghanapāda,<sup>4</sup> a disciple of Bodhaghanācārya.<sup>5</sup> Who Bodhaghana and Jñānaghana were are to be considered here.

In a work entitled *Śṛṅgagiriguruparamparā* (No. 302 of Seshagiri Sastri's II Report) is given a list of the various pointiffs of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt. The list mentions 41 ācāryas on the whole beginning with Mahādeva (Lord Śiva) and ending with Narasimha Bhārati. Though this list may not be quite accurate, it is also not wholly incorrect. That is to say, unless and until some positive evidence is set forth to prove the inaccuracy of the list, its tentative correctness holds good. The whole list may be reproduced here with advantage :

“ महादेवो महाविष्णुः तृतीयश्चतुराननः ।  
वसिष्ठः शक्तियोगीन्द्रः पराशरमुनीश्वरः ॥  
व्यासः शुको गौडपादो गोविन्दभगवान्मुनिः ।  
गुरुः श्रीशङ्कराचार्यः षष्ठतस्तथापनः प्रभुः ॥  
विश्वरूपाचार्ययोगी नित्यबोधघनाभिधः ।  
ततो ज्ञानघनाचार्यो ज्ञानोत्तममहामुनिः ॥

1. See pp. 141, 190, 266 and 363 of *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*, Kāśi Skt. Ser. 36.

2. Being serially issued by the present writer in the *Annals of Oriental Research*, University of Madras, in collaboration with Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana SASTRI.

3. DAS GUPTA, *History of Indian Philosophy* II, p. 57 f. n. says : “Jñānaghana, who probably lived in the 13th century, wrote an elaborate dialectical work in 33 chapters (prakaraṇas) called *Tattvaśuddhi*.” This is wrong. The evidence for placing Jñānaghana in the 13th century is not given. The enumeration of chapters as 33 is also not correct ; probably he concluded that the work is complete in 33 chapters, on the basis of an incomplete copy in 33 chapters, found in the Govt. Or. Mss. Library, Madras (R. No. 2897), referred to as B. in my edition of the same.

4. See colophons to the chapters of *Tattvaśuddhi* :

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमज्ज्ञानघनपादविरचितायां तत्त्वशुद्धौ etc.

5.

व्याख्यागर्जितनिर्जिता जडधियः कण्ठीरवाशङ्कया

तर्कारण्यनिषण्णवादिकरिणो निःश्रेयसाद्रौ स्थितिः ।

विद्यावृष्टिपङ्कशिष्ययतिसत्सयैः क्षमा शोभते

शब्दबोधघनस्य यस्य गुरवे तस्मै नमः श्रेयमे ॥

*Tattvaśuddhi*, ch. I. verse 4.

ज्ञानगिर्याचार्यवर्यः तथा सिंहगिरीश्वरः ।  
 ततश्चेश्वरतीर्थार्यो नृसिंहाभिधतीर्थकः ॥  
 विद्याशङ्करतीर्थार्यो लम्बिकायोगतत्परः ।  
 भारतीकृष्णतीर्थार्यो विद्यारण्यमहामुनिः ॥  
 विद्यानगरनिर्माता वेदभाष्यादिकृद्गुरुः ।  
 श्रीचन्द्रशेखराभिख्यभारती तदनन्तरम् ॥  
 नृसिंहभारती भूयो नृसिंहोपासकस्सदा ।  
 भक्तशङ्करनामाढ्यः पुरुषोत्तमभारती ॥  
 श्रीचन्द्रशेखराभिख्यभारती तदनन्तरम् ।  
 नृसिंहभारती चैव पुरुषोत्तमभारती ।  
 भारती रामचन्द्रार्यो नरसिंहाख्यभारती ।  
 नृसिंहभारती ज्ञेयो नृसिंहोऽभिनवस्तथा ॥  
 सच्चिदानन्दयोगीन्द्रः स्तम्भे हेरम्बदर्शकः ।  
 श्रीनृसिंहाख्ययोगीन्द्रः सच्चिदानन्दभारती ॥  
 ततश्चाभिनवाभिख्यः सच्चिदानन्दभारती ।  
 ततोऽभिनवपूर्वश्रीनृसिंहाभिधभारती ॥  
 श्रीसच्चिदानन्दयोगीन्द्रः तपश्चर्यापरायणः ।  
 पुनश्चाभिनवाभिख्यः सच्चिदानन्दभारती ॥  
 श्रीशृङ्गेरिपुराधीशः श्रीविद्यामन्त्रबोधकः ।  
 श्रीमदाचार्यसदृशः श्रीनृसिंहयतीश्वरः ॥  
 भारतीनामविख्यातः तपःशीलो जगद्गुरुः ।  
 राजाधिराजसंपूज्यो जगत्ख्यातो विराजते ॥ ”

In the light of the following evidences also the apparent and tentative accuracy of the above list can reasonably be assumed to hold good.

First, in a work entitled *Śaṅkarācāryacarita* by Govindanātha,<sup>6</sup> (No. 301. of Sheshagiri SASTRI'S II Report ; same as MD.<sup>7</sup> 12171-2) the predecessors of Śaṅkara are mentioned as Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, Vasiṣṭha, Śakti, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Śuka, Gauḍapāda and Govinda.<sup>8</sup> Lord Śiva is left out. The rest of the ācāryas mentioned corresponds with the predecessors of Śaṅkara as found in the *Śṛṅgagiriguruparamparā*.

6. Ed. by Dewan Bahadur N. D. MEHTA, and printed in the Chitrasala Press, Poona, 1931.

7. MD = Madras Des. Cat. of Mss.

8. See Sheshagiri SASTRI, *II Report* pp. 101-2. But in the printed edition this is missing. Only Śuka, Gauḍapāda and Govinda are referred to ;

श्रीशुकस्याभवच्छिष्यो गौडपाद इति श्रुतः ।

तस्य शिष्यो महातेजाः वर्तते स्म द्विजो हरिः ॥

संन्यासविधितत्त्वज्ञं गोविन्दस्वामिनं स तम् ।

स्थितं कादयामवापाशु वायुसार्गमुपाश्रितः ।

Secondly, in a work called *Gadyavallārī*<sup>9</sup> tantra, by Nijātmaprakāśa<sup>10</sup> Ānandanātha Mallikārjuna Yogendra Yati (MITRA Notices, VII, No. 2261). which opens with a list of the teachers of the Śāṅkara sect, the first 22 names beginning with Śiva and ending in Vidyāraṇya correspond with those in the *Śṛṅgagiriguruparaṁparā*. *Gadyavallārī* mentions 28 ācāryas before Mallikārjuna, its author.

Again in another work called *Guruvamśamahākāvya*,<sup>11</sup> by Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrin,<sup>12</sup> son of Vireśvara Śāstri, written under orders of Saccidānanda Bhārati, disciple of Narasimha Bhārati, a long list of the successive pontiffs of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt is given. This order of the ācāryas corresponds to a greater length with the order found in the *Śṛṅgagiriguruparaṁparā*.

This concordance of the four lists is sufficient evidence to show that, the opening part and a great extent of the list in *Śṛṅgagiriguruparaṁparā* are reliable, if not the entire list. It is possible that the *Guruvamśamahākāvya* was based on the *Śṛṅgagiriguruparaṁparā*; still the accuracy of the *Śṛṅgagiriguruparaṁparā* is not disproved.

Now let us examine the list proper. The list mentions on the whole 41 ācāryas from Lord Śiva to Narasimha Bhārati. Śāṅkara is the eleventh and Vidyāraṇya 22nd. According to Mr. Sheshagiri SASTRI, Vidyāraṇya came to the pontifical seat in 1331 A.D.<sup>13</sup> After him, according to the list there were 19 priests and the period of reign for each ācārya, after Vidyāraṇya is 29 years, on an average. Previous to Vidyāraṇya and after Śāṅkara, there were 10 pontiffs. Accepting 820 A.D. as the date of Śāṅkarācārya's demise, we get 510 years of interval for 10 ācāryas, i.e. on an average each ācārya would have been in the pontificate for about 50 years. Granting that ascetics generally live longer than ordinary men and assuming that they are usually appointed as pontiffs at an early age, it may seem that a reign of 50 years for a single pontiff is not unreasonable. But 50 years of reign in succession for 10 pontiffs cannot be satisfactorily explained. The more so when we come to note that after Vidyāraṇya the average period for an ascetic is abruptly reduced from 50 to 29. Mr Sheshagiri SASTRI on this point doubts the reli-

9. Dr. AUFRECHT in his *C. C. I.* p. 377a, under Bodhaghana, says that he is mentioned as the successor of Viśvarūpācārya in the *Śrividyaṭpaddhati*. Bik. Cat. 613. This *Śrividyaṭpaddhati* is only a portion of the *Gadyavallārī*. See colophon to *Śrividyaṭpaddhati* :

इति श्रीनिजामप्रकाशनन्दिनाथमल्लिकार्जुनयोगीन्द्रविरचितायां गद्यवल्ली अनुक्रमोत्तमाख्यायां श्रीविद्यापद्धतौ etc.

10. AUFRECHT identifies him with Prakāśānanda, author of the vedānta work, *Vedāntasiddhāntamuktāvalī*.

11. See *Annual Report of Mysore Arch. Dept.* 1928, p. 15.

12. Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrin was contemporary of Somaśekhara II (1714-1739 A.D.) of Keladi, when Saccidānanda Bhārati (1705-1741 A.D.), disciple of Narasimha Bhārati adorned the pontifical seat at Śṛṅgeri. *ibid.*

13. Recent researches have shown that Vidyātīrtha, a guru of Śṛṅgeri lived to the end of 1375 A.D. and was immediately succeeded by Vidyāraṇya. See J. A. H. R. S. IX. pt. 4. p. 40 ; also *OLD*. 1938 No. 6. 118.

ability of the list and says that the manuscript of *Śṛṅgagīrīguruparamparā* is defective.

But we have evidence to believe that some ascetics lived longer than others. Viśvarūpa, according to tradition, lived very long. Again take the case of Jñānottama (author of *Iṣṭasiddhivivarāṇa*) who is said to have adorned the pontificate for 63 years :

जातो मङ्गलनाम्नि चोलविषये नागेशसंज्ञात् द्विजात्  
श्रीज्ञानोत्तम इत्यवाप्तविरुदो यः तार्किकाग्रेसरः ।  
ज्ञानानन्दमुनिः त्रिषष्टिशरदः सम्पण्ड्य पीठीं गुरोः  
सिद्धिं मन्मथमार्गशीर्षसितसप्तम्यामवापत्सुधीः ।

*Punyaślokaṃjari*.<sup>14</sup>

Granting even this, we cannot satisfactorily reconcile the fact that 10 ascetics before Vidyāranya were long-lived and his followers abruptly came to be short-lived. Thus arises the doubt regarding the accuracy of the list in *Śṛṅgagīrīguruparamparā*. To explain this discrepancy away the possible course is to assume some break in the continuity of the pontiffs. And until and unless there is some positive evidence for proving this discontinuity, it is unsafe to assume it. Thus apparently the list in the *Śṛṅgagīrīguruparamparā* has to be taken as correct.

Coming to the list itself, the order of succession of the ācāryas is as follows : Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Vasiṣṭha, Śakti, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Śuka, Gauḍapāda, Govinda, Śaṅkara, Viśvarūpa, Nitya-Bodhaghana, Jñānaghana, Jñānottama etc. Śaṅkarācārya is mentioned as the eleventh in the order of succession. Next to Śaṅkara comes Viśvarūpa, who has been proved by authorities to be none else than Sureśvarācārya,<sup>15</sup> Śaṅkara's disciple. Viśvarūpa is mentioned invariably as the successor of Śaṅkara in all the four lists referred to. Govindanātha in his *Śaṅkarācāryacarita*, clearly mentions Sureśvara as the second disciple of Śaṅkara. He also says that Viśvarūpa was his former name as a house-holder, and Sureśvara was his name after sannyāsa.

विश्वरूपं ततो नीत्वा भिक्षुतां देशिकोत्तमः ।

स्वमनोरथलाभेन सन्दुष्टः सुतरामभूत् ॥

*Śaṅkarācāryacarita*, Govindanātha. V. 61.

14. See *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, Intro. HIRIYANNA, p. 35, f. n. 2.

15. See Ānandānubhava's *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī* p. 154, Ms. R. 5505 of Madras Library. Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara are clearly identified.

गृहस्थावस्थायां विरचिते विश्वरूपग्रन्थे दर्शितवाक्यपरिग्रहो दृश्यते । न चासौ ग्रन्थः संन्यासिना विरचितः, तथा हि 'परिव्राजकाचार्यसुरेश्वरविरचिते' इति ग्रन्थे नाम लिखेत् । लिखितं तु 'भट्टविश्वरूपरचिते' See also Ānandagiri's Com. on the above : pp. 110-111 (Ms. No. R. 4459 ibid):

विश्वरूपप्रभाकरयोः आप्तवासिद्धिमाशङ्कते—नन्विति ।.....किं च गार्हस्थ्ये स्थित्वैव निबन्धनिर्माणात् न विश्वरूपाचार्ये पक्षपाताशङ्क्याह गृहस्थेति । etc.

आचार्यस्य द्वितीयोऽयं शिष्यः संन्यासनामतः ।

सुरेश्वर इति ख्यातो बभूव भुवनत्रये ॥ *ibid.* VI. 1.

It is surprising to note that Mr. J. C. GHOSH<sup>16</sup> omits Viśvarūpa's name, probably copying the mistake of Rajendralal MITRA,<sup>17</sup> while giving the list of ācāryas in the *Gadyavallārī*. The text in the *Gadyavallārī* is very clear :

ततः श्रीशङ्कराचार्यो विश्वरूपार्य एव च ।

ततो बोधघनाचार्यः ततो ज्ञानघनाह्वयः ॥

Jñānaghana is the third in the order of succession after Śaṅkara. Since all the lists agree with respect to this fact, this position of Jñānaghana seems to be fairly acceptable, until the above fact is disproved. Thus we are in a position to fix Jñānaghana's date roughly. The date of Śaṅkara's death has been accepted by scholars as 820 A.D. This date is also supported by a striking epigraphical evidence. In *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. I, one Śivasoma, predecessor of King Indravarman (877-889 A.D.) is said to have studied the Śāstras from Śaṅkara :

येनाधीतानि शास्त्राणि भगवच्छङ्कराह्वयात् ।

निःशेषाखिलमूर्धोलिमालालीढाङ्घ्रिपङ्कजात् । Verse 39.

Prof. COEDÈS remarks on this : 'It is not impossible that this is a reference to the celebrated Śaṅkarācārya, whose activity in India falls at the beginning of the 9th century.'<sup>18</sup> King Indravarman flourished about 877 A.D. So that it is not impossible for his preceptor, Śivasoma, to have been a student of Śaṅkara in Śaṅkara's closing years. The latter half of the above verse clearly favours this view.

Now Sureśvara (i.e. Viśvarūpa) was Śaṅkara's disciple and immediate successor. He was followed by Bodhaghana. Bodhaghana was also very famous like his illustrious predecessors. This is borne out when Jñānaghana, his disciple, says of his teacher,

व्याख्यागर्जितनिर्जिता जडभियः कण्ठीरवाशङ्कया

तर्कोरन्यनिषण्णवादिकरिणो निःश्रेयसाद्रौ स्थितिः ।

विद्यावृष्टिसुपकशिष्ययतिसत्सव्यैः क्षमा शोभते

शश्वद् बोधघनस्य यस्य गुरवे तस्मै नमः श्रेयसे ॥

*Tattvaśuddhi* Ch. I. v. 4.

Bodhaghana was followed by Jñānaghana. Thus approximately some 80 years can be reasonably assumed to have elapsed after Śaṅkara, and before Jñānaghana came to the pontificate, assuming of course, that Sureśvara and Bodhaghana together adorned the seat at Śringeri for 80 years. This assumption is not altogether impossible, when we take into consideration the fact

16. *IHQ.* XIII pt. 4.

17. *Mitra Notices of Mss.* VII, 2261, p. 17.

18. See *J.O.R. Madras*, XI, iii. pp. 285-6. K. A. Nilakantha SASTRI : 'A Note on the date of Śaṅkara.'

that according to tradition, Sureśvara had a very long life. Thus Jñānaghana can be placed at 900 A.D.

This date is supported by other evidences too. Taking the internal evidence : Jñānaghana rarely quotes from others. In one place<sup>19</sup> in his *Tattvaśuddhi* he quotes a stanza from Maṇḍana's *Brahmasiddhi* :

लब्धरूपे क्वचित् किञ्चित्तादृगेव निविध्यते ।  
विधानमन्तरेणातो न निषेधस्य संभवः ॥<sup>20</sup>

In chapter 39 of the *Tattvaśuddhi*, in connection with the discussion of the substrate of avidyā, Jñānaghana refers respectfully to the view held by Sureśvara. The actual reference is : *atmaiva svāvidyayā saṃsarati svāvidya-yaiva vimucyate iti hi tattva-vidān sthitiḥ*. Though he does not explicitly mention Sureśvara by name, from Appayya Dikṣita's *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha* (p. 122 of the Kasi Skt. Series. See also Acyutakṛṣṇānanda's commentary thereon) we know that this view was held by Sureśvara.<sup>21</sup> This favours Jñānaghana being placed about 900 A.D.

Again in chapter 44 of the *Tattvaśuddhi*, on avidyānivṛtti, Jñānaghana says :

यस्मात् नाज्ञाननिवृत्तिः सदसदनिर्वचनीयप्रकारा अस्माभिरभ्युपगम्यते ; किं तु पञ्चमप्रकारा ।  
सदसदादिप्रकाराः किल निवृत्तयो भावाभावयोरेव दृष्टाः । अज्ञानं पुनः सदसद्विलक्षणम् । अतस्तन्नि-  
वृत्तिरपि तदनुसारिणी युक्ता । यक्षानुरूपो बलिरिति हि न्यायः । etc.

In the above *pratīka*, there seems to be reference, without mention of name, to the views of Vimuktātman. For in the advaitic tradition, the fifth mode of avidyānivṛtti is associated with the name of Vimuktātman,<sup>22</sup> though in the *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*,<sup>23</sup> this view is attributed to Ānandabodha. This would show that Vimuktātman was a predecessor of Jñānaghana.

Again in the above *patrika* it does not seem altogether impossible to suppose that there is a veiled reference to Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, when Jñānaghana says : *yakṣānurūpo baliḥ iti hi nyāyaḥ*.<sup>24</sup> Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, the great grandson of Śaktisvāmin, the minister of King Muktāpiḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir, could not have been very far removed from the famous Vācaspati Miśra (841 A.D.). Probably both of them were contemporaries.<sup>25</sup> This also is in favour of placing Jñānaghana about 900 A.D.

19. Prakaraṇa 1, p. 6 of the Madras Univ. edn.

20. *Brahmasiddhi* p. 44 Mm. Kuppuswami SASTRIAR'S Edn.

21. Citsukha attributes this view to Vimuktātman. See *Citsukhi*, p. 363 and also the commentary thereon by Pratyagrūpabhaṅgavān.

22. See *J. O. R. M. V.*, p. 332.

23. Chapter IV.

24. Cf. the verse in *Nyāyamañjari* p. 355.

न सन्नासन्न सदसन्नानिर्वाच्योऽपि तत्क्षयः ।

यक्षानुरूपो हि बलिरित्याचार्या व्यचीचरन् ॥

25. *Sarasvati Bhavana Studies* III, p. 104, f. n.

In another place<sup>26</sup> he refers to Umveka, not directly, but refers to his views as Umveka-pakṣa. This is clear evidence to prove that Jñānaghana lived at a period, when Umveka's views were authoritatively recognised. Umveka has been proved by scholars to be the same as Bhavabhūti, the dramatist-philosopher, on the evidence of Citsukha.<sup>27</sup> Umveka now, is also accepted to be a disciple of Kumārila.<sup>28</sup> Bhavabhūti lived about 750 A.D.<sup>29</sup> The fact that Umveka was very proficient in mīmāṃsā, especially in the *śloka-vārtika* of Kumārila is testified by the commonly quoted stanza :

ओम्बेकः कारिकां वेत्ति तन्त्रं वेत्ति प्रभाकरः ।

वामनस्तुभ्यं वेत्ति न किञ्चिदपि रेवणः ॥

*Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccayaṭīkā* : Guṇaratna, p. 20 Bib. Ind. edn.

The frequent references to the doctrines of mīmāṃsā and vedic exegesis in the dramas of Bhavabhūti also point to this fact. Umveka's commentary of the *Śloka-vārtika*<sup>30</sup> has been recently discovered. Umveka also wrote a commentary<sup>31</sup> on Maṇḍana's *Bhāvanā-viveka*.<sup>32</sup> He noted different readings in the text of Maṇḍana and in some places also gave alternative interpretations.<sup>33</sup> All these prove that Umveka was a great mīmāṃsaka. Reasonably some 100 years can be fairly assumed for the spread of Umveka's views in mīmāṃsā and for him to become as an authoritative exponent of this system and to have followers to justify the phrase—*umveka-pakṣa*. Thus *umveka-mata* in mīmāṃsā would have been prevalent only at about 850 A.D.<sup>34</sup> And the fact that Jñānaghana refers to Umveka's views with a certain amount of contempt shows that Jñānaghana could not have flourished earlier than 850 A.D. Thus Jñāna-

26. Ch. 29—*Bhedābheda-nirāsa-prakaraṇa*, p. 204 of the Madras Ms. D. 15729.

अयं तु क्षणकपक्षादपि पापीयानुम्वेकपक्ष इत्युपेक्ष्यते

27. *Citsukhi*, p. 265, N. S. Edn.

28. See Intro. to *Gauḍavaho* p. ccvi. by S. P. PANDIT :

इति श्रीमत्कुमारिलस्वामिप्रसादप्राज्ञवाग्वैभव श्रीमदुम्बेकाचार्यविरचिते मातृतीमाधवे षष्ठोऽङ्कः ॥

29. Bhavabhūti must be referred to the last quarter of the 7th century and the first of the eighth, i.e. 675-725 A.D. See R. G. BHANDARKAR. Intro. to the *Report on Search of Mss. in the Bom. Pres.* during 1883-4, p. 15.

30. To be published shortly by the Madras University.

31. Printed in the Sarasvati Bhavana Texts Series.

32. There is some doubt regarding the identity of this Umveka with the commentator on *Śloka-vārtika*. For Maṇḍana seems to have known of Śaṅkara's views about samuccaya-vāda and he disagreed with him. This shows that Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana were contemporaries. Thus Umveka, who commented on Maṇḍana's *Bhāvanā-viveka*, and noted different readings also in Maṇḍana's text, should necessarily be later than Maṇḍana and thus later than Śaṅkara too. Umveka, who is identical with Bhavabhūti and who wrote a commentary on *Śloka-vārtika*, thus cannot be the same as the commentator on *Bhāvanā-viveka*.

33. See *I. H. Q.* VII. p. 303.

34. Another plausible objection is this : Is it necessary that Umveka-pakṣa should signify a school or a following of Umveka? Why not it be taken to mean Umveka's individual views? But the clear comparison of Umveka-pakṣa with Kṣaṇapaka-pakṣa in the reference given serves to answer this objection.

ghana can safely be placed about 900 A.D. which makes him a contemporary of Sarvajñātman, author of *Samkṣepaśārīraka*, who lived about 900 A.D.,<sup>35</sup> and not a contemporary of Prakāśātman,<sup>36</sup> as supposed by Mr. S. Srikanta SASTRI.

Another important point not to be lost sight of in this connection is this. The date of Jñānaghana is arrived at 900 A.D. taking that of Śaṅkara's death as 820 A.D. There is a difference of opinion regarding this date of Śaṅkara. If the date of Śaṅkara's death is taken as 664 A.D.,<sup>37</sup> a deduction of 156 years becomes necessary and thus Jñānaghana will have to be placed at 744 A.D. This is too early for him as proved by the internal evidence, where Jñānaghana refers to the *Umvekapakṣa*, which as has been said above would have been prevalent only at about 850 A.D. Nor can the date for Śaṅkara (655-687 A.D.) given by Dr. Chintamani<sup>38</sup> be accepted, for the same reason. Again for the very same reason, the date ascribed recently by Bhagavaddatta to Śaṅkara's disciple, Viśvarūpa (600 A.D.) also cannot be accepted. Bhagavaddatta attributes this date to Viśvarūpa after identifying Pratāpaśīla occurring in a verse at the end of the Ācārādhyāya of Viśvarūpa's *Bālakriḍā*,<sup>39</sup> a commentary on *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, with King Prabhākara-vardhana (who died in 605 A.D.) and was probably Viśvarūpa's patron on the authority of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, who in his *Harṣacarita*, beginning of the 4th Uchhvāsa says :

तेषु चैवमुत्पद्यमानेषु.....प्रतापशील इति प्रयितापरनामा प्रभाकरवर्धनो नाम राजाधिराजः ।

This is not sufficient evidence to establish the identity. For the word 'pratāpaśīla' occurs in many inscriptions and need not necessarily imply a proper name. It, after all, signifies only valour. And Prabhākara-vardhana was not the only King noted for his valour. Bāṇa simply wanted to give expression to Prabhākara-vardhana's prowess and he poetically expressed pratāpaśīla as another well-known name of Prabhākara-vardhana. Thus the identification of Pratāpaśīla with Prabhākara-vardhana is not sufficiently supported by evidence.

Hence until further decisive evidences are put forth to contradict the date of Śaṅkara's death as 820 A.D., it tentatively holds good.

Mr. J. C. GHOSH,<sup>40</sup> on the authority of the Śringeri list, assigns Jñāna-

35. Das GUPTA : *History of Indian Philosophy*, II, p. 111.

36. See later.

37. *Brahmasiddhi* : Introduction, p. lviii.

38. J. O. R., Madras, III, p. 47.

39. इति संभृतमण्डलः सुधामा पुरुषचिरो रमणः प्रतापशीलः ।

रविरिव नृपतिः समः प्रजानां जगदखिलं व्यवहारतो बिभर्ति ॥

See also :

प्रथमोदयानुरक्तो निखिलमलं मण्डलं निजं कृत्वा ।

पालयति सततमुर्वी अतिबलवानेष नृपसचिता ॥

End of Vyāvahārādhyāya of *Bālakriḍā*.

40. *IHQ*, Dec, 1937.



ghana to the period 848-910 A.D. This is approximately correct. But he goes on to identify Śirṃhagiri found in the list with Gauḍeśvara, Citsukha's preceptor and says that Śirṃhagiri is identical with Jñānottama. This point is still doubtful.

Recently again, Mr. S. Srikanta SASTRI,<sup>41</sup> thinks that *Tattvaśuddhi* was based on a work named *Ātmatattva*! probably by Ananyānubhava. The basis for this assumption is this. First of all he wrongly quotes the text of *Tattvaśuddhi* thus<sup>42</sup> :

इह खलु निखिलोपनिषत्पदकदम्बकताऽपर्यपर्यालोचनापरिनिश्चितं अनन्यानुभवानन्दाद्वितीयात्म-  
तत्त्वमधिकृत्य केषुचिदर्थेषु तत्त्वपरिशोधनं विधीयते ।

The correct version of the text is :<sup>43</sup>

इह खलु.....—मधिकृत्य केषुचिदर्थेषु तत्त्वपरिशोधनं विधीयते ।

He seems to read in the words 'ātmatattvaṃ adhikṛtya' some undue emphasis and interprets them as based on *Ātmatattva*, a work ! Who is the author of this so-called *Ātmatattva* ? Srikanta SASTRI proceeds to interpret the compound —ananyānubhavānandādvitīyātmatattvam as referring to Ananyānubhava, the author of *Ātmatattva*, on which is based Jñānaghana's *Tattvaśuddhi*. In support of this wrong reading and undue emphasis on certain words, he sets forth the evidence of Prakāśātman, who in his *Vivaraṇa*<sup>44</sup> says that one Ananyānubhava was his guru. Thus Srikanta SASTRI makes Jñānaghana a contemporary and probably a disciple of Ananyānubhava.

This sort of surmises seems to come out of the interpreter's enthusiasm to find out new and hitherto unknown works and authors in advaita. For the explanation of the commentary<sup>45</sup> on *Tattvaśuddhi* for the word 'adhikṛtya' is not in his favour. There, adhikṛtya is given as equivalent to 'prastutya', which means only 'about which'. Further the words अनन्यानुभवानन्दाद्वितीयात्म-

41. *IHQ*. XIV. ii. p. 402.

42. *IHQ*. XIV. ii. p. 402.

43. See edition of *Tattvaśuddhi* in the *Annals of Or. Institute*, Madras University.

44. See *Vivaraṇa* Introductory verse 6 :

वन्दे तमात्मसम्बुद्धस्फुरद्ब्रह्मावबोधतः ।

अर्थतोऽपि न नात्रैव योऽनन्यानुभवो गुरुः ॥

45. The commentary is by one Uttamañña, disciple of Jñānottama. See the introductory verses in the commentary as also the colophon. A copy of this commentary is available in the Madras Mss. Library. No. 15730.

यन्नामश्रवणाद्भीता वादिनो मोहिता शृशम् ।

तस्मै ज्ञानोत्तमार्थाय जगन्मोहभिदे नमः ॥ २ ॥

उत्तमज्ञो यतिवरो ज्ञानोत्तमपदाश्रयः ।

तत्त्वशुद्धेस्तु सद्वाख्यामहं कुर्वे यथाबलम् ॥ ३ ॥

Colophon :

इति परानन्दपरिज्ञानपरितृप्तपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमज्ज्ञानोत्तमभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्ये-  
णोत्तमज्ञयतिवरेण मयेयं सद्वाख्या कृतेति ।

त्वमधिकृत्य cannot satisfactorily and without prejudice to the principles of Sanskrit grammar give rise to the assumption that Ananyānubhava was the author of one *Ātmatattva*, a work! If this is so, the words ānanda and advitīyā go without any connection or *sāmarthya* and could not be tagged together in the above compound. The words at best yield only the sense—that some points about (adhikṛtya) the nature of Ātman (ātmatattva) which is secondless and of the nature of bliss to be realised only by personal experience (ananya-anubhava-ānanda-advitiya) are to be considered in the following 46 chapters of the *Tattvaśuddhi*.

If Mr. Srikanta SASTRI thinks that he can have some liberty in interpreting the above compound, another person cannot be denied the same. And a third man can as well suppose one Anubhavānanda as the author of some work, probably *Ātmatattva*. If against this Mr. SASTRI says that his position is supported by Prakāśātman's evidence, it is also possible to say that Anubhavānanda was the guru of Amalānanda<sup>46</sup> (*Kalpataru*). Or one can again suppose that Anubhavānanda, pupil of Kṛṣṇānanda (author of *Siddhāntasiddhāntajana*) and author of a commentary called *Advaitaratnakośa-prakāśa*<sup>47</sup> on Nṛsiṃhāśramin's *Advaitaratnakośa*, was the author of *Ātmatattva*, an independent advaita work, on which was based Jñānaghana's *Tattvaśuddhi*. In this case, instead of Jñānaghana being the contemporary of Prakāśātman, as supposed by Mr. Srikanta SASTRI, he can be shown to have flourished in the 18th century. For, Anubhavānanda, the commentator on Nṛsiṃhāśrama's *Advaitaratnakośa*, should have flourished in the latter half of the 17th century. And Jñānaghana to base his *Tattvaśuddhi* on this Anubhavānanda's work, the so-called *Ātmatattva*, can be easily ascribed to the beginning of the 18th century. All this to show that there is or can be no limit to this kind of surmises.

Let us now see what other information can be had of Jñānaghana. All that we know of him is that he was the disciple of one Bodhaghanācārya, and that he was the fourth from Śaṅkarācārya in the pontificate at Śringeri. AUFRECHT<sup>48</sup> notices a commentary on *Caturvedatātparyasaṅgraha* of Haradatta, attributed to one Jñānaghana and identifies him with the author of *Tattvaśuddhi*. A copy of Jñānaghana's gloss on *Caturvedatātparyasaṅgraha* is available in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.<sup>49</sup> It begins :

स्वयंप्रभुसुखं ब्रह्म दयारचितविग्रहम् ।

यथार्थानुभवानन्दपदगीतं गुरुं नुमः ॥

47. See *Des. Cat. of Mss. in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library*, Nos. 7502-04. This Anubhavānanda is also the author of a commentary called *Prabhāmaṇḍala* on *Sāstradīpikā*, ibid. No. 6932. This work is different from the *Prabhāmaṇḍala* of Yajñanārāyaṇa Dikṣita on the *Sāstradīpikā*.

48. *Cat. Catalogorum* I, p. 179a.

49. *Des. Cat. of Mss. in ASB*, VII, No. 5621.

श्रीहरदत्ताचार्यकृतचतुर्वेदतात्पर्यदीपिकाप्रारंभः । शिवरहस्ये शिवोक्तिः । कलियुगे मङ्गलको भविष्यति । आचार्यचरणैः चतुर्वेदतात्पर्यसंग्रहः कियते इत्युक्तम् । तन्मूलसूत्रस्तवो लिख्यते—  
महादेवो देवः etc.

It ends :

इति श्रीज्ञानघनेन विरचिता चतुर्वेदतात्पर्यसंग्रहदीपिका समाप्ता । श्रीगौरीशङ्कार्पणमस्तु ।  
दीपिकासंख्या शतद्वादश ( 112 ).

This Jñānaghana seems to me to be different and later than the author of *Tattvaśuddhi*. Haradatta Śivācārya probably flourished at the end of the 11th century. For *Kureśaviṇaya* is a point to point refutation of Haradatta's *Pañcaratnamālikā*. Haradatta, thus was a contemporary of Rāmānuja and an elder contemporary of Kureśa.<sup>50</sup> Again from the introductory verses of the chapters of *Tattvaśuddhi* it is clear that Jñānaghana, author of *Tattvaśuddhi* worshipped Viṣṇu.<sup>51</sup> And for the devotee of Viṣṇu, to write a commentary of a purely Śaiva work, though not impossible, does not seem to be probable. Further the *Dīpikā* on *Caturvedatātparyasaṅgraha* is very brief,<sup>52</sup> and does not exhibit the thorough and comprehensive style of Jñānaghana, author of *Tattvaśuddhi*. Thus with the available facts, at present, it is not safe to say that the author of the *Caturvedatātparyadīpikā* is identical with Jñānaghana, author of *Tattvaśuddhi*.

50. *Proceedings of 6th All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 609.

51. See also the last stanza in *Tattvaśuddhi* where the author himself says that he was a devotee of Viṣṇu :

श्रीमच्छङ्करभाष्यदुग्धजलधेरादाय विद्याजलं  
सद्यो बोधघनो विनेयफलवत्सस्योत्करे वर्धते ।  
तद्विद्याजलबिन्दुसंस्तुतमतिश्वके सदाधोऽक्षजे  
भक्तो ज्ञानघनाभिधानगदितः तत्त्वार्थशुद्धिं मुनिः ॥

52. *Dīpikā-samkhyā śata-dvādaśa* (112). Refer to above.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### A COMPREHENSIVE INDEX TO THE QUR'AN

To

THE EDITORS,

*New Indian Antiquary.*

Dear Sirs,

The Committee of the Islamic Research Association has for some time past been considering the advisability of preparing a comprehensive *Index* to the *Qur'an* in English. The inadequacy and incompleteness of the existing indexes is well known to all those who are interested in Islamic studies. It is felt that a full and adequate index, free from the prevalent inaccuracies, would be a useful addition to the reference books concerning Islam.

It is therefore a matter of gratification to the Committee to announce that the President of our Association has offered a prize of Rs. 500 for the preparation of such an index. The index when ready will be published by the Association at its own cost. The particulars, terms and conditions are as follows :

- (1) The *Index* to the *Qur'an* should be in English.
- (2) The references will be to the Egyptian Royal ed. (A. H. 1342, Bulaq) and also, to FLÜGEL's ed. of the Arabic Text.
- (3) The *Index* should be arranged like a dictionary and should be on the model of WENSINCK'S *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition* (Brill, Leiden, 1927). It should be arranged alphabetically, for facility of reference, and not in separate sections. It must be full and comprehensive, containing (a) Geographical Names, (b) Names of Persons and Tribes, (c) Technical Terms and (d) a complete subject-index, and full cross-references.
- (4) In the preparation of the index, particular attention should be paid to the needs of the *layman* (accustomed to read the *Qur'an* in an English translation).
- (5) The MS. (typewritten, or written with equal legibility) should be submitted on or before 31st December 1942, to the Hon. Secretary, Islamic Research Association. It should be copy for the press, that is, absolutely ready for being sent to the printer, typewritten (or written) on one side of the paper only, and provided with a margin.
- (6) The Committee reserves to itself the right to give extra time to an author, on sufficient reason being given.
- (7) The Committee shall be the sole judge of the merits of the MSS. submitted and it reserves to itself the right to reject any or all MSS. offered without assigning any reasons, and its decision shall be final.
- (8) The rejected MSS. will in due course be returned to the respective authors, but whilst it is intended to take every care to ensure the safe return of the MSS. to the author, the Association or its officers will not be responsible for the loss of, or damage to, the MSS.
- (9) The selected MS. will be published in the series of the Islamic Research Association.

- (10) Every person regardless of religion, nationality, race or sex is eligible to compete,

Provided that the Members of the Executive Committee of the Islamic Research Association shall not be so eligible.

- (11) The accepted MS. and its copyright will belong to the Association.

Every student of Islam is earnestly invited to compete for the prize. Scholars who are contemplating to prepare such an index are invited to write to the Hon. Secretary.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly give to the above announcement the widest publicity possible, by publishing it in the journals in which you are interested, or by exhibiting it on the Notice Board, or by any other means.

Yours faithfully,

Bombay, 10 April 1940

A. A. A. FYZEE

*Replies may kindly be sent to Asaf A. A. Fyzee Esq., Hon. Secretary Islamic Research Association, Government Law College, Bombay, 1. India.*

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## OUTLINE OF A SCHEME FOR AN INDIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS

### *Objects :—*

1. To represent to the World of Letters, the intellectual achievement in the Indian vernacular literatures and to stand out as a representative institution of India by means of which the influence of India might be greater.
2. To make known the vernacular literatures outside their linguistic area and to encourage good writers by means of annual awards.
3. To influence the Cultural unification of India and to co-ordinate the various activities of several branches of study and creative genius.
4. To encourage individual genius by awarding annual prizes to the best of literary, scientific and artistic productions in India.
5. To foster unity and friendship among poets and artists all over India by holding conferences in which mutual expression of views and experiences should be rendered possible ; and to do all that is necessary to encourage, spread and develop by all possible means the literary and artistic genius in India. The Academy should be run absolutely on non-communal and non-provincial lines. The membership of the Academy should be kept on a basis of pure merit and should be free from all personal considerations. It shall be a distinction comparable to membership in the Academies of leading Western Countries.

### *The Constitution and The Organization of the Academy :—*

1. Branches of the Academy should be established in each province (having a recognised vernacular) and these should be co-ordinated by a Central Office of the Academy at Delhi, Calcutta or Bombay.
2. Each Provincial branch should maintain its own language and collect specimens of excellent literary and artistic productions of the year. They should be sent to the Central Office from all parts of India.

3. The Board of Award at the Centre should be run in English or Hindi ; and it should assign the hall-mark of recognition to certain really meritorious works, after appraising their value and apportioning their merit. They should arrange for their translation into a common language. The awards should be made for the best work in all fields of Cultural activity, Literature, Art, and Research in Science and History.

4. The Academy should run a bi-monthly journal in English or Hindi in which contributions from writers all over India and reports of activities from all provinces should be published. The Journal should be conducted by an Editorial Board representing all provincial units and aspects of culture.

5. The Academy should undertake the publication of a Bibliography of Indian Publications, for which the Co-operation of all the Academies, Research Societies and Art-Galleries in India should be sought. This should be an annual feature, for which a handsome subsidy from the Government should be applied for.

6. The Management of the Academy should vest in an annually elected President, Vice-President and three General Secretaries assisted by an Executive Committee of a representative character. The Board of Award and The Editorial Board should be affiliated to the Central Executive Body.

7. An All-India Conference should meet every year, to which delegates from all provinces should attend. The Conference should be utilized for exchange of views, discussion of important topics and problems facing the Academy and the body should arrive at resolutions which should be binding on the Body. The President of the Conference should be duly elected by all delegates.

8. The Indian Academy should be represented in all International Conferences, by a batch of delegates, specially elected by the body.

In the initial stages, the Academy should apply to the Government and Public Bodies for funds. Liberal donations from patriotic philanthropists should also be sought.

*Vizianagarum City.*

D. VISVESVARA RAU.

## REVIEWS

*Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department* for the year 1937. University of Mysore ; Government Press, Bangalore, 1938. Pp. ix+243.

This Report of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore for the year ending 30th June 1937 is as replete with information and illustrations as its predecessors. Among the ancient sites studied during the period of this report were Channagiri, Chitaldrug, Kittur and Hale-Ālūr. Of the monuments studied two deserve special mention viz. (1) The Arkeśvara temple at Hale-Ālūr with its numerous sculptures of the Chōla period and (2) the Rāmesvara temple at Narasamangala, a unique monument with very fine sculptures. Some valuable epigraphic work was also done by the Department during this period. About 75 inscriptions were collected, some of which have been edited by Mr. R. Rama RAO, the Assistant of the Department with the help of Pandits under the instructions of Dr. M. H. KRISHNA, M. A., D. Litt. the Director of Archaeology. Among the new finds, two are important : (1) an epigraph on the Dhvaja-stambha of the Keśava temple at Bēlūr stating that the golden Khaga-dhavja-stambha was set up by Jakkarasa, son of Timmarasa, subordinate of the famous king Krishnarāya of Vijayanagar, and (2) an inscription of the same temple recording a grant made to some Śiva temple near Bēlūr by Ballāla I, the Hoysala king in 1106 A.D. The Department also purchased the Basavanpur copper-plates of the Punnād king Skandavarman which were published as No. 53 of 1936. An interesting MS (of the "Memoirs of Hyder Ally from the year 1758 to 1770" by Eloy Joze Correa Peixoto, a Portuguese in Hydar's service) which was acquired previously was completely copied in spite of its faintly visible hand-writing and studied for review. The Department also acquired some 50 interesting coins and prepared 141 electro-type casts for the coin show-case of the Government Museum, Bangalore. The Director and his assistants, took an active part in the sixcentenary celebrations of the Vijayanagar Empire at Hampi. These are some of the details of Part I of the Report.

Part II of the Report is devoted to the *Study of Ancient Monuments and Sites* (pp. 3-73). It contains much useful matter for the benefit of students of Indian Sculpture and Iconography as a mere glance at the plates will show.—Part III deals with Numismatics (pp. 74-81) and describes some Pāṇḍya coins of date prior to A.D. 1200 and also those of later Pāṇḍyas (after A.D. 1210) viz. Māvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, Sundara Pāṇḍya II, Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and Māvarman Kulaśekhara I. Part IV (*Manuscripts*) pp. 82-119 describes the MS of *Memoirs of Hydar Ally* referred to above and takes a detailed review of its contents. The MS was purchased in London. Another copy of this MS in English exists in the British Museum and consists of 176 pages. The present MS contains 166 pages in three books. It is possible to suggest that this MS is a translation of an original Portuguese MS written in A.D. 1770. These *Memoirs* of Hyder (1758-1770) record chronologically many anecdotes about his rise in the army and eventually in the administration of the country. It refers to many facts touching on Hyder's ability and character e.g. his unscrupulousness in killing his mother with his own hands. This story of matricide requires corroboration though it is a contemporary statement from one who had great admiration for his hero.—Part V (*New Inscriptions for the year 1937*) pp. 120-189 contains the texts, Notes and translations of many lithic records, some of which bear dates A.D. 1455, 1340, 1259, 1282, 1311, 1280, 1294, 1303, 1196, 1337, 1514, 1276, 1181, 1109, 1148, 1162, 1140, 1097, 1142, 1240, 1207, 1551, 1122, 1303, 1300, 1334, 1337, etc. One of the inscriptions, though not dated belongs to the Gaṅga ruler Satyavākya Rāchamalla II

(c. 9th Cent. A.D.). The sculpture of a bull (Plate II, 2) depicting a young bull of the "Baroda breed" would be found interesting to the historians of Indian agriculture and Cattle-breeding. Another important sculpture is the image of *Paraśurāma* (Plate XI, 3) with his *paraśu* or mace-axe resting on the right knee. As in the sculptures in Ellora and Elephanta his lower lip is thick while the upper one is thin. This reminds us of the celebrated "Austrian lip." Other sculptures though important cannot be indicated in this notice for want of space.

Dr. KRISHNA and his Department deserve our best thanks for publishing such Reports under the direct patronage of the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, one of the most progressive and enlightened rulers of modern India.

P. K. G.

*Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume* (Published under the auspices of the Vijayanagara Empire Sexcentenary Association and Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar) 1936 ; Pp. iv+380 ; Size :—7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 10".

The present volume, sumptuous in matter and form, is a visible indication of that national consciousness among Indian Scholars, which has shown itself as a potent factor dominating all their activities in varied spheres, social, intellectual and political, during the last two decades. This healthy attitude of mind has brought forth a national revival in all spheres of intellectual life and has given us a new vision and a new aim in our studies pertaining to our past glories as also our pitfalls.

It is really an irony of fate that a Hindu Empire which stood in tact against foreign inroads for no less than two hundred years should be shattered to pieces by one decisive battle and should require a Sexcentenary volume to commemorate its glories and cultural achievements ! Be that as it may, we heartily thank the organizers of the present volume for putting together much valuable historical matter about this "forgotten empire" in the form of 32 papers (with numerous illustrations) from young and veteran scholars, who have been actuated by the sole desire of representing every aspect of this empire on the basis of historical records.

In 1931 Mr. P. N. BENGRI of Hubli suggested a celebration at Hampi in commemoration of the Sexcentenary of the foundation the Vijayanagara Empire. An association for this purpose was formed in 1933 and public opinion in favour of the celebration was created among the people of Karnāṭaka by holding conferences at Hubli (1933), Raichur (1934) and Bombay (1934). It was decided to publish a (1) History of Vijayanagara in Kannāḍa, (2) a Vijayanagara Commemoration volume first in English and in vernaculars later on as also (3) a picture-album of the monumental relics of Vijayanagara. Of these three items the monumental English volume is an accomplished fact and we await an early execution of the two other items with eagerness.

The present volume has been brought out under the guidance of the veteran historian Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D. who, in spite of his advanced age of 66 years devoted his energies to the work of the volume and but for whose guidance "the volume would not have had the finish in the matter and form which it now has" as we are informed gratefully by Mr. D. P. KARMARKAR, the Secretary of the "Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume."

Before closing our short notice of this volume we shall only indicate in brief the names of contributors together with their contributions : (1) S. K. AIYANGAR—*Character and Significance of the Empire of Vijayanagar in Indian History*, (2) H. HERAS—*Vijayanagara Empire a Synthesis of South Indian Culture*, (3) R. RAMRAO—*Hinduism under Vijayanagara Kings*, (4) K. ISHWARA DUTT—*Telugu Literature under Vijayanagara Empire*, (5) S. R. SHARMA—*Vijayanagara and Jainism*, (6) C.



SIVARAMAMURTI—*Vijayanagara Paintings from the Temple at Lepakshi*, (7) S. PARAMASIVAN—*Late Vijayanagara Paintings in the Bhāḍīśvara Temple at Tanjore*, (8) R. S. PANCHAMUKHI—*Coinage of the Vijayanagara Dynasties*, (9) D. B. DISKALKAR—*Shahaji's Relations with Vijayanagara*, (10) T. S. SHEJWALKAR—*What Shivaji and the Maratha State owed to, Vijayanagara*, (11) B. A. SALETORÉ—*Theories Concerning the Origin of Vijayanagara*, (12) S. SRIKANTAYYA—*Vijayanagara and Vidyāraṇya*, (13) V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR—*Establishment of the Vijayanagara Rule in the Tamil Country*, (14) K. RAGHAVA CHARLU—*Krishna Raya, The Man*, (15) G. H. KHARE—*Krishnadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara and the Viṭṭhala Image at Pandharpur*, (16) R. N. SALETORÉ—*Some Aspects of Art during the Reign of Krishnadeva Rāya*, (17) V. S. RAMACHANDRA MURTY—*Authorship and Importance of the Amuktamālyada as a Source of History for the Reign of Shri Krishnadevarāya*, (18) G. S. DIXIT—*Economic Conditions in the Time of Krishnadevarāya*, (19) N. VENKATA RAO—*Krishnadevarāya and his Literary Circle*, (20) B. KESHAVA RAO—*Historical Importance of Pārijātāpaharanam*, (21) K. K. BASU—*Battle of Talikota*, (22) N. LAKSHMINARAYANA RAO—*The Nāyakas of Kelaḍi*, (23) N. K. V. PANTULU—*An Interesting Chapter in the History of Vijayanagara*, (24) C. M. R. CHETTIAR—*Rule of Vijayanagara Over Kongu Country*, (25) M. H. KRISHNA—*Vidyasankara Temple, Sringeri*, (26) S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI—*Development of Sanskrit Literature under Vijayanagara*, (27) N. SUBRAHMANYAM—*Geographical Notes on the Chief Capitals of the Vijayanagara Empire*, (28) P. S. SUNDARAM IYER—*Sri Vidyaranya and Music*, (29) C. HAYAVADANA RAO—*Lines of Future Research in Vijayanagara History*, (30) D. L. NARASIMHA CHAR—*Kannada Literature under Vijayanagara*, (31) K. V. H. KRISHNACHARYA—*Music under the Vijayanagara Empire*, (32) V. RAGHAVAN—*Brahmasūtravṛtti of Praudhadevaraya*. The above contents speak for the richness and variety of the subject matter, which we are sure, would make the volume indispensable to all lovers of Indian History in India and outside.

P. K. G.

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*Bhāskari* (Vol. I)—A commentary on the *Īśvara-Pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī* of Abhinavagupta, edited by K. A. Subramania IYER and Dr. K. C. PANDEY, University of Lucknow (Sanskrit Department) ; Prince of Wales Saraswati Bhavan Texts, No. 70 Allahabad, 1938. Pp. xiii + 425. Size :—5½"×9". Price :—Rs. 6.

The volume before us is an illustrious addition to the celebrated Saraswati Bhavan Texts Series of Benares. The *Īśvara-Pratyabhijñā-Vimarśinī* of Abhinavagupta is the most important work on the Saiva Philosophy of Kashmir, as it is a mature product of Abhinavagupta's brilliant genius. It gives the fundamentals of Saivism in a brief but lucid manner of exposition. Abhinava is known to us also as the author of the *Abhinavabhāratī* commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He was influenced in his exposition of the theory of *Rasa* by the Kashmir Saiva Philosophy of which he was an acknowledged master. The need for a traditional interpretation of this philosophy so long felt by scholars has been at last fulfilled by the present commentary of Bhāskara, published for the first time by two able scholars Prof. AIYAR and Dr. PANDEY of the Lucknow University.

Bhāskara's commentary or *Bhāskari* is represented by a rare MS used for the present edition. It was discovered by Dr. PANDEY (the indefatigable author of the monumental work on *Abhinavagupta*) in Srinagar in 1931. Its owner is a descendant of Bhāskara still living in Kashmir. A copy of this original MS is now in the possession of Pandit Maheshwar RAZDAN of Srinagar. This copy has been used for the pre-

sent edition. The difficulty of editing a Sanskrit text on the basis of a single MS is very great but the editors have tried their best to be faithful to the MS used by them facilitating the work of subsequent editors. In the critical introduction the Editors have explained in detail the value of this commentary. They are of opinion that "Bhāskara's interpretation of the Vimarśinī is in strict accordance with tradition, because the Śaiva tradition was unbroken, as he himself says, upto his time (*Bhāskari*, I. p. 7)." Giving an estimate of Bhāskara as a commentator we are told that "Hardly any word of the original is left unexplained. But it is not merely a word for word commentary. He tries to bring out the philosophical import of the original and, where necessary, he enlarges upon the real meaning of Abhinava." As regards Bhāskara's date and antecedents Dr. PANDEY has already dealt with the subject on p. 151 ff. of his "*Abhinavagupta*" and hence the subject is not dealt with in the present Introduction.

If Bhāskara strictly follows tradition and if his exposition of Abhinava's text is very scholarly and rooted in this tradition the fact that Bhāskara is a late commentator of the 18th century need not detract the value of his commentary as emphasized by the learned editors. It is high time that many of the texts on the Śaiva Philosophy of Kashmir now in MS form are published by scholars in Kashmir and outside and thus made available for further critical study in the manner adopted by Prof. AIYAR and Dr. PANDEY.

P. K. G.

*Malwa in Transition or A Century of Anarchy, The First Phase (1698-1765)* by Dr. Raghubir SINGH, M.A.L.L.B., D. LITT. with a Foreword by Jadunath SARKAR, KT. C.I.E., D. LITT. ; D. B. Taraporewalla & Co. 210 Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. 1936. xv+391. Price Rs. 5/-. Size :—5½"×8"

It is a pity that Malwa, which played an important part during the Hindu and early Muslim periods of Indian History has had upto now no history worthy of its past except Sir John MALCOLM'S *Memoir of Central India* (1820), which, being a pioneer work, was necessarily imperfect and became obsolete in course of time. This deficiency in the history of Malwa has been now happily made good by our learned friend Dr. Raghubir SINGH, who combines in himself in a unique degree all the benefits accruing from a rare co-operation of *Śrī* and *Sarasvatī*. To add to this blessed circumstance the Maharāj Kumar possesses intimate knowledge of Malwa with its topography and genealogy—a factor which makes his present study of Malwa, "intensive, accurate and exhaustive" as Sir Jadunath SARKAR calls it in his brief but forceful Foreword to the Volume. The Raj Kumar has also utilized all the available materials, bearing on the period chosen by him, in printed and manuscript records from Persian, Marathi, Hindi, English and French sources, thus making his history comprehensive, rich and factual, but perspicuous and readable, divested of hyperbole and undue patriotism. It would be difficult to replace such a history of Malwa easily by a better one for at least half a century to come.

The volume is divided into seven chapters :—(1) Mālwa at the close of the 17th century (pp. 1-23); (2) Mālwa during the last decade Aurangzeb's reign (pp. 24-873); (3) The increasing importance of Mālwa (1707-1719) pp. 88-126; (4) The Mughal-Maratha struggle (first stage 1719-1730) pp. 127-207; (5) The Mughal-Maratha stage (second stage—1730-1741) pp. 208-287; (6) The consolidation of the Maratha Hold on Mālwa and the End of the Epoch (1741-1765) pp. 288-321; (7) Condition of Mālwa during the Period (1698-1765) pp. 322-339.

The author's conclusion about the First Phase of Malwa's history dealt with in the present volume is that "the whole period (1698-1765) was naturally one of transi-

tion and that the province saw great changes which revolutionized its society, culture and ideals, introduced new factors and above all gave entirely new colour to its political map." During the period of upheaval and disorder any great creative effort was naturally wanting. A general degradation of intellectual life of the province was inevitable during the period. Whether the impact of the Marathas would help Mālwa to rise once again to its former greatness could be answered by a study of the second phase. We await with eagerness this study of the *Second phase* of the history of Mālwa promised by the learned author in the present volume. The *Bibliography*, *Index* and the *Maps* which accompany the volume make it very useful to the students of Indian History. The volume has been carefully edited and neatly printed,—features which reflect credit on the author and the publisher alike. A few photographs of some of the historic sites in Malwa would have enhanced the value of the historical narrative of this Mālwa in Transition.

P. K. G.

*The Successors of the Sātavāhanas* (in lower Deccan) by Dinesh Chandra SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D., University of Calcutta, 1939, Pp. xv+417. Size :—6½"×9½".

The early history of India has ever remained a subject of exceptional interest to historians perhaps on account of the paucity of material which makes historical reconstruction difficult, if not impossible. Eminent scholars, Indian and foreign, have exerted themselves continuously to give us a reasonable and readable account of the early dynastic and cultural history on the strength of epigraphic and literary evidence so far available. Much churning of the available inscriptions has already been effected and as a result of this incessant labour the bare outlines of history have been made visible. The pioneer work done by scholars like BHANDARKAR, FLEET, RICE, DERBREUIL and others in the field of the early history of Peninsular India has been inspiring younger scholars like Dr. D. C. SIRCAR to further efforts in the field and as a result thereof we have before us the present volume in which the author tries to develop in a strictly scientific manner the views exposed by him in his monographs and papers bearing on that "Blank in history" between the last great Sātavāhana (Andhra ruler and the first Pulakeśin). The Volume is divided into two Parts, *Part I* dealing with the Eastern Districts (the Andhra region) and *Part II* with the Western Districts, (the Kāṇṭāṭak region). To reconstruct a back-bone from the dry lines of epigraphs is not an easy job, especially in a field where many of these bones are likely to remain "bones of contention" between one expert and another. The author has given in this volume not merely a survey of research but has added to it some new points (vide p. 5 *Intro.*) for the consideration of responsible scholars. We have, therefore, no doubt that his work would be useful to every student of Indian history who cares to interest himself in the exploration and investigation of the dark recesses of the history of the Deccan in the widest sense of the term. We await with eagerness the Second Volume of this work (in the course of preparation), dealing with the dynasties that succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the Upper Deccan.

Poona.

P. K. GODE.

# HARI KAVI'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE BHAVĀNI SWORD OF SHIVAJI THE GREAT

By

P. K. GODE, Poona.

In 1924 Mr. S. M. EDWARDS contributed a note on *Shivaji's Sword "Bhavāni"* to the *Indian Antiquary*<sup>1</sup> which he concluded with the following appeal to scholars :—

"The question still remains 'where is now the original Sword Bhavāni?' In view of what is written above and of the fact that the Sword now worshipped at Satara is the Sword of Shahu, can any reader suggest a solution of the problem? Could the Sword have been taken to Benares when the Raja retired thither after his deposition? Has it been hidden to reappear at some future date as the symbol of a united Maratha people? Perhaps

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I. Vol. LIII, 1924, pp. 18-20—References to the Bhavāni Sword recorded by Mr. EDWARDS are as follows :—

- (1) *Sivadigvijaya Bakhar* (reference translated by Dr. Surendranath SEN on p. 181 of his translation of *Sabhāsad Bakhar*).
- (2) Grant DUFF's *History of the Marathas* Vol. I, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1921, p. 230—Grant DUFF states that the Bhavāni Sword "is still preserved by the Raja of Satara". On p. 244 (Vol. I) he mentions that Sambhaji carried the sword during the Maratha attack on Goa in 1683 and that he did great execution with it. On p. 313 (Vol. I) he states that two swords viz. (1) the *Bhavāni Sword* and (2) the *sword of Afzalkhan* of Bijapur had been taken by the Mughals at Raigarh. These were given as presents to Shahu by Aurangzeb when Shahu's nuptials were celebrated by the Emperor. Both these swords as well as the third sword personally presented to Shahu by Aurangzeb were in the possession of the Raja of Satara at the time Grant DUFF published his history in 1826.
- (3) Mr. D. B. PARASNIS informed Mr. EDWARDS that the sword preserved at Satara is 3'-9" in length in the blade and 8" long in the handle and bears a *Marathi inscription* "*Srimant Sarkār Rajmandal Raja Shahu Kādīm Auvāl*," which shows that it is the weapon of Shahu. PARASNIS further informed Mr. EDWARDS that there is a belief at Satara that the original Bhavani Sword was taken by Tarabai, wife of Rajaram to Kolhapur and that in 1875 this sword was presented by the Diwan of Kolhapur to H. M. the late King Edward. It was exhibited in 1878 at the Paris exhibition (vide p. 68 of *Handbook of the British Indian Section* of this exhibition by Sir George BIRDWOOD). Mr. EDWARDS made inquiries in England about the above sword the result of which rendered it certain that the Bhavāni was never taken to England.
- (4) Pratap Singh the Raja of Satara presented General Lionel Smith with a sword in A.D. 1820 with the approval of the then Governor of Bombay. Mr. EDWARDS rejects PARASNIS' suggestion that this sword may have been the Bhavāni sword.

some one of the leading students of Maratha history may be able to answer the question."

In view of this appeal made 14 years ago by the then editor of the *Indian Antiquary* and finding that no effort had been made by scholars to examine the whole problem of the genesis and historicity of the Bhavani sword I was tempted to make some notes about this problem and make my own contribution to it, howsoever slight, though I don't claim to be a 'leading' student of Maratha History. In these notes I tried to gather what has been said about the Bhavāni sword by some of the previous writers on the subject with a view to indicate the stage at which the problem stands at present. Thinking that these notes may be of use to other workers in this field I am publishing them after waiting for full two years (since this paper was first drafted) with a view to get the benefit of exchange of views with senior workers in the field.

In the *Shivaji Souvenir*<sup>2</sup> published on the occasion of the Ter-centenary of the Maratha King, Shivaji the Great, we find photographs of four panels of Shivaji Memorial prepared by the celebrated sculptor, V. P. KARMARKAR (facing p. 98 of English Section of the *Souvenir*). One of these panels contains the picture of Goddess Bhavāni with eight arms presenting a sword to Shivaji Maharaj, who is shewn at her feet with face towards the goddess and receiving the sword with both his hands. Mr. H. George FRANKS interprets this panel by putting the following words on record as coming from the mouth of the Great Shivaji :—

"I received that famous sword very early in my career as a token of a compact with the Chief Gowalkar Sawañt. It has been suggested to me on my way to the place where it was being kept that I should take it by force, but remembering what tremendous storms are sometimes raised by unnecessary trifles, I thought it better to leave it to its owner, especially as its possession was not a matter of life and death to me. In the end the wise chief brought the sword to me as a sign of amity even when he knew that its purchase-price was not to be measured in blood. From that day onward

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2. Edited by G. S. SARDESAI contains an *English section* which includes (1) the Jedhe chronology (2) the Jedhe karena (3) Are the Bhonsales Kshatriyas? (4) Shivaji and the Portuguese (5) Original documents :—Shahaji's letter to Ali Adil Shah, A Persian Firman, Shivaji's letter to his father, Shivaji to Maloji Ghorpade, Shivaji to his officers, etc. (6) Shivaji's letter to Jayasinha, etc., and a *Marathi-Hindi Section* including (1) Kavi Bhushan (2) Shivabāwani (3) Maratha Forts (description) (4) Maratha Forts (alphabetical list) (5) The birth-date of Shivaji (6) Historical documents and letters :—Shivaji's letter to Baji Prabhu, Jijabai's letter, Treaty between Shivaji and Portuguese, etc., (7) Commercial policy of Shivaji, (8) Some old arms and their history (9) Meeting of Shivaji and Chhatrasal (10) Life sketches of Shivaji's contemporaries, etc.—This volume was published on 3rd May, 1927. It contains the following illustrations :—(1) Shivaji on horse-back (2) Aurangzeb in old age (3) Ambarkhana at Panhalgad (4) Shri Ramdas (5) Kalyan gate of Sinhagad (6) Swords and arms (7) Chhatrasal (8) Four panels of Shivaji Memorial (9) Shahaji and Shah Jahan (10) Bust of Shivaji (11) Some Marathi letters reproduced.

the sword, which I reverently named after my tutelary deity *Bhavānī*<sup>3</sup> always accompanied me, its resting place when not in use generally being the altar of the goddess, to be received back from her as a visible favour from heaven, always on the *Dasara* day when setting forth on my campaigns. I am told that the sword is now at Satara, but I am afraid that I cannot verify it until I can see it to identify it. The fine Genoa blade 3 feet and 9 inches in length, might, in fact, be my other favourite sword which I called *Tulja* presented to me by my father."

I am not aware of the authorities on which the above journalistic description is based, but it may be taken to be an upto date summary of the history and tradition associated with the swords of Shivaji the Great. I am concerned in this paper with the sword known as the *Bhavānī sword* and hence shall try to put on record references to this sword from contemporary and subsequent records which may reveal the high value attached to it on account of the successive and successful feats of bravery and personal adventure which mark the entire career of this great hero.

In the Maratha Chronicle composed by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis<sup>4</sup> in A.D. 1811 we find the following passage referring to the Bhavānī sword :—

Page 134—"महाराजानी सफाई करून 'तुम तों बडे और पठाण, आव हमारी भवानी शिवाजीकी देखो' म्हणून तरवारीचा वार खांवावर केला".

In the above extract which describes the Afzalkhan incident in Shivaji's life we are told that Shivaji retaliated to Afzalkhan's attack by giving a

3. Mr. Y. R. GUPTA has reproduced an original letter of Shivaji addressed by him to his step-brother Vyankoji which begins with "श्रीमहादेव श्रीतुलजा भवानी". It appears from line 49 of this letter that Shivaji was conscious of the favour of his deity in all his operations against the Muslims. This line reads as follows :—  
"दुसरा विचार करावा होता की, श्रीदेवाची व श्रीची कृपा त्यावरी पूर्ण जाली आहे. दुस्तुतुकाळा ते मारितात etc" (Vide इतिहाससंग्रह (October, 1915) Vol. VII, Nos. 1, 2, 3 (ऐ. सु. ले. २).

Cf. Jayarama Kavi (A.D. 1653-58) *Radhāmādhavavilāsa Campū* (VI Ullāsa) p. 227—"तुलजाभवानी श्रीमत्पांडुरंग च.....तुला"

4. *Life of Shivaji the Great* in seven chapters by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, edited with copious notes, critical and explanatory, by K. N. SANE, 1924 (A. B. Press, Poona). Some other chronicles pertaining to the Maratha History are :—

- (1) शिवछत्रपतीचें चरित्र— by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad written in 1694 at Jinji, by order of Rajaram; ed. by K. N. SANE, 3rd ed. 1912. Trans. into English by J. L. MANKAR as *Life and Exploits of Shivaji* (Bombay 1st Ed. 1884, 2nd Ed. 1886).
- (2) चित्रगुप्तवखर composed about 1760.
- (3) शिवदिग्विजय Ed. by P. R. NANDURBARKAR and L. K. DANDEKAR. (Baroda, 1895).
- (4) *The Raigarh Life* (Original Marathi text lost). English trans. pub. in G.W. FORREST's *Selections*, etc., from the letters in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series, Vol. I, (pp. 1-22), 1885.

stroke of his sword with the words : "you are a big person besides being a Pathan ; just have a taste of this Bhavāni (sword) of Shivaji". The accounts of this Afzalkhan incident state that Shivaji carried with him the *tiger's claws* (*vāgh nakha*) and a *bichvā* (a small dagger). If these details are true to history it may not be true that Shivaji had with him on this occasion the Bhavāni sword referred to in the Chitnis Bakhar. It may also be difficult to presume the identity of the *bichvā* with the *Bhavāni* sword. Leaving it to specialists to settle these questions we may feel satisfied by only noting the reference to the name *Bhavāni* (sword) in the Chitnis Chronicle of A.D. 1811.

Another chronicle which gives exhaustive information, about the *Bhavāni* sword is the "*Sri Sivadigvijaya*"<sup>5</sup> published at Baroda in 1895. Dr. Surendranath SEN in his *Siva Chhatrapati* translates the account of the *Bhavāni* sword appearing on pp. 354 ff of the above edition of the *Sivadigvijaya* as follows :—

The *Bhavāni sword* "S.D. [154] the Sāvants had an excellent *dhop tarwar* (a long and straight sword) worth two hundred *Hons*. Shivaji wished that such a famous sword should be with him. But it is not proper to wish for a good thing that belongs to one's *Sardars* [155] or a neighbour of rank.

\*\*\*The Mahārājā wished to have the sword but it would bring him disrepute as the precedent showed,—and so the Mahārājā observed that the matter should not be even spoken of ;—as in another age such a cause had resulted in the slaughter of many.\* \* \*But the sword that had divine properties addressed the Mahārājā in a dream.—"If thou goest to fight with me in thy hand even at the head of a small force against a mighty army the enemies will be routed and victory shall attend thee. Do not give the sword back, keep it always near thee and duly worship it." That very night the Sāvant heard the following behest in a dream—"Give the sword to the Mahārājā and secure his friendship thereby. Otherwise thou shalt lose thy kingdom. I shall no longer stay with thee and I am going away." The Sāvant assembled his officers and related all about the dream. With the counsel of all, it was decided to secure the friendship of the Mahārājā by

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5. Vide *Siva Chhatrapati*, Vol. I, Calcutta 1929 by Dr. Surendranath SEN. *Sivadigvijaya* is the most voluminous of the three bakhars viz. (1) the *Sabhāsad bakhar* (2) the *Chitnis bakhar* and (3) the *Sivadigvijaya*. Its authorship is shrouded in mystery. Its author was a Prabhu Kāyastha according to Dr. SEN, but not Khandō Ballāl as the editors suppose. RAJAWADE thinks that the author was some scion of the Baroda branch of the Chitnis family. Its language is at times very modern. RAJAWADE thinks that the bakhar is a revised edition of an old *bakhar*. Sir Jadunath SARKAR, thinks that it is the revised edition of a new lost *bakhar* of which *Tārikh-i-Shivājī* is the Persian rendering. Its date is uncertain. RAJAWADE supports the date 1818 suggested by Mr. Shankar BALAKRISHNA. (pp. 258-259).

An English translation of *Tārikh-i-Shivājī* is published by Sir Jadunath SARKAR in *Modern Review*—March 1907.

presenting the sword. Accordingly the Sāvānt came to see the Rājā and presented the sword to him. It was named Tuljā Bhavāni<sup>6</sup>”.

In the picture of Shivaji reproduced by James Douglas<sup>7</sup> we find Shivaji seated on horse-back in full attire holding the reigns of the horse in the left hand and a straight sword blade extending from its handle firmly grasped in the right hand. This sword blade appears to be the earliest pictorial representation of Shivaji's sword. Can it by any stretch of historical imagination be identified with the famous Bhavāni sword the subject of so much description in the *Śivadigvijaya* quoted (in translation) above?

In the *Shivaji Souvenir* volume (1927) we find a very exhaustive article on *Historical Weapons* by Prof. MANIKRAO of Baroda (pp. 138-153) in which he states that the Bhavāni sword of Shivaji was sent to King Edward by the Maharaja of Kolhapur and that it is preserved at the Buckingham Palace in a golden cupboard. He also expects its return to the Indian soil and exhorts the historical research scholars to collect all possible information about this sword (p. 150). He then gives us a description of this sword in detail such as—two deep lines or grooves on both the sides; golden decoration on the steel parts of the handle; its handle made of steel and provided with cover; its blade broadened at the joint of the blade and the handle; the end of the handle studded with rubbies and diamonds. This sword, Prof. MANIKRAO states, was preserved at Kolhapur and was an object of worship but the descendants of Shivaji parted with it out of a sense of loyalty to King Edward. (p. 151.)

I am unable to verify the statements made by Prof. MANIKRAO regarding the Bhavāni sword in the above article. If the sword is preserved in the Buckingham Palace its identification may not be a difficult matter. But as matters stand the Bhavāni sword has become the object of much historical speculation and patriotic wonder and the people of Maharashtra will be prepared to pay any price for it provided its existence is traced and its identity proved on historical evidence.

6. SEN : *Śiva Chhatrapati* (Vol. I of Extracts and Documents relating to Marāṭhā History) pp. 151-152.

7. *Bombay and Western India* by James DOUGLAS, London, 1893. Vol. II, p. 174—Mr. DOUGLAS remarks : “No portrait of him has come down to us in an English work except the one in Orme's history, evidently from an oval on glass by some Delhi painter [Given *ante* Vol. I, p. 331. The accompanying cut is from De JanCigny and X. Raymond's *Inde* (Firmin Didot fr. 1845).—B] and most probably picked up by Orme or his father (landed an adventurer in Western India, 1706) in their wanderings along the coast of Western India in the early part of the 18th Century. Their proximity to Shivaji's own time, is a partial guarantee of its faithfulness”. DOUGLAS gives a bust of Shivaji on p. 331 of Vol. II from Orme.

In the *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (A.D. 1656-1668) by Bernier reprinted in 1891 (London : Constable & Co.) a bust of Shivaji is reproduced on p. 187 from Valentyn's *Beschryving* in which is published an engraving of this bust from an Indian drawing. Mr. V. S. BENDRE has published in 1933 this bust of Shivaji with the following endorsement :—“*Copied from the painting secured by Von Valentyn just after the Surat Sack of 1664 A.D.*”. For other pictures of Shivaji see *Pictorial Shivaji* published by Y. N. KELKAR, Poona, 1935.



There was once a belief current in Maharashtra that the sword was preserved in the British Museum. The late Mr. V. L. BHAVE has tried to dispel this belief by publishing a letter from the authorities of the British Museum stating that no such sword as the Bhavāni sword has been preserved in that Museum. This belief runs counter to the statement of Prof. Manikrao that the Bhavāni sword is preserved at the Buckingham Palace.

Mr. PARASNIS<sup>8</sup> in his article on the Afzalkhan incident quotes the following passage from Justice M. G. RANADE's *Rise of the Maratha Power* (pp. 97-99) :—

“The Mahomedan historians, whom Grant DUFF follows, charge Shivaji with treachery in the first attack he made with the fatal *vāgh-nakh* (tiger claws) and the *Bhavānī* sword, etc.”

The above remarks give rise to an impression that the works of the Mahomedan historians contain a reference to the Bhavāni sword. I am unable to verify the above statement at present. In the present paper I am confining myself to the references to the Bhavāni sword in the Maratha records with a view to point out the earliest reference to this sword in the contemporary records.

Prof. R. P. PATWARDHAN in his article on the Afzalkhan incident<sup>9</sup> remarks that the chief sources for the Afzalkhan incident are *Sivabhārata*, *Jedhe Śakāvali*, *Povādā*, *Sabhāsadi bakhar* and *91 Kalami Bakhar* and then states<sup>10</sup> that no reference to the use of *vāgh-nakh* occurs in *Sivabhārata*<sup>11</sup>,

8. *Itihāsa Samgraha* (Dec. 1914-Jan. 1915) Vol. VI, Nos. 4 to 6 ए. ए. लेख — No. 19 (p. 62)—In the description of the combat as given by PARASNIS on the authority of a *bakhar* discovered by him at Satara the only offensive weapons on Shivaji's person when he set out for the combat are (1) *vāgh nakh* and (2) *Āchvā* (p. 69). In this article PARASNIS has published a photograph of Afzalkhan's tomb at Pratapgad (facing p. 73). There is also an article in this issue of the *Itihāsa Samgraha* on the family diety of Shivaji containing a photograph of the image of the goddess (facing p. 74) and another photograph of the temple of the goddess (facing p. 76).

James DOUGLAS gives a picture of *vāgh nakh* in Vol. II of his *Bombay and Western India* (p. 181). His chapters on Shivaji's Forts in this volume (pp. 157-197) will be found interesting. They contain some good illustrations such as (1) Ganga Sāgar Tank at Rayagarh (p. 157); (2) Rajarh (p. 66) (3) Pratapgad and Afzalkhan's tomb (p. 167); (4) Shivaji on horseback (p. 174); (5) Plan and elevation of Shivaji's Cenotaph (p. 180).

Jayarama Kavī's description of Shivaji's visit to the temple of Bhavāni at Pratapgad and of the image of the goddess will be found in the *Parnālaparvata-grahanaṅkhyāna*, chapt. IV, verses 21-54. The temple was thronged with people gathered for the *mahā pūja*

“घंटामृदंगकाहाळदुंदुभिः श्वनिनादितम् ।

कालोचितमहापूजासंख्यावृत्तजनैर्वृतम् ॥ २६ ॥

9. *Siva-Caritra-Nibandhāvali* (pub. by B.I.S. Mandal, Poona, Śaka 1851—A.D. 1929) Chapter VII, pp. 161-179.

10. *Ibid*, p. 164.

11. Edited by S. M. DIVEKAR (B.I.S. Mandal, Poona, 1927) with numerous

*Jadhē Sakāvali*<sup>12</sup> and 91 *Kalami bakhar*<sup>13</sup>. The *Śivabhārata* refers to “कृपाणिका” while the 91 *Kalami bakhar* refers to only *bichvā* and *paṭṭā*. The *Jedhe Sakāvali* does not refer to any weapon at all. Later Prof. PATWARDHAN describing how Shivaji got ready to meet Afzakhān states (p. 176)-- “He held the *Bhavāni* sword in the right hand and the *bichvā* in the left and tied the shield to his back” (“उजवे हातांत भवानी तरवार व डावे हातांत बिचवा घेतल पाठीला ढाल बांधली”). I am not aware if Prof. PATWARDHAN identifies the “कृपाणिका” referred to in the *Śivabhārata* with the *Bhavāni* sword. Possibly the term कृपाणिका may refer to the *bichvā* more than to the *Bhavāni* sword. This reference is however inconclusive so far as my present inquiry is concerned because we don't get in the *Śivabhārata* any mention of the name भवानी as applied to Shivaji's sword.

In the *Śivakāvya*<sup>15</sup> composed by Puruṣottama in Sanskrit the meeting of Shivaji and Afzakhān is described at some length. This poem was composed in A.D. 1821 and hence, though its historical value may not be very

illustrations. The text is based on MS No. B. 1409, (BURNELL's MSS catalogue), in the Sarasvati Mahal MSS Library of Tanjore. The editor has also availed himself of a palmleaf MS of the *Śivabhārata* which is a Tamil rendering of the original (vide *Upoddhāta*, p. 5). The published text of the *Śivabhārata* contains 2262 *Ślokas* or verses.

12. An English rendering of this chronology appears in *Shivaji Souvenir* (1927) pp. 1 to 45—by Sir Jadunath SARKAR. Pages 47-99 contain an English rendering of the *Jedhe Kareena* by Sir J. SARKAR. The original texts of the *Jedhe Sakāvali* and the *J. Kareena* in Marathi were published by Lokamanya B. G. TILAK in *Siva Carita-Pradipa* (pp. 14-65) ed. by D. V. APTE and S. M. DIVEKAR (B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1925). These texts are based on a MS in the possession of Dayajirao Sarjerao Jedhe Deshmukh of the village Kāri in Bhor State. This MS is on Portuguese paper (22 folios). RAJAWADE published fragments of this *Sakāvali* in his *Sources of Maratha History* (Khaṇḍa XVIII, No. 5).

13. Edited by V. S. VAKASKAR, 1930.

14. *Amarakośa* Kāṇḍa II, verse 89 mentions the word कृपाण = sword (“खड्गे तु निर्विशचन्द्रहासासिरिष्ठयः । कौक्षेयको मण्डलाग्रः करवालः कृपाणवत् ॥ ८९ ॥”) (see B.S.S. edition of *Amarakośa*, 1907, p. 202). For the text of this work the editor has used a MS copied in A.D. 1297. (Vide his *Sūcanā* at the commencement). Mr. APTE in his dictionary explains कृपाणकः = a sword while he explains कृपाणिक a knife or a dagger. The lexicon *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra records the word : कृपाणिका ( ३ मर्त्यकाण्ड )—“क्षुरी क्षुरी कृपाणिका”

In the *Pañḍalaparvata grāhaṇākhyāna* (or the story in verse of the capture of the Panhala fort near Kolhapur) composed by Jayarama Kavi in Śaka 1595 (preface p. 1) = A.D. 1673 the following verse shows that the *vāghnakha* was used by Shivaji's soldiers as a matter of routine :—(chapter III, verse 25 of the Bh. I. S. Mandal Edn., 1923, Poona)

“शार्दूलनखवज्रोहनिर्मितैर्नखैर्युतान्”

15. Published in the *Kāvyetiḥāsa Saṁgraha* (1884, 1887, by K. N. SANE and J. B. MODAK.) This *Kāvya* is almost an epic of the Maratha History (from A.D. 1627 to 1818). Puruṣottama's surname was Bandedṣṭi and his family was resident of Pedgaun in Ahmadnagar District. Puruṣottama was born in A.D. 1766 and died as a sanyāsi in A.D. 1856.

great it has some merits as a poem. It describes the fatal embrace of Afzal-khan as follows :—

“ आर्लिगनक्षण इमं मृगराडिवेनं  
धृत्वा नृपस्य सशिरः प्रविधाय बाह्वोः ।  
तस्यैव नृपोपि बलवान् नखतोस्य कुक्षी  
शक्त्या (हृत्वा) विभेद विशिखो ह्यवनै पपात ॥ ५९ ॥ ”<sup>16</sup>

The MS from which the above verse is quoted contains illustrations in colour of the Afzalkhan incident. One of these illustrations represents Shivaji<sup>17</sup> dressed for the combat or rather his meeting with Afzalkhan. He holds on his right hand the *vāgh-nakha* and a small *dagger* in the left hand, which is obviously the *bichvā* referred to in the several accounts of this incident and mentioned as शस्त्री by our poet. The following three verses tell us how Shivaji meditated on his family deity Durgā and obtained her favour before starting on his perilous task :—

“ अहं त्वदीयोस्मि सराज्यकोशः कालो वलीयान् कुटिलो ममायम् ।  
शत्रुर्महान् भीमवलोहमल्लो दुर्गैव देवी शरणं न चान्यः ॥ ४८ ॥  
तस्याः प्रसादादहमेवमद्य निहन्मि चिंता न हि काचिदत्र ।  
तद्वाहिनीं त्वं शमयासु वीर वीरैर्भटैः पातितवीरसंघैः ॥ ४९ ॥  
इत्थं स सेनाधिपतिं प्रबोध्य हस्तांगुलं व्याघ्रनखं निबध्य ।  
वामे करे सूक्ष्मतरां च शस्त्रीं निधाय देवीं प्रणमन् प्रयातः ॥ ५० ॥ ”

The poet explains the word शस्त्री as follows in his commentary :—

“ शस्त्री छुरिकां स्याच्छस्त्री चासि पुत्री च छुरिका चारि धेनुके त्यमरः ॥

16. I have copied this verse from a MS of the work in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona,—No. 81 of 1907-'15. Puruṣottama composed a commentary on his poem in which he explains the above verse as follows :—

“ आर्लिगन इति ॥ सः यवनः मृगराट् सिंहः इममिव आर्लिगनस्य क्षणे समये एनं राजानं धृत्वा नृपस्य शिरः बाह्वोः मध्ये प्रविधाय दृढं धृत्वा तस्यैव ॥ बलवान् नृपोपि अस्य यवनस्य कुक्षी कुक्षिप्रदेशौ नखेनेति नखतः सार्चविमक्तिस्तसिः व्याघ्रनखेनेत्यर्थः शस्त्रया ( कृत्या ) च विभेद विच्छेद हि यस्मात् भेदनात् विगता शिखायस्मात् सविशिखः यवनोपि अवनौ पपात पतितवान् ॥ ५९ ॥ ”

17. Vide folio 45 a of B. O. R. Institute MS No. 81 of 1907-'15. The verse describing the person of Shivaji reads as follows :—

“ नात्युच्चो नातिनीचः कमलदलनिभाक्षोतिपीनोन्नतांशो  
गौरांगो गूढजन्तुर्मनसि च जनयन्योषितां कामदेवः ।  
निर्भीकः सिंहायानोऽरुणकरचरणः कंठभूपाधिभूषो  
मृद्वङ्गयानद्वरकाजिनविहितपदत्राणकोसौ प्रतस्थे ॥ ५२ ॥

This verse of course does not mention the *vāghnakha* and the dagger shown in the picture (2½ inches × 1½ inches in size) referred to as व्याघ्रनख and शस्त्री in verse 50 on folio 44 a.

It appears to me that the “सूक्ष्मतरा शस्त्री” mentioned by Puruṣottama is the same as the कृपाणिका of the *Sivabhārata*. It is, however, difficult to identify कृपाणिका with the *Bhavānī* sword.

James DOUGLAS<sup>18</sup> in his chapter on Shivaji in his *Bombay and Western India* published in 1893 makes a reference to the *Bhavānī* sword and states in a footnote<sup>19</sup> :—“The Genoa blade presented to the Prince of Wales in 1875 during his visit to India by the Raja of Kolhapur” and reproduces a picture of the sword from Grant DUFF’s *History* (p. 346). This picture gives us a long blade of sword with a decorated handle with the scabbard pictured near it. The blade of the sword as represented in this picture is curved at the end but the breadth of the blade is almost uniform and not broadened as in the case of the sword claimed to be Shivaji’s sword by Mr. Bomonjee D. PUDUMJI<sup>20</sup> of Poona, who has published a small pamphlet called “*Notes on the subject of Shivaji’s sword*”. This sword is a “tegh” sword with a broad curved blade, slightly concave in the middle and made of flexible steel. It is single-edged and higher up double-edged upto a length of 9 inches from its point. The length of the blade measured along the middle of its curve from the point to the hilt is 2 ft. 4½ inches. The tang of the sword is 2½ inches wide. The blade is broader higher up, the maximum width being nearly 3 inches. The hilt of the sword is beautifully

18. *Bombay and Western India*, Vol. I, pp. 331-346, deal with Shivaji, his country, his birth, his person and character, his accomplishments, his motto, his good and bad traits, etc. These pages contain the following illustrations :—

- (1) Picture of Shivaji (bust) from Orme’s *Fragments* (p. 331).
- (2) View of Sinhgarh (from a photograph by Dr. T. CROOKE (p. 339).
- (3) Shivaji’s sword “*Bhavānī*” (from Grant DUFF’s *History*) (p. 346).

19. *Ibid*, p. 342—This footnote explains the statement of Prof. MANIKRAO of Baroda referred to earlier in this paper to the effect that the Maharaja of Kolhapur presented the sword to King Edward. The Prince of Wales referred to by James DOUGLAS is of course identical with King Edward VII. Students interested in the history and identification of the *Bhavānī* sword may hunt up this clue from official sources.

20. Mr. PUDUMJI in his pamphlet (August, 1928,) gives us a picture of a sword in his possession which he claims as Shivaji’s sword. He also observes (p. 2 of pamphlet) “At any rate one thing is certain that the sword called ‘Bhowānī’ has not yet been irrefutably identified. There is a belief in Satara that a sight of the sword causes safe delivery of a woman in labour”. He refers to the information published by Mr. P. M. CHANDORKAR in the *Journal of the Bharata Itihasa Mandal*, Poona, 1918 A.D., to the effect that on either side of the throne of Shivaji at Satara there are two swords. One of them is an ordinary sword. The other is the *Bhavānī* sword on the right hand side of the throne. There is an engraving on the blade of this sword viz. “सरकार राजा शाहुछत्रपति काद” from which we find that King Shahu appears to have engraved his own name on it. On the blade of the sword in the possession of Mr. Pudumji the words “छत्रपति महाराज शीवाजी” are inlaid in gold in Devanāgarī characters. Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR thinks that a letter in the word छत्रपति is written in the style in which we find it in MSS 150 or 200 years old (p. 15 of pamphlet).

enchased with tiny gold flowers<sup>21</sup>. On the other side of the blade are marks of the crescent moon<sup>22</sup> (6 small marks of the crescent moon, 4 small marks of the full moon possibly and 2 big marks of the crescent moon). Mr. Bomanji PUDUMJI prints on p. 3 of his pamphlet a copy of a letter dated 24th March, 1925, from the authorities of the British Museum stating that the British Museum does not possess the original "Tiger-claw" or sword of Shivaji<sup>23</sup>.

21. In a letter dated 12th February, 1912, from Mr. D. P. Moos to Khan Bahadur B. D. PUDUMJI, the writer considers the sword in question to be a genuine old sword of Shivaji. This opinion is based on the following points:—(1) the quality of the steel (2) its "Taga" shape, a characteristic of the Maratha swords (3) its old-type lettering and (4) the "Tahanshah" work of inlaying the letters, the art of which is now extinct. (Mr. Moos represented the firm of "The Indian and Oriental Armour", Medow Street, Fort, Bombay). Mr. PUDUMJI quotes an extract from the illustrated *Hand-book on Indian Arms* (by Wilbraham EGERTON now Lord E.) which refers to a sword presented by the King of Kabul to the Governor-General. This sword once belonged to Tamurlane. Swords are estimated by their age, watering or temper. PUDUMJI reproduces a coloured view of "*Jevaheer Khana*" once the residence and strong-hold of Shivaji (Fort Singhur, Dt. Poona) and now in his possession. He also gives an extract from *Satara Gazetteer* (1884) by Sir James CAMPBELL which reads:—(p. 238)—"The sword of Afzalkhan and Shivaji's favourite sword Bhavāni passed to the Moguls on the capture of Shambhaji in 1690. They were restored by Aurangzeb to Shahu in 1707 and till 1827 remained a valued trophy in the armoury of Shivaji's descendants." In the revised edition of his pamphlet, Mr. PUDUMJI (1929) gives a photograph of a brass tray (p. 36) about 2 ft. in diameter with him on which is embossed the celebrated episode in Shivaji's life viz. the release of a beautiful Moghul lady (daughter-in-law of the Subedar of Kalyan) brought as a captive after the sack of Kalyan in 1664 A.D.

22. Mr. PUDUMJI in a revised edition of his pamphlet (21st March, 1929,) on p. 11 draws our attention to the last para 91 of Shivaji's letter to Jaysinha, who invaded the Deccan at the head of the Moghul army. This para reads as follows:—"91. Tomorrow, the moment the sun shall conceal his face behind the evening cloud, the *Crescent moon of my sword* shall flash forth. That is all. God be with thee." Mr. PUDUMJI is of opinion that the expression "*Crescent moon of my sword*" in the above para represents "Shivaji's own description of his sword" as to its shape, i.e., it had a curved blade. The letter of Shivaji from which the above para has been quoted is in Persian and has been published by the Nāgarī Pracharini Sabha of Benares in their *Patrikā* (Bhāga 3, No. 1—Samvat 1979). This has been reprinted in the *Shivaji Souvenir* (1927) *Marathi Section* (pp. 161-170) and English trans. of it in the *English Section* (pp. 170-178). Though this letter in the form of a poem may have a high poetic value its testimony on the question of the shape of Shivaji's sword has no value, especially as the document bears no date and is also of anonymous authorship. Hari Kavi (A.D. 1685) describes the *Bhavāni Sword* by the terms "चन्द्रहासः" खड्गवली, असिलता, in his *Sambhujā Carita*.

23. This reply was received by Mr. V. L. BHAVE, author of the *History of the Marathi Literature* (Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvat) and is printed in the *Journal of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal*, Poona, of Saka 1837 (=A.D. 1915) p. 91. It is signed by C. HERCULES, Record-keeper of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnology, British Museum, London, W. C.)

*The Sabhāsad Bakhar*<sup>25</sup> composed in A.D. 1694 refers in many places to the tutelary deity of Shivaji viz. *Sri Bhavānī*<sup>25</sup> but no references to the Bhavānī sword can be found in it. The references to the family deity Bhavānī in this *bakhar* are generally associated with the major incidents of Shivaji's intrepid career but I have failed to trace in this source any mention of Bhavānī as the name of Shivaji's sword. I await more light on this problem from scholars who have done intensive research in the history of the period.

The next important contemporary source of information on the problem of the Bhavānī sword is *the Śivabhārata*<sup>25a</sup> composed by Kavindra Paramā-

24. *Life of Śiva Chhatrapati* (by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad) Ed. by K. N. SANE, 1923, (Fourth Edition). Mr. SANE has based his text on five MSS : (1) MS produced from the pujāri at Pratapgad (2) MS copied in A.D. 1852 and deposited in the Native General Library of Poona (3) and (4) MSS procured by Krishnajibant Acharya Kalgaunkar of Satara. (Mr. SANE has relied on the Pratapgad copy as it is very old and especially on account of its being found at Pratapgad. The date of composition recorded in this MS is Śaka 1616 (=A.D. 1694) but the Samvatsara mentioned is "Īśvara" which is equivalent to Śaka 1619 (=A.D. 1697); (5) MS procured at Mahad, in which some changes appear to have been made from DUFF's History.

25. Ibid, p. 9 ("श्री भवानी कुलदेवता महाराजांची"); p. 11 and 23 ("श्री भवानी तुळजापूरची") p. 37 ("श्री भवानी") p. 42 (श्री शंभूस व भवानीस नमस्कार केला); 46 (श्री शंभूमहादेव, "श्री भवानी") p. 49 ("श्री भवानी") p. 53 ("श्री-भवानीने") p. 83 ("श्री महादेव व श्री भवानी कुलस्वामी") p. 89 ("श्रीभवानी") (cf. *Jedhe Sakavali* (under Śaka 1581)—"कदाश्चित् श्री अंबेच्या वरदे अफजलखान मृत्यु पावला तरी इशारतीचे अवाज गडावरी होतील" (and under Śaka 1600) भवानीबाई लेक संभाजी राजे यासी जाली (at Sringerpur).

25a. Edited by S. M. DIVEKAR, Pub. by the Bharata Itihasa Mandal, Poona, Śaka 1849 (=A.D. 1927,) contains a fine frontispiece of a picture of Shivaji in colour from a painting in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is a facsimile reproduction from the original in which the height of Shivaji's figure is about 3½ inches. Other good features of the edition are (1) Upodhāta pp. 1-28 by S. M. DIVEKAR; (2) a useful bibliography; and, (3) a masterly introduction by D. V. APTE (pp. 1 to 200.) The text and the Marathi translation of the 31 chapters of this epic ("चरितं शिवराजस्य भरतस्येव भारतम्"—Chap. I, 22) of the Life of Shivaji has been critically edited. This is followed by an exhaustive index of places and persons mentioned in the text. The illustrations besides the frontispiece are (1) a contemporary horoscope of Shivaji by Sivaram Jyotiṣi (page 56) (2) photo of folio 39 of MS recording verses about the birth-date of Shivaji (p. 56); (3) photo of the extract from *Jedhe Sakavali* containing the birth-date of Shivaji (p. 56); (4) Bangalore Fort (p. 64); (5) Images of the Goddess Bhavānī at Fort Sivaneri (Sivāi) and at Fort Pratapgad (Bhavānī) (p. 65); (6) Map illustrating the Muslim dominions in Shahaji's time (p. 80); (7) Map of Karnatak in Shahaji's time (p. 80); (8) Map of Southern India in Shahaji's time (p. 80); (9) Map illustrating Shivaji's invasion of Konkon in Śaka 1583 (=A.D. 1661) (p. 81); (10) Photos of the forts, Purandhar, Rajagad and Simhagad (p. 208); (11) Photos of Pratapgad, Panhagad and of a picture of Afzal-khan (p. 209); (12) Map illustrating Shivaji's invasion of Śaka 1589 (=A.D.

nanda by order of śrī Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaja. This poet hailed from Nidhinivas (=Nevase on the bank of Pravara river) and was a contemporary of the celebrated Gāgābhāṭṭa who officiated at the Coronation of Shivaji in A.D. 1674. He composed the *Śivabhārata* after Śaka 1583 (=A.D. 1661) and before Śaka 1596 (=A.D. 1674) the year of Shivaji's coronation at Raigad.<sup>26</sup> Mr. D. V. Apte<sup>27</sup> has already pointed that Shivaji made use of the sword in his fight with Afzalkhan and this sword is none other than the Bhavānī sword referred to by Paramānanda in the *Śivabhārata* in verses 16 and 22 of Chapter XX. These verses are as follows as translated by me in English :—

“Prostrate him (Afzalkhan) to the ground by the great stroke of your sword ( अग्नि ) as that person (demon in the form of yavana) is constantly rising on this earth for the obstruction of *dharma*”(verse 16).<sup>28</sup>

“It has been ordained by the Creator that he (Afzalkhan) should be killed by this hand of yours and hence, O King, I (goddess Tulaja) have identified myself with your sword ( कृपाणी )”(verse 22)<sup>29</sup>

“With these words Śarvānī, i.e., the goddess Bhavānī or Tuljā entered his sword ( कृपाणिम् ) and he (Shivaji) though in a waking state regarded it (the whole occurrence) as a dream.”

(verse 23).<sup>30</sup>

In the above verse we get a genesis of the Bhavānī sword which is perhaps the earliest on record from contemporary sources : Evidently the goddess *Bhavānī* enters the usual sword of Shivaji and makes it unusual. This association of the goddess Bhavānī with Shivaji's sword given in a contemporary record (between 1661 and 1674 A.D.) is extremely valuable as it explains how

1667) after the Afzalkhan incident (p. 248) ; (13) Map illustrating Shivaji's battle of Umbarkhind (p. 248) ; (14) Map illustrating Shaista Khana's invasion of Śaka 1582 (= A.D. 1660) ; (15) Map illustrating the siege of Panhalgad Śaka 1582 (= A.D. 1660) (p. 249) ; (16) Pictures of Shah Jahan, Mahmūd Adil Shah, Shaista Khan, Jasavant Sinha, Aurangzeb, Fazalkhan, Raja Jayasinha and Dilerkhan (pp. 252-253.)

26. These Chronological limits are given by Mr. DIVEKAR (vide p. 20 of his *Upoddhāta* to the *Śivabhārata*). The poem refers to the death of Siddi Johar (A. D. 1661).

27. *Śivabhārata* (Prastāvanā, p. 168). In the Index (p. 12) under Bhavānī Tarvār reference is made to verses 22 and 23 of Chap. XX of the text.

28. Page 193 *Śivabhārata*—

“उद्धवन्तं निरोधाय धर्मस्येह मुहुर्मुहुः ।  
तमेनमसिपातेन महता भुवि पातय ॥ १६ ॥

29. Ibid—

“विधिना विहितोत्स्यस्य मृत्युस्त्वत्पाणिनामुना ।  
अतस्तिष्ठामि भूत्वाहं कृपाणी भूमणे तव ॥ २२ ॥

30. Ibid, p. 194—

“व्याहरन्तीति शर्वाणी तत्कृपाणीमवीवशत् ।  
असौ जाग्रद्वस्योऽपि तत्स्वप्नमवमन्यत ॥ २३ ॥”

the term *Bhavānī tarwār* came into being. The verses quoted above do not, however, refer to any sword of Shivaji as *Bhavānī tarwār*, an expression which became an established usage during the course of centuries that have elapsed since the tragedy of Afzalkhan. The human sword of Shivaji having once become divine by its association with the goddess Bhavānī and this having been linked up in popular imagination with all the heroic exploits of Shivaji, whom the people believed to be an incarnation of Śiva,—this human sword has now become an object of much wonder and speculation for the historian and the patriot alike. It would be certainly a red-letter day on which its existence and identification are proved beyond challenge by any scholar or institution interested in historical research. Our duty for the time being is to collect all possible information which might help scholars and patriots in keeping the memory of the Bhavānī sword fresh in their minds so that this quest of the holy grail may continue unabated by all lovers of the Maratha history in particular and of history in general.

The foregoing discussion and record of references to the Bhavānī sword appears to me like Shakespeare's drama Hamlet without the King of Denmark. The account of this sword as recorded in the *Sivadigvijaya* being a late one<sup>31</sup> cannot be taken as historical truth especially in the absence of contemporary evidence to support it in material particulars. The account of the *Sivabhārata* is quite valuable so far as the genesis of the expression *Bhavānī tarwār* is concerned. The reference to this sword in the Chitnis bakhar of A.D. 1811 is also not very helpful. It is, therefore, necessary to search for more contemporary references to the Bhavānī sword like that of the *Sivabhārata*. Such references alone can give that factual touch to the history of this question which is necessary to fill up the historical void that separates us from the time of the author of the *Sivabhārata*. I shall, therefore, conclude this paper by putting on record at least one contemporary reference to the *Bhavānī* sword in which we find a poetic description of the exploits of the Bhavānī sword in the hands of King Sambhaji, to whom this sword must have passed on as a heroic legacy after Shivaji's death in A.D. 1680. This reference is also very important as it is the only one so far discovered in which the name "*Bhavānī's Sword*" is mentioned five years after the death of Shivaji, i.e. in A.D. 1685 and in which no less than 3 verses or 12 lines are devoted to the praise of this sword. The bearing of these verses on the history of the Bhavānī sword was not quite apparent to me when I

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31. Vide *Siva Caritra—Pradīpa* (B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1925) p. 75 where the date of composition of the *Sivadigvijaya* is given as Śaka 1740 = A.D. 1818. The extracts from several Bakhars relating to the birth date of Shivaji (pp. 71-78) will be found interesting. These bakhars are (1) *Sabāsad B.* (A.D. 1697) (2) Chitragupta B. (about A.D. 1759), (3) *96 Kalāmī B.* (A.D. 1780), (4) *Bakhar* composed for *Sawai Madhavarao Peshwa* (Rajawade *Khaṇḍa* 4) (A.D. 1783), (5) *Chitnis B.* (A.D. 1810), (6) *Choti B.* (A.D. 1817), (7) *Sivadigvijaya* (A.D. 1818), (8) *Panta Pratimādhī B.* (A.D. 1844), (9) *Pandit Rao B.* (A.D. 1848), (10) *Shri Shivaji Pratap* (A.D. 1829), (11) *Shedgaonkar B.* (A.D. 1854).



noticed them first three years ago in my paper,<sup>32</sup> on "*Hari Kavi alias Bhānu-bhaṭṭa, a court-poet of King Sambhājī and his Works.*" I was then under the impression that in the documents of the period many authentic references to the Bhavānī sword must have been traced and scientifically recorded by the indefatigable researchers<sup>33</sup> in the field. When, however, I began to look for them in the published records I was thoroughly disappointed to find a woeful lack of reliable information on the question of the history of the Bhavānī sword based on contemporary and subsequent evidence. Evidently the problem has not been examined by any scholar competent to search for, scrutinize and arrange in a chronological order all the available data bearing on the question. I have gathered in this paper a few facts regarding the Bhavānī sword solely with a view to provide a historical background to Hari Kavi's description of this sword in his *Sambhurāja-Carita*, composed in A.D. 1685. This description shows that to a resident of Surat like Hari Kavi the glory of the Bhavānī sword had some poetic appeal as will be clear from the following verses :—

Folio 82<sup>34</sup> of MS No. 191 of 1875-76—

“राजर्षि घोषयामस्तव विजयमहो ते वयं मंद वाचो  
वीरश्रीशोभमानः करतलविलसच्चंद्रहासो<sup>35</sup> भवान्यां (न्याः) ।

32. This paper was submitted to the Modern History Congress, Poona in June, 1935 and was published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XVI, pp. 262-291. Hari Kavi was a resident of Surat. His family hailed from the Mahārāṣṭra. He composed (1) *Sambhurāja-Carita* by order Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita, the guru of Sambhaji, (2) *Haihayendra-Carita* and its commentary *Sambhuvilāsikā* by order of Sambhaji and an anthology called the *Subhāṣitahārāvalī*. The *Sambhurāja Carita* was completed at Surat on 12th January, 1685. It is a mahākāvya in 12 sargas of which only some fragments are available in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

33. Rao Bahadur G. S. SARDESAI, the Maharashtra Historian has directed my attention in a private communication dated 16th April, 1938 to his views on the problem of Bhavānī Sword as recorded by him on p. 53 of his volume on Shivaji (*Marathi Riyasat—2 Saka Kartā, Shivaji, Bombay, 1935*) :—Shivaji during his Konkan expedition (A.D. 1657-58) came into contact with Lakham Savant of Goa (1651-1675 A.D.) whom he made a vassal. This Savant had in his possession a famous sword manufactured in Europe, which Shivaji acquired by presenting the Savant 300 *hons* and a dress of honour. This sword was named *Bhavani*. As its possession brought much success to Shivaji he used to worship it daily. This sword is still at Satara in the temple of the goddess and is included among articles for worship. (Footnote :—King Shahaji (father of Shivaji) sent by sea some valuable articles from Karnatak such as a bedstead, a belt and an armour and a *Phiranga talvar* according to the statement of the *Cchoti Bakhar* of the Maratha Empire. It is possible to conclude that the sword included among the above articles is the Bhavānī Sword. The story about the transfer of this sword to London is not true.)

34. Vide *Annals*, XVI, p. 266, where these verses have been quoted by me.

35. चंद्रहास = a glittering sword (Apte); “खट्ते तु निर्बिशचन्द्रहासातिरिच्यः” Amarakośa (II, 8, 89) Bhānuji Dikṣita explains :—चन्द्र इव हासः प्रभा अस्य । चन्द्र इति वा । युतिमत्वात्.

**X-100**

11-11-11

(Folio 82 of MS. No. 191 of 1875-76 containing three verses about the Bhavāni Sword).

परनिष्ठां प्रजयुर्जनाः॥ नांवा नित्यं मिह प्रहृष्टं तु सुहृदां वैरं न वैरं जरेर्न ग्यानां क्षितिनायकं हि  
 तितलशं नुष्पिरं नंदतु॥ १७॥ श्रीचिंतामणिस्तरिस्तु विबुधश्रीरंगनाथोद्भवश्रीनारायणस  
 नेवोद्भूतैरुक्तैर्विर्यः श्रीशपादाश्रयः॥ सगोन्दनवधपदारचनाचातुर्यविद्योति तेन काव्ये खलु श  
 नुराजचरिते काव्यातिमोहादशः॥ १८॥ पायूशांश्रुसमुद्र ४ सप्त ७ वसुधा विद्योति ते वै क  
 मेवर्षे मासि चैष नास्मि बह्वेयहो द्वितीयादिने॥ सप्तारे द्विजनायकस्य पिच्छे वा पूर्णय  
 क्षास्तिः काव्यं शोभनशं नुराजचरितं नानागुणैर्जुषितं॥ १९॥ इति श्रीस्वर्यपुरस्विताश्रीना  
 शायस्तरिस्तु हरिकवि विरचिते विजयां केशं नुराजचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये राजनीति  
 लोपदेशनिर्णयो नाम सप्तदशः सर्गः संपूर्णः॥ ॥ श्रीः॥ संपूर्णं चैनत्वाचं॥ ॥ श्रीः॥ श्रीः॥

१७४१

## HARIKAVI'S SAMBIURAJA-CARITA : LAST FOLIO

Containing the date of its composition viz. Śaivāt 1741 = A. D. 1685

Ms. No. 191 of 1875-1876 in the Govt. Mss. Library, B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

चक्रेत्तत्प्रमत्तद्विरदगलचलद्वूरिभांकारपूर्णा  
 सा वीराशंसिनीभूखिजगति विजयाशंसिनी यच्चकास्ति ॥ १२६ ॥  
 शंभो त्वत्खड्गवल्ली<sup>36</sup> लसति समुदिता कालकादंबिनीव<sup>37</sup>  
 ध्वांताली<sup>38</sup> सैन्यधूली बत जगति समातत्य<sup>39</sup> झत्कार विद्युत् ।  
 अत्रां सारैरपारै<sup>40</sup> प्रधनवसुमती<sup>41</sup> ह्यवयन्ती<sup>42</sup> समन्तात्  
 प्रौढक्षुण्णेभकुंभोद्<sup>43</sup> तमणिकरका<sup>44</sup> न्रक्षिपंती नितांतं ॥ १२७ ॥  
 सूते नानापदार्थास्तव यदसिलता शंभुराजाद्भुतं तत्  
 तापार्कं कीर्तिचंद्रं विजयहुतभुजं तारकालीं गुणालीं ।  
 झत्कारान्विद्युदोधानपि रिपुकमलां भारतीमस्मदीयां  
 नारीणां शात्रवीणां नयनयुगसराबाष्पशैवालिनीश्च ॥ १२८ ॥”

In the foregoing three verses Hari Kavi gives us a fine poetic description of the “*Bhavāni's Sword*”<sup>45</sup> and its doings on the battle-field. This description is inserted in the battle-scene of the *Sambhurāja-Charita* in which Sambhāji is shown as surrounded by the army of his enemy intending to attack him. With him we find *Campā*, the terror-struck heroine of the poem on her journey to her husband's home after her marriage<sup>46</sup> with Sambhāji

36. खड्गवल्ली = the sword-creeper = sword resembling a creeper possibly by its length and elasticity.

37. कादंबिनी = a long line of clouds.

38. ध्वांत = darkness ; आली = a row or continuous line.

39. समातत्य = having over-spread in an intense manner.

40. The infathomable waters in the form of weapons (used by the army)  
 सार = water.

41. प्रधन = Battle and वसुमती = earth ; प्रधनवसुमती = the battle-field.

42. ह्यवयन्ती = flooding.

43. इभकुंभः = the foreheads of elephants which were full grown (प्रौढ). The elephants had their temples shattered to pieces (क्षुण्ण).

44. मणिकरकान् = Hail stones in the form of pearls in the temples of elephants (the temples of elephants are supposed to contain pearls). Verses 126 and 127 contain a metaphor of a violent storm attended with lightning and dark clouds and followed by a heavy rain shower with hail stones.

45. The MS has the reading “चन्द्रहासो भवान्यां” The correct reading ought to be चद्रहासो भवान्याः = *Bhavāni's sword*.

46. The *Sambhurāja-Charita* (A.D. 1685) gives a detailed description of Sambhāji's marriage with Campā. In this connection compare a picture of a marriage scene in colours painted on folio 61 of *Skandha IX* of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (B. O. R. Institute MS No. 61 of 1907-1915). This MS was prepared in A.D. 1648 at Udayapura. The picture in question shows the bride and bridegroom in matrimonial attire seated facing each other with two priests shown seated near the bride and the bridegroom with the nuptial fire between the priests. Another picture on the same folio shows the bride and bridegroom seated on a chariot possibly on a journey to the bridegroom's home. The chariot is dragged by two white horses.

at Surat as also *Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita*<sup>47</sup> the guru of the Maratha King, who is described as a very important personage throughout the poem and at whose instance Hari Kavi informs us he wrote the *Sambhurāja-Carita*. This description of the Bhavānī's sword has an earlier parallel in the description of the sword of Shahājī<sup>48</sup> by Jayarāma Kavi, who composed his *Rādhāmādhava-vilāsa Campū* or a Life of Shahājī between Śaka 1575 (= A.D. 1653) and Śaka

47. I shall prove in a separate paper the identity of this *Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita* with Kavi Kalasha or Kabji, the celebrated minister of king Sambhājī.

48. Vide p. 236 of *Rādhāmādhavapilāsa campū* by Jayarama Pindye, edited by V. K. RAJAWADE (Śaka 1844 = 1922 A.D.) Poona. This poem is a Life of Shahājī, the father of Shivājī and grandfather of Sambhājī. The description of a sword or खड्गवर्णन occurs in the 8th Ullāsa (verses 227-235) as follows :—

“पुनरपरस्मिन् दिवसे यथापूर्वमुपविशति सति राजनि शस्त्रमार्जकतैलधावितां रत्नखचित-  
मुष्टिमंजुलां पार्श्ववर्तिभृत्यपाणिगृहीतां कृपाणिकामवलोकितुं विकोशां कुर्वाणे सति स कविर्वर्णयामास ।

यथामति मया विभो तव कृपाणिकायाः स्तुतिं  
विधाय विनिगच्छते सदसि सत्कवीनां पुरः ।

परिक्षणविचक्षणक्षतितलैकसंरक्षण—

क्षणं ललितलक्षणश्रवणमत्र संदीयतां ॥ २२७ ॥

राजा सादरं तच्छ्रुतवान् । यथा ।

नृप तव कृपाणिकेयं दृढतरकरपीडनेन संप्रांता !

अपहृतकोशा भृत्यैर्निपतति परिश्रुत्य वैरिणां कंठे ॥ २२८ ॥

नृप तव कृपाणिकायाः प्रायः साराऽनी छाया !

अनया निकृत्य शत्रून्नुकुंतति सापि नत्र पत्रस्थान् ॥ २२९ ॥

हस्तोदितो विचित्रः शाहमहीपाल खड्गमेपस्ते ।

वर्षति यत्र हि धारां कुरुते तत्रैव जीवजीवनाभावं ॥ २३० ॥

आश्चर्यं तव शाहक्षितीश दृष्टं कृपाणजलदस्य ।

वृष्टिं विनैव कुरुते यस्तृणसृष्टिं प्रतीपरदनेषु ॥ २३१ ॥

अवलोकितं श्रुतं वा कैरपि चलनं जलस्य जलपुरतः ।

नृप तव कृपाणनीराद् गच्छति नीरं परस्य वदनस्थं ॥ २३२ ॥

कृष्णा कापि कृपाणी राजन्नाजौ विलक्षला जयति ।

हरति पररक्तवस्त्रं स्वीयेनाच्छाद्य कालेन ॥ २३३ ॥

श्रीमान् महाप्रयागः पुष्करकलिना कलिदजा यस्मिन् ।

भूभृन्मौलिषु ललिता सूते चित्रं सरस्वतीं गंगां ॥ २३४ ॥

अलमलमधुना शाहक्षितीश दृष्टं कृपाणनुतिर्भियः ।

तृणमप्यरिदंतभृतं विलोक्य निलयान्निःसरति ॥ २३५ ॥

एवमादीन्यन्येषामपि महाकवीनां खड्गवर्णनान्याकर्ण्य किमपि विविदिषुरिवान्यत्राकृष्टदृष्टि-  
भवत् । etc.”

1580 (A.D. 1658).<sup>49</sup> Evidently Jayarāma Kavi was a senior contemporary of Hari Kavi (A.D. 1685) and his description of Shahāji's sword is not merely poetic but factual as well. It is described as “रत्नखचितमुष्टिमंजुला” or “lovely on account of its having a handle bedecked with jewels.” It is compared to a cloud (कृपाणजलद) and is called कृष्णा or of darkish lustre due to its being rubbed clean by the application of some polishing oil (शस्त्रमार्जकतैलधाविता). Will it be possible to prove on documentary evidence that this very sword of Shahāji actually seen and described by Jayarāma Kavi before A.D. 1658 was transferred to Shivāji sometime thereafter and was actually in his possession at Pratapgad at the time of the Afzalkhān incident of A.D. 1659? If this sword of Shahāji is proved to be identical with the sword of his son Shivāji with which the goddess Bhavāni identified herself at the time of the Afzalkhan incident as stated by Kavindra Paramānanda between A.D. 1661-1674 it would be easy for us to imagine that this same sword passed on to Sambhāji<sup>50</sup> after his father's death in A.D. 1680 and was later described by Hari Kavi in A.D. 1685. Even if this identity of the two swords remains doubtful it would be worth while representing the results of our discussion about the contemporary references to the swords of *Shahāji*, *Shivāji* and *Sambhāji* in a tabular form as follows :—

Serial No.	Owner	Source of Description	Date of Description	Description
1	<i>Shahāji</i>	Jayarāma Kavi in VIII Ullāsa of <i>Rādhāmādhavavilāsa</i> Campu.	Between 1653-1658 A. D.	“रत्नखचितमुष्टिमंजुला” and “कृष्णा”
2	<i>Shivāji</i>	Kavindra Paramānanda in <i>Śivabhārātā</i> XX, 16, 22, 23.	Bet. A. D. 1661-1674	कृपाणी or अस्ति
3	<i>Sambhāji</i>	Hari Kavi in <i>Sam-bhurāja Carita</i>	12th January 1685	चंद्रहासो भवान्याः - असिलता or खड्ग-वल्ली

The foregoing table shows three different swords associated with the grandfather, the father and the son in one and the same line of kings and

49. According to RAJAWADE : vide p. 4 of his Intro. to *Rādhāmādhavavilāsa*.

50. Cf. Bar. M. K. SETT's remarks in his article on “Sri Vatsyayana” in the *Jubilee Volume* (1938) of the Anthropological Society, Bombay, p. 197—“A young man is asked to go out into the world and carve a career for himself. The carving was done by his trusty sword, often the parting gift of his family.”

described by three different poets all of whom were contemporaries of their patrons. The difference of about 30 years between the first contemporary reference to a sword and the last reference and the chronological sequence of references tend to suggest a hypothesis for further verification that the objects referred to by three contemporary poets are not several but identical.

The foregoing discussion about the Bhavānī sword associated with the hair-raising exploits of Shri Shivājī Mahārāja raises the question of the existence or otherwise of any earlier historical parallel to the story of the Bhavānī sword as now finds currency in the Mahārāṣṭra and the veracity of which has to a certain extent been confirmed by Hari Kavi's description of the *Bhavānī's sword* ( भवान्याः चंद्रहासः ) in the hands of King Sambhāji. Luckily for us such a historical parallel<sup>51</sup> is found in the divine sword given by a strange woman to Kumāra Kampana the eldest son of King Bukka of Vijayanagara and which had been the heir-loom in the royal Pāṇḍyan family.

The account of this Pāṇḍyan sword has been fortunately preserved for us in a magnificent poem<sup>52</sup> composed by Kumāra Kampana's talented queen Gaṅgādevi and hence possesses much historical value. Kumāra Kampana also called Kamparāya was the son of Bukka I (A.D. 1376—Death, V. SMITH *Oxf. His.* 1923, p. 302) by his wife Depāyi. When the prince Kampana grew to manhood his father advised him on the duties of royal princes and asked him to proceed against the king of the Turushkas with his headquarters at Madura. Kampana accordingly undertook this expedition and pitched his camp in the town of Marakata.<sup>53</sup> *A goddess appeared before him and after describing to him the disastrous consequences of the Mussalman invasions of the South and the sad plight of the southern country and its temples exhorted him to extirpate the invaders and restore the country to its ancient glory, presenting him at the same time with a divine sword.* Kamparāya then proceeded against Madura and in a battle, killed the Sultan ruling at the place. He then made grants to several temples.<sup>54</sup>

The closeness of the above historical parallel to the story of the *Bhavānī* sword is remarkable. Though the *Pāṇḍyan sword* mentioned by Gaṅgādevi as presented to her husband Kamparāya is removed historically by about 350 years the points of similarity of the circumstances connected with each sword may now be tabulated as follows :—

51. I am thankful to my friend Dr. B. A. SALETORÉ, for pointing out to me this parallel.

52. Vide *Sources of Vijayanagar History* by S. K. AIYANGAR, Madras, 1919, pp. 23-24 where Dr. AIYANGAR has given us a brief analysis of each of the eight cantoes of Gaṅgādevi's historical poem called कम्परायचरितम् from a MS in the Govt. Ori. MSS Library, Madras. Vide printed edition of this poem also called मधुराविजयम् by Pt. Shrinivas SHASTRI of Travancore, Archæological Department (Trivandrum).

53. *Kamparāya Caritam*, Canto V.

54. *Ibid.*, VIII.

*The Pāṇḍyan Sword.**The Bhavāni Sword*

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|--|--|
| <p>(1) This sword is given by a <i>goddess</i> to the hero.</p> <p>(2) The hero here is <i>Kumāra Kampana</i> or <i>Kamparāya</i>, son of Bukka I.</p> <p>(3) This sword is given to the hero on the eve of the performance of a heroic deed viz. the destruction of the <i>Sultan</i> of <i>Madura</i> by <i>Kamparāya</i>.</p> <p>(4) The object of the exploit of the hero was to deliver the Hindus from the tyranny of the Muhammadans, not to say their religious oppression and desecration of Hindu temples.</p> <p>(5) <i>Kamparāya</i>, the hero kills the <i>Sultan</i> of <i>Madura</i> and becomes victorious.</p> <p>(6) <i>Kamparāya</i> makes grants to several temples after the conquest of <i>Madura</i>.</p> | <p>(1) This sword is also given by the goddess <i>Bhavāni</i> to the hero.</p> <p>(2) The hero here is <i>Shivāji</i>, son of <i>Shahāji</i>.</p> <p>(3) This sword is also supposed to be given on the eve of <i>Shivāji</i>'s meeting with and destruction of <i>Afzalkhan</i>.</p> <p>(4) The object of <i>Shivāji</i>'s exploit was also to deliver the Hindus of the <i>Maharashtra</i> from the <i>Moghul</i> and <i>Muhammadan</i> tyranny indicated by the breaking of Hindu idols and destruction of Hindu temples.</p> <p>(5) <i>Shivāji</i> kills <i>Afzalkhan</i> and effectively checks the <i>Muhammadan</i> tyranny.</p> <p>(6) <i>Shivāji</i> also made some grants to some men of his court according to the <i>Sivadigvijaya</i>.<sup>55</sup></p> |
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I believe the above parallelism between the incidents associated with the Pāṇḍyan sword and those connected with the Bhavāni sword will be found sufficiently interesting by the students of the Maratha history.

In concluding my survey of the problem of the Bhavāni sword I have to point out that so far no contemporary reference to this sword has yet been traced by scholars working in the field of the Maratha history. In view of this fact vouched by close students of the Maratha history Hari Kavi's re-

55. Ed. by P. R. NANDURBARKAR and L. K. DANDEKAR, Baroda, 1895, p. 171—“Pantajipant was the recipient of the *inām* of the village Hivaresi. He was also given the robes of honour. Visvāsrao Nānāji and others who had served (at the time of the Afzalkhān incident) were also the recipients of some *ināms*, etc. A new tower was built at the place where Afzalkhān was killed, etc.”



ference to the Bhavāni sword in A.D. 1685 must be treated as "practically contemporary" <sup>56</sup> and hence should retain its evidential value in any discussion about the genesis and historicity of the Bhavāni sword. In view of the decaying condition of the MS in which Hari Kavi's verses about the Bhavāni sword are found I have thought it advisable to publish along with this paper photograph of the folio of the MS on which these verses are recorded as also that of the last folio on which the date of composition of the *Śambhurāja Carita* is found.

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56. This paper was read before the Bharat Iti. Sams. Mandal, Poona in June 1938. Mr. V. S. BENDRE who was then in London, had sent a note on the subject of this paper for the annual gathering of the Mandal where this paper was read. On reading this note I wrote to Mr. BENDRE pointing out that there is no contemporary evidence regarding the Bhavāni sword except the three verses of Hari Kavi. Subsequently Mr. BENDRE sent me a copy of his paper on the Bhavāni sword which he had contributed to a London Journal and in which he has admitted the force of my evidence as will be seen from the following extract :—"Where is the Bhavāni sword of the great Mahratta hero Shivāji? Much has been told in the later chronicles about this sword which was a gift to him by his goddess Shri Bhavāni. These narratives are not, however, quite unanimous in their description. *The only practically contemporary reference is that by Hari Kavi in his Śambhurāja Carita (1685 A.D.)—Folio 82 verses 126-8 of this work—photo-copy supplied by my friend Mr. P. K. GODE.*"

# NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA : THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION\*

By

V. M. APTE, Poona.

ĀG. I. 10. 12 :—‘*Śṛtāni havīṃsyabhighāryodagudvāsya barhiṣyā-sādyedhamabhighārya* (a) “*Ayaṃ ta idhma ātmā jātavedas* (b) *tenedhyasva vardhasva ceddha* (c) *vardhaya cāsmān prajayā paśubhir* (d) *brahma-varcasenānnādyena samedhaya svāhā*” iti.

Trans : After sprinkling (with Ājya) the cooked portions of sacrificial food, taking them from the fire to the north placing them on the Barhis, he sprinkles the fuel (with Ājya) with the Mantra “(a) This fuel is thyself O Jātavedas ; (b) with it blaze and increase, O Blazing One, (c) and increase us with progeny, (and) cattle ;<sup>1</sup> (d) with holy lustre and nutrition advance us”.

Context : The Pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka—the norm of Pākayajñas (see ĀG. I. 10. 26) is described in this Kaṇḍikā I. 10.

Sources : The nearest approach to our Mantra in words and sense is AV. XIX. 64. 2 (a) *Idhmena tvā jātavedaḥ* (b) *samidhā vardhayāmasi* | (c) *tathā tvam asmān vardhaya* (d) *prajayā ca dhanena ca*” || (With fire-wood, O jātavedas, with fuel, we increase thee ; so do thou increase us with progeny and wealth). The subject of the AV. hymn XIX. 64 is service of the fire with fuel.

ĀG. I. 10. 15 : *Vijñāyate ‘cakṣuṣī vā ete yajñasya, yadājyabhāgau’.*

Trans : It is known (from the Śruti) : “These two are, indeed, the eyes of the sacrifice, namely the two Ājyabhāgas”. The context: In the Pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka, (Sūtra 14 tells us) the two Ājyabhāgas are offered, the northern one to Agni, the southern one to Soma. The above quotation from the Śruti in Sūtra 15 explains this special assignment of the Ājyabhāgas to Agni and Soma.

Sources : Prof. STENZLER aptly compares ŚB. I. 6. 3. 38 which is identical with our quotation except for the word ‘*ha*’ inserted before our ‘*vā*.’ That this is the source is made very probable by the fact that ‘*Vijñāyate*’ generally introduces a quotation or the gist of a passage from the Śruti (that is some Brāhmaṇa work).

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\* Continued from p. 61 of May 1940 issue.

1. This translation which follows the pāda division of the mantra and connects *prajayā paśubhiḥ* with *Vardhaya* and takes pāda (d) as a separate clause, is different from OLDENBERG’S where *varāhaya* stands awkwardly by itself.

AG. I. 10. 23 : (a) “*Yadasya karmaṇo’ tyarīricam*, (b) *yadvā nyīnam ihākaram* | (c) *Agniṣṭat sviṣṭakṛd vidvān* (d) *tsarvaṁ sviṣṭam suhutām karotu me* | (e) *Agnaye sviṣṭakṛte suhutahute sarvaprāyaścittāhutīnām kāmānām samardhayitre sarvān naḥ Kāmāntsamardhaya svāhā*” iti |

Trans: (He sacrifices the sviṣṭakṛt oblation with the following mantra i.e. the one in this Sūtra according to Nārāyaṇa and Haradatta but the wording of the mantra shows that it accompanies both the Sviṣṭakṛt as well as the Sarvaprāyaścitta oblations) “Whatever I have exceeded in this rite, or whatever I have fallen short of therein, all that may Agni Sviṣṭakṛt, the knowing one, make well-sacrificed and well-offered for me. To Agni Sviṣṭakṛt, who offers the oblations for general expiation so that they are well-offered, (and) who furthers (the fulfilment of) our desires ! Fulfil all our desires ! Svāhā !”

Sources. (a) to (d). Prof. OLDENBERG compares ŚB. XIV. 9. 4. 24. The passage is identical with ours except that ‘Sarvam’ and ‘me’ at the beginning and end respectively, of our (d) clause are omitted and ‘svāhā’ added. *But I think that our text is influenced by the passage ĀPŚ. III. 12. 1* which is identical with ours except for the omission of ‘me’ at the end, because the context ‘Darśapūrṇamāsa’ sacrifice, is the exact Śrauta counterpart of the Pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka which is the context in our text and because the following clause (e) is traced only to ĀPMB., another text of the same Āpastamba school. (e) :—Clause (e), is only traced to ĀPMB. 2. 18. 31 and HG. 1. 3. 7 where the same mantra occurs with a few changes. Both the texts omit ‘Sarvānnaḥ kāmān samardhaya, svāhā’. ĀPMB. adds instead ‘suhutahuta āhutīnām’ while HG. adds ‘sarvahute sarvahutāhutīnām’.

AG. I. 13. 1 : *Upaniṣadi garbhalambhanam puṁsavanam anavalobhanam ca* |

Trans : In the ‘Upaniṣad’ (are treated), the rites of garbhalambhana (to secure conception), the puṁsavana (to ensure the birth of a male child) and the anavalobhana (the rite to ensure absence of miscarriage etc.)

The problem is :—What is the Upaniṣad referred to here? Nārāyaṇa says that it belongs to another Śākhā and treats of topics beginning with the garbhādhāna rite and ending with Ātmajñāna (knowledge of the Self). The same is the explanation of the commentator Haradatta. Prof. STENZLER (p. 33) reproduces the above view of Nārāyaṇa. Prof. OLDENBERG (p. 179) after referring to Nārāyaṇa’s view compares Prof. Max MÜLLER’s note on Brhad-Araṇyaka VI. 4. 24, the suggestion being that the Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, which incidentally treats of these ceremonies may be the ‘Upaniṣad’ referred to in our text. *I, however, think that the ‘Upaniṣad’ meant is the ‘Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa-upaniṣad’* for the following reasons :—(1) The non-Rgvedic and Rgvedic citations in this and the following two kaṇḍikās, which treat of Puṁsavana and allied rites are all found in a similar context in that Upaniṣad which contains the very mantras cited in our text and none others. (2) The KBU. belongs to the RV. and stands along with the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, in a specially intimate relation to the ŚG. with which our text is closely allied. (3)

Our text treats of only two rites<sup>1</sup> (the 'Pumsavana' in I. 13. 2-4 'Anavalobhana' in I. 13. 5-7) out of the three mentioned in this Sūtra, ignoring the 'garbhalambhana' *probably because it is treated in the KBU*. (4) 'Yadi nādhīyāt' ('if he does not study the text') in the next sūtra implies that the Upaniṣad referred to, was one, *the knowledge of which was presumed but not definitely presupposed* on the part of an adherent of the Āśvalāyana śākhā. In other words, it was just a text like the KBU, which did not belong to that śākhā but was at the same time closely associated with the literature of the śākhā as it belonged to the same veda.

ĀG. I. 13. 3 : (a) 'Kim pibasi, kim pibasīti' *prṣṭvā* (b) 'Pumsavanam pumsavanam' *iti triḥ pratijūnīyāt* |

Trans. When he (the husband) has asked 'What dost thou drink? What dost thou drink?' she should thrice reply 'Pumsavanam (the begetting of a male child)! pumsavanam!'

Context : These questions and answers are with reference to three handfuls of curds (each handful being mixed with two beans and one barley grain) which the wife is given to eat in the Pumsavana ceremony.

Sources : Only (b) and that too in the form 'pumsuavanam' is found in ĀPMB. 2. 11. 4 in very much the same context.

ĀG. I. 13. 6 : 'Prajāvajjivaputrābhyām' *haike* |

Trans : According to some (authorities), with the 'Prajāvat' and 'Jivaputra' hymns.

[Context : In the anavalobhana ceremony (the description of which commences with Sūtra 5, immediately after that of the Pumsavana), the husband inserts into the wife's right nostril (the juice of) a herb that has not faded, while she is seated in the shadow of a circular apartment]. Sūtra 6 now states that this ritual act is accompanied by the recitation of the 'Prajāvat' and 'Jivaputra' (hymns) according to some authorities. [I do not agree with Prof. OLDENBERG's view (p. 180) that the text here describes one continuous ceremony (that of the Pumsavana) in this Kaṇḍika. Nārāyaṇa, in my opinion, is right in his view that Sūtras 2-4 refer to the Pumsavana and in sūtra 5 begins the Anavalobhana. I give the following reasons : (1) 'Atha' in sūtra 5 signifies the introduction of a new topic and 'maṇḍalāgarachāyāyām' indicates a change of scene for the new rite. (2) The ignoring of the garbhalambhana cannot, as Prof. OLDENBERG takes it, serve as a parallel to the ignoring of the 'anavalobhana' because the proper place for a description of the 'garbhalambhana' was after sūtra I. 8. 14 (where the rite has been passed over), at any rate long before a description of the Pumsavana rite; a reason for ignoring it may have been, as already suggested a treatment of it in the 'upanīṣad' of sūtra 1 a knowledge of which is presumed; there is no such justification for passing over the 'anavalobhana', the proper place for it being after that of the 'Pumsavana.']

1. OLDENBERG thinks that only one continuous ceremony is described. I have discussed the point under ĀG. I. 13. 6.

*Sources* : Prof. STENZLER gives the following information :<sup>1</sup> “The two verses :—as given in the Kritische Anmerkungen (p. 48) are : (1) Ā te garbho yonimaitu pumān bāṇa iveśudhim | ā vīro jāyatām putras te daśamāsyah || and (2) Agniraitu prathamō devatānām sosayai prajām muñcatu mṛtyu-pāsāt | tadayaṁ rājā varuṇo' numanyatām yatheyam strī pautramaghaṁ na rodāt || These two verses are the first verses of two sūktas, which according to Nārāyaṇa are named after their seers ‘Prajāvat’ and ‘Jivaputra’. According to the *Saṁskāra-kaustubha*, Hiranya-garbha is the Ṛṣi of both these Sūktas and according to both the *Saṁskāra-kaustubha* and the *Prayoga-ratna* each of these two sūktas consists of five verses. The first of these sūktas agrees in part with AV. III. 23 ; there is no trace of the second sūkta in any of the saṁhitās before us ; its first two verses are found in PG. I. 5. 4.” (italics mine). [Incidentally, it may be noted that these two verses are given in the Bibliotheca Indica Edition, p. 61].

Definite information is now available on this point, in the light of which some of these statements (given in italics above) of Prof. STENZLER will have to be corrected. ‘Jivaputra’ is mentioned as an ācārya in PG. II. 4. 3 and a Prajāvat (Prājāpatya) is the Ṛṣi of RV. X. 183. So Nārāyaṇa's view that these are the names of two Ṛṣis, whose hymns go by their names is quite plausible. In fact a precise statement to that effect is found in the Bṛhad-devatā V. 92<sup>b</sup> “*Prajāvaj-jivaputrau vā garbha-karmaṇi saṁstutau*” (=Or ‘the two hymns of ‘Prajāvat’ and ‘Jivaputra’ may be used together as ‘praise’ in the ceremony of pregnancy). Our Sūtra 6 seems to be an echo of this view, our ‘Eke’ corresponding to the ‘vā’ of the Bṛh-D verse. Prof. MACDONELL in his notes to the translation of this verse (on p. 189-90 HOS. vol. 6) says “This (i.e. the Prajāvat) khila called by the name of its author has seven stanzas in the Kashmir MS. and is there described in the Anukramaṇi as *garbhārthāśiṣṭutiḥ*. In his note to the word ‘Jivaputra’ he adds that the Jivaputra khila also called after its author, comes immediately after that of Prajāvat in the Kashmir MS. and has five stanzas.

Were it not for this decisive statement of the Bṛhaddevatā that ‘Prajāvat’ and ‘Jivaputra’ stand for the two RV. khilas named after their seers, it would have been a tempting theory to look upon RV. X. 183 (a hymn whose Ṛṣi is ‘Prajāvān’ and whose subject-matter admirably suits our context) as the ‘Prajāvat’ hymn referred to.

In ‘Die Apokryphen des Rgveda’ by SCHEFTELOWITZ are given (pp. 81 to 84) the two khila-hymns the opening verses of which are the two verses given above with some minor variations. The note there on p. 82 gives the same information that is stated above :—‘Dieses Lied. nach der Anukramaṇi von Prajāvān verfasst, wird ebenso wie der folgende Jivaputra-Hymnus beim Garbhakarman vorgetragen, vgl. Bṛh.D. 5. 92, etc.

ĀG. I. 13. 7 : *Prājāpatyasya sthālīpākasya hutvā, hṛdaya-deśam asyā*

1. This is a free rendering of the relevant parts of STENZLER's note 6 in German on p. 34 of Indische Hauseregeln : Āśvalāyana, Zweits Heft : Uebersetzung.

ālabheta " (a) yatte susīme hṛdaye (b) hitam antaḥ prajāpatau | (c) Manye ham mām tadvidvāṁsam (d) mām pauṭramagham niyām" iti |

Trans : After the sacrificing of a sthālīpāka sacred to Prajāpati, he (the husband) should touch the region of her heart with the Mantra 'What is placed, O fair-proportioned one<sup>1</sup>, in thy heart, in Prajāpati, I think myself the knower of *that*. May I not suffer harm that comes through sons'.

The context is a continuation of the same 'anavalobhana' ceremony mentioned above.

Sources : Prof. STENZLER points out (p. 35) 'Der verse steht auch Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad 2, 8. u. 10'. The explanation is that our first two pādas (a) and (b) are the same as the first two pādas of KBU. II. 10 except for 'śritam' in the latter for our 'hitam' and our (c) and (d) are the same as pādas : (c) and (d), of KBU. II. 8 except that the latter has 'putryam' for our 'Pauṭram' and 'rudam' for our 'niyām'. *This is one more illustration of the fluid tradition of Grhya-mantras! A mantra was improvised or made up so that it might suit a particular context by joining parts drawn from more than one source!*

Similar verses are found in a number of Sūtra-texts. Our first two pādas are found without variation in SMB. 1. 5. 10—where the last pāda is also the same except for 'nigām' instead of our 'niyām'.

ĀG. I. 14. 3 : Athāgnim upasamādhāya paścādasyānaḍuham carmāstīrya prāgrīvamuttaraloma tasmīnnupaviṣṭāyām samanvārabdhāyām " Dhātā dadātu dāśuṣa" iti dvābhyām..... iti ca |

Trans. Then having put fuel<sup>1</sup> on the (domestic) fire, and having spread to the west of it, a bull's hide with the neck to the east and the hair upwards, (he makes oblations) while his wife who is seated upon that (hide) takes hold of him with the two (verses) beginning with 'May Dhātā give to his worshipper' ..... etc.

The context is the ceremony of Simantonmayana (or parting of the hair) which takes place in the fourth month of pregnancy.

Sources : Prof. STENZLER gives the two verses (p. 36) as they are given in the Saṁskāra-kaustubha and Prayogaratna and Prof. OLDENBERG refers to ŚG. I, 22. 7, but no explanation is given of *the remarkable fact that our text cites the two verses by quoting the opening pāda of the first as a pratīka although the verses do not occur in the Rgveda*. Our text evidently presupposed a knowledge of the text from which the verses are extracted on the part of an adherent of the Āśvalāyana śākhā, as in the case of the Rgveda. Now an investigation of the source of the two verses reveals that

1. Prof. OLDENBERG'S translation of 'Susīme' as "O thou, whose hair is well-parted" seems to be due to a confusion of the word 'Sīmā' (in the epithet : *Susīme*) with the word *Simanta* (:= the parting of hair). Besides, the parting of hair took place in the 'simantonmayana' ceremony which *follows* this ceremony in point of time!

1. OLDENBERG'S translation of 'Upasamādhāya' as 'gives its place to the fire' ignores the technical sense of the term.

they are taken from ĀŚ. VI. 14. 16, which explains why our text has not cited them in full. *Evidently the Saṁskāra-Kaustubha and Prayogaratna (very late ritual texts) have extracted them from the ĀŚ., as their version of the two verses (as given by Prof. STENZLER) is exactly the same as that of ĀŚ.!* It has been shown by me elsewhere<sup>2</sup> in a discussion of 'Rākamaham' (RV. II. 32. 4-5) cited in this very sūtra along with these 'Dhātṛ' verses that TS. III. 3. 11. 3 is a section that has influenced the citation and sequence of Mantras in this sūtra. TS. III. 3. 11. 3 and 2 are two 'Dhātṛ' verses reminiscent of the ĀŚ. verses in a general way, though only TS. III. 3. II. 3<sup>a</sup> agrees with the first pāda of the first 'Dhātṛ' verse quoted in ĀŚ. VI. 14. 16.

It is a curious fact that the last two pādas of our second verse are an adaptation of the last two pādas of RV. III. 59. 1 'Mitrah kṣṣṭir animiṣā-bhicāṣṭe, mitrāya havyam ghṛtavajjuhota ||' with 'Dhātā' substituted for 'Mitrah', as 'Dhātṛ' is the appropriate deity here. *This is not an isolated example of adaptation of verses or verse-pādas from the RV;* compare for example the mantra cited in ĀG. II. 9. 2 which incorporates RV. I. 53. II<sup>d</sup> into a larger mantra and the one cited in ĀG. I. 7. 6. which adapts RV. X. 85. 39<sup>d</sup>="Jīvāti śaradaḥ śatam", by changing 'Jīvāti' into 'Jiveva'.

ĀG. 1. 14. 6. *Viṇāgāthinau saṁśāsti "Somaṁ rājānam saṁgāyetām" iti.*

Trans : He issues instructions to the two lute-players : 'may they sing to King Soma'!

Context. This order is given by the husband in the sīmantonnayana ceremony after parting his wife's hair three or four times.

Sources : ĀPŚ. 20. 6. 5 reads 'Atra brāhmaṇo viṇāgāthī gāyati'. ĀPŚ. 20. 6. 14 has 'Sāyam-dhṛtiṣu hūyamānāsu rājanyo viṇāgāthī, and ĀPŚ. 20. 7. 1 has "Sāyam prātar viṇāgāthinau gāyetām". *It appears from these passages that of the two lute-players one was a Brāhmaṇa, the other a Rājanya (or Kṣatriya) an important fact showing that the art of lute-playing was looked upon as worthy of practice by the two highest castes.*

The parallel passage in ŚG. I. 22. 11-12 shows that there were sometimes more than two lute-players. This passage as well as PG. I. 15. 7 (where 'King Soma' is implied though only the word 'Rājānam' is used) show that the kingship of Soma was symbolical of earthly kingship.

ĀG. I. 14. 7 : "Soma no rājāvatu mānuṣiḥ prajā niviṣṭacakrāsāv" -*iti yām nadīm upavasitā bhavanti* |

Trans : Prof. STENZLER construes the gāthā thus :—

(1) 'May Soma, our King, protect the human species, who have settled down within *thine* jurisdiction O thou (referring to the river)' i.e. he separates 'niviṣṭacakrāsau' (a case of irregular double sandhi in his view) as 'niviṣṭacakraḥ asau' and construes 'niviṣṭacakraḥ' with 'prajāḥ'. This construction is supported by the parallel passages in ĀPMS. II. 11. 12 and 13 where

2. See my monograph : "Rgveda Mantras in their ritual setting in the Gṛhya-Sūtras" reprinted from the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* Vol. I.

'vivṛttacakrāḥ' a variant of 'niviṣṭacakrāḥ' qualifies 'Śālvīḥ' (prajāḥ) and 'Brāhmaṇīḥ prajāḥ' respectively.

(2) Prof. OLDENBERG (p. 181) suggests that the words should be separated according to regular sandhi rules as 'niviṣṭacakrā asau' the two words going with 'Nadī' (who is to be named next as 'asau' implies) and translates 'May Soma, our King, bless the human race. Settled is the wheel of N. N.' Prof. OLDENBERG does not seem to have noticed that this is the construction of Nārāyaṇa also (Haradatta, the other commentator also gives the same construction), when he says 'Niviṣṭacakrā gaṅge'. Prof. STENZLER who generally follows Nārāyaṇa and who has quoted his comment on this part of the Mantra, has either not noticed or has disapproved of Nārāyaṇa's construction, when he remarks that 'Niviṣṭacakrāsau' is a case of irregular sandhi. None of these two constructions explain the propriety of the mention of the 'particular river' in connection with 'prajāḥ', or, the introduction of the river-name in connection with Soma and finally the propriety of the mention of the river and Soma in the Sīmantonnayana ceremony. I therefore split up and construe the gāthā thus :—The lute-players sing : 'Somo no rājā (Soma is our king)' [My reasons for taking this as an independent clause are that the parallel clause in ĀPMB. II. 11. 13; HG. 2. 1. 3 and PG. 1. 15. 8 is an independent sentence like 'Soma eva no rājā'; compare also RV. X. 109. 2<sup>a</sup> : 'Somo rājā prathamo brahmajāyām']. The next sentence would be 'avatu mānuṣīḥ prajā niviṣṭacakrā asau'. May this (river) whose wheels (i.e. banks or course) are well-settled, protect the human race (i.e. keep them safe from the danger of floods and supply them with water). This meaning of 'niviṣṭacakrā' is supported by '*avimuktacakre tīre*' in PG. 1. 15. 8. The mention of the name of the local river thus becomes quite natural. The association of 'Soma—the King' with the waters and, therefore, with a river is well-known. Compare KS. XIV. 2 '*Somo rājā oṣadhīṣu apsu*'. The mention of the river in the Sīmantonnayana ceremony is (*I suggest*) appropriate because the clear (and at times slightly deviating) parting of the hair brings to our minds the spectacle of a river whose winding course runs through trees and reeds. For the figurative association of 'hair' with 'reeds or plants', compare AV. VI. 137. 2<sup>c</sup> and 3<sup>c</sup> *keśā nadā iva vardhantām* let the hair grow like reeds and APŚ. 6. 20. 2 : *Keśā barhiḥ* = the hair are (like) Kuśa grass !

ĀG. I. 15. 1. *Kumāraṁ jātam, purānyaīrāmbhāt, sarṣīr madhuni hiraṇyanikāṣam hiraṇyena prāśayet* (a) '*Pra te dadāmi madhuno ghṛtasya* (b) *Vedaṁ savitrā prasūtam maghonām* | (c) *Āyusmān gupto devatābhiḥ* (d) *śatam jīva śarado loke asmīn'iti* |

Trans : A son (newly) born, (the father) should, before others touch him, give to eat, of butter and honey, from (a piece of) gold after rubbing them (together) with (that) gold with the mantra : (a) 'I give to thee of honey (and) ghee, (b) (a mixture symbolising) holy knowledge inspired by Savitr for the bountiful (institutors of sacrifices) ; (c) full of life, protected



by the deities, (d) live a hundred autumns in this world'. [The sūtra and the mantra require some explanation].

A small quantity of butter and honey (mixed up) is poured on a stone and rubbed with a piece of gold vigorously enough to allow some gold dust to be assimilated into the mixture and then one end of that piece of gold is put into the mouth of the child to be licked up by it. So 'hiranyena' does not mean 'from a golden vessel or spoon' as Prof. OLDENBERG takes it.

*Sources* : Prof. STENZLER (followed by OLDENBERG) corrects the reading 'maghonām' (genitive plural) of the manuscripts into 'Maghonā' (instrumental singular, qualifying 'savitrā') on the analogy of ŚG. I. 24. 4 which has a mantra very nearly identical with ours. The variations are : Pāda (a) reads there as 'pra te yacchāmi madhuman makhāya'; (b) has 'maghonā' for our 'maghonām'; (c) has 'gupito' for our 'gupto'—an improvement from the point of view of the metre; (d) is the same as our (d).

The correction of 'maghonām' into 'maghonā' on the analogy of ŚG is quite plausible but *not at all necessary because as has been seen, each individual school-text often exercised the right to alter the readings of a Mantra which belonged to the common Gṛhya tradition*. Besides, in my translation given above, 'Maghonām' yields quite a good sense, the genitive case often doing duty for the dative.

AG. I. 15. 2. *Karṇayor upanidhāya 'medhājananam' japati* : (a) "Medhām te devaḥ savitā, (b) Medhām devī sarasvatī | (c) medhām te aśvinau devāv (d) ādhattām puṣkarasrajāviti."

Trans. Holding (his mouth) near (the child's) ears, he (the father) mutters the (following) 'medhājanana' text [lit : producing 'medhā' or intelligence] 'Intelligence may God Savitr, intelligence may goddess Sarasvati, intelligence may the Aśvins, the lotus-wreathed gods put in thee'.

The context of 'Jātakarma' or birth-rite is continued.

*Sources* : Our mantra is an adaptation the RV. Khila : X. 151. 2 which reads : (a) "Medhām mahyām āṅgirasah (b) medhām devī sarasvatī | ; (c) medhām me aśvinau devau (d) ādhattām puṣkarasrajā".

The variations are : our mantra substitutes in (a) 'savitā' for 'āṅgirasah' (savitr is a very popular deity of the Gṛhya-ritual; compare the ceremony of Upanayana); and 'te' for 'me' throughout as the father addresses the mantra to the child. TA. 10. 40. 1 also has a very similar mantra to ours, only (a) being different and reading 'Medhām me indro dadātu'.

TA. 10. 40. is an anuvāka that constitutes the 'Yājñikī Upaniṣad' and TA. 10. 40. 1 is a prayer for intelligence. It is curious that this TA. mantra is an adaptation of RV. X. 184. 2 where 'garbham' occurs for the 'medhām' of TA. and 'sinivālī' (a deity very appropriately invoked in birth-rites) is mentioned in the first pāda—an interesting process which illustrates the genesis of the Gṛhya tradition of mantras!

AG. I. 15. 3 : *Aṁsāv abhimṛśati* : (a) "aśmā bhava paraśur bhava, (b)

*hiraṇyam aśṛtam bhava* | (c) *Vedo vai putra-nāmāsi*, (d) *sa jīva śaradaḥ śatam* 'iti.

Trans :—The father then touches the two shoulders of the child with the mantra "Be a stone, be an axe, be gold insuperable [I prefer the reading 'asrutam' (=unmelted or solid) of PG. I. 16. 18 and ŚB. 14. 9. 4. 26 to our aśṛtam (=insuperable)] Thou art, indeed, the Veda named 'son'; so live a hundred autumns."

Sources :—The ŚB. 14. 9. 4. is a section (Brāhmaṇa) treating of the rite called 'Putra-Mantha' ensuring the birth of a son endowed with certain desirable characteristics. After the birth of a son (ŚB. 14. 9. 4. 23), rites similar to those described in our text follow and 14. 9. 26 reads 'athainam abhimṛṣati | (he then touches him with the mantra) 'Āsmā bhava' etc. a mantra very nearly the same as in our text. The only variations are 'asrutam' (the reading I prefer and found in PG. also) for our 'aśṛtam' in pāda (b) and 'ātmā' for our 'putro' in (c).

The word 'Vedaḥ' is puzzle! Prof. OLDENBERG suggests (p. 182) that it might be the nominative either of 'veda' or of 'vedas', (property). ŚB. 14. 9. 4 25, however throws light on its meaning; it reads '*Vedo'sīti guhyam nāma karoti*'. He gives him a secret name, namely 'Veda'. KBU. 2. 11 also has the same verse in a similar context, only with 'ātmā' for 'putro' in (c). All possible varying versions of the mantra are also found in SMB. 1. 5. 18; HG. 2. 3. 2; MG. 1. 17. 5 etc.

I think the *idea* of 'āsmā bhava' (be a stone) as an address is developed from RV. VI. 75. 12<sup>b</sup> (= VS. 29. 49<sup>b</sup>, and TS. 4. 6. 4) = 'Āsmā bhavatu nas tanūḥ' (may our body be like a stone) addressed to 'arrows' as a prayer for bodily strength.

AG. I. 15. 9. *Pravāsād etya putrasya śiraḥ parigrhya japatī* : (a) "*Āṅgād āṅgāt sambhavasi*, (b) *hṛdayādadhijāyase* | (c) *Ātmā vai putra-nāmāsi*, (d) *sa jīva śaradaḥ śatam*" iti mūrdhani trir avaghrāya |

Trans : Having come back from a journey, (the father) clasps his son's head and having smelt<sup>1</sup> (him) on the head mutters three times : 'From every limb, art thou born; from out of the heart hast thou been produced. Thou art indeed the Ātmā (Self) named son; so live a hundred autumns'.

The context :—From the position of the sūtra, I think, the rite is here prescribed primarily for a very young child (under one year of age), this being the norm for a similar ritual in the case of a grown-up boy.

Sources : The first two pādas are found in ŚB. 14. 9. 4. 8 where the Mantra is employed at 'cohabitation' to ensure the birth of a specially qualified son in the course of the *Putramantha* rite. Prof. STENZLER compares KBU. 2. 11 (where the whole verse occurs in the same context) and KŚ. 4. 12. 22.

The whole verse also occurs in a similar context in PG. I. 18. 2; HG. 2. 3. 2; APMB. 2. 11. 33; and MG. 1. 18. 6 with slight variations.

1. Prof. OLDENBERG's rendering of 'avaghrāya' (he kisses him) is not literal.

ĀG. I. 16. 5 : *Dadhimadhughṛtamiśram annam prāśayet* : (a) 'Anna-pate'nasya no dehy (b) *anamīvasya śuṣmīṇaḥ* | (c) *praṇadātāram tāriṣa* (d) *Ūrjam no dhehi dvipade catuṣpade* ' iti.

Trans : (Such) food mixed with curds, honey and ghee, he should make (the child) eat, with the mantra 'Lord of food, give us food that causes no disease and possesses (full) strength. Advance (pra tāriṣaḥ), the great giver (pradātāram) ; confer power on us—on (our) bipeds and quadrupeds.

The context is the ceremony of annaprāśana that takes place when the child is in its sixth month. 'Such food' (in the translation above) means any one of the three kinds of food mentioned in Sūtras 2 to 4.

Sources : Prof. STENZLER compares VS. XI. 83 and when he suggests the correction of 'pra pradātāram' as printed in his text into 'pra pra dātāram' in the Kritische Anmerkungen (p. 49), he has probably in his mind the VS. reading. But the Mantra is found in earlier Saṁhitās like TS., MS. and KS, and the reading of TS. 4. 2. 3. 1 (and TS. 5. 2. 2. 1 which is the Brāhmaṇa of the former passage) where the mantra occurs without a variant, is 'pra pradātāram' and I have translated accordingly. TS. 4. 2. 3 is a section containing mantras for taking the Ukhya fire (i.e. fire in the pan) to the place of the Agnicayana and with 4. 2. 3. 1 (i.e. our mantra), the adhvaryu puts on the fire, a piece of Udumbara wood dipped in *Vrata* milk. In VS. 11. 83 the context is identical. ŚB. 6. 6. 4. 7 just quotes this same mantra from VS. and gives the Brāhmaṇa thereon. It is however, in TB. and PB. that we meet with a context suggestive of our context. In TB. 3. 11. 4. 1 the mantra accompanies a home with rice for the placing of bricks in the 'Naciketa-cayana' and in PB. 1. 8. 7, the mantra accompanies the acceptance of food as *Dakṣiṇā* in a Soma sacrifice, which is suggestive of our context of 'annaprāśana' or first 'tasting of food'.

## INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD \*

By

D. B. DIKSALKER.

### SHIMARA

[ ?

This fragmentary inscription at present consisting of two pieces was discovered in the village Shimar near Ajār in the Ūnā Mahal of the Junagadh State. From the characters the inscription can be assigned to the 15th century of the v.s.

The inscription seems to record the digging of a well. A portion of the date viz. Thursday the fifth of the bright half of [Mā]gha is only visible.

#### Text.

1	.	.	.	.	.	भा विभागा उल्लोलकीर्णः प्रतिमल्लमूर्तिः ।
2	.	.	.	.	.	ल्लकीर्तिः । ३ रमादेवी हिमादेवी जाते पुत्र्यौ
3	.	.	.	.	.	[क्याः] समुत्पन्ने तुष्टिपुष्टी इव स्थिरे । ४ भूपतिः
4	.	.	.	.	.	वीतयोः स्थिता धात्री । पालनलालननियता
5	.	.	.	.	.	च्येत । ५ कलिमलविरमायाः सारमायाः सुत
6	.	.	.	.	.	मालदेवी । असमकुसुमभारे भूप
7	.	.	.	.	.	समाना । ६ कीर्ति
8	.	.	.	.	.	जा कापि वापिका सुखं
9	.	.	.	.	.	शिवः शुभं भूयात् स
10	.	.	.	.	.	घ श्रुदि ५ गुरौ वापी जाता

### MAHUVĀ

No. 75]

v. s. 1500

[23-4-1444 A.D.

The sub-joined inscription is engraved on a black stone slab built up in the pedestal of the god Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, whose temple is situated near the Darbargadh of the sea-port town Mahuvā on the southern coast of Kathiawad in the Bhavnagar State. But as the inscription mentions the digging of a well and makes no mention of the temple it seems that the inscribed stone was brought from elsewhere and built up in the temple. The inscribed portion, which is beautifully engraved and is well preserved measures 1'8" in length and 11" in breadth. The record is both in Sanskrit poetry and prose. As regards orthography it may be noted that a consonant is sometimes doubled after १.

It was formerly published in the *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawad* p. 162 ff.

\* Continued from p. 606 of Vol. II, December 1939 issue.

The inscription opens with the date, expressed in words, Thursday, the full moon day of Vaiśākha of v. s. 1500, the saṁvatsara being Prajāpati. In the concluding portion of the inscription, in line 17, where the date is again given, the day is expressed as *pañcamī*, which seems to be a mistake for *pauṇmī*. The inscription then states that in the town named Madhumatī, situated in Vālāka, there lived a merchant named Narapāla, of the Modha community, which derived its origin from the hoof of *Kāmadhenu*. He was a great devotee of Kṛṣṇa and was a minister of a king named Rāma.\* His son was Pālha, and his grandson was Rāma, who is said in the record to be conversant with the Vedas. The latter had by his devoted wife named Jānu a son named Mokala. For the final beatitude of his parents Mokala caused a well to be dug in Madhumatī in the region where water was scarce, during the reign of the Gohel King Śārangji.

The inscription then describes in the eleventh and twelfth verse the antiquity of the town thus—It is said in the Dharmāraṇya Purāṇa that this beautiful town was founded by Brahmā, when he created the universe. It was called Dharmāraṇya in Kṛta Yuga, Satya Mandira in Treta Yuga, Veda bhuvana in Dvāpara Yuga and Moheraka in Kali Yuga.

The inscription then states in prose all that was mentioned above in poetry *viz.*—Mokala caused a well to be dug to the west of (the town) Madhumatī for the final beatitude of his father Rāma and mother Jānu and brother Rāghava on Thursday, the fifteenth (wrongly put as fifth) the bright half of Vaiśākha in v. s. 1500 when Prajāpati was the Saṁvatsara.

The Gohel King Śārangji mentioned in the record was Śārangji, son of Kānoji, and an ancestor of the Mahārājā of Bhavnagar. Śārangji's *gōdī* was usurped for some time by his uncle Rāmji, but it was afterwards, recovered by him. Nothing is known of the king Rāma, who was the patron of Narapāla. He cannot be identified with Rāmji, the uncle of Śārangji, but might be the Vājā king Rāmadeva mentioned in No. 72 above.

Vālāka mentioned in the third line was the name given in old times to the southern coast belt of Kathiawad from a point north of Valā to as far as Jafrābad on the south-west, where Valās were ruling.

#### Text.

- 1 ओं नमः श्रीसर्वज्ञाय ॥ स्वस्ति स्वस्तिमति प्रसिद्धनृपतिश्रीविक्रमातिक्रमात् संवद्विष्णुपदद्वये
- 2 [घु] जगती संख्ये प्रजानां पतौ । मित्रे चोत्तरगे प्रचंडकिरणे धन्ये मधौ माधवे शुक्ले  
पूर्णतिथौ गुरौ च गुरुभे
- 3 सद्योगभोगक्षणे ॥ १ ॥ वालाकांतरगे पुरे मधुमतीसंज्ञे निवासोचिते श्रीमत्कामगवी<sup>2</sup>  
खुरोद्भवभवे वंशे
- 4 शिवे संभवः । श्रीरामार्पितचामरातपहरप्रौढिप्रतिष्ठान्वितः । श्रेष्ठिश्रीनरपाल एष समभूत्  
श्रीकृष्णसेवापरः

\* I think this is the purport of the expression श्रीरामार्पितचामरातपहरप्रौढिप्रतिष्ठान्वितः in l. 4.

1. Expressed by a symbol.

2. Read कामगवी

- 5 २ ॥ तत्पुत्रोऽतः पवित्रो हरिपरिचरणः श्रेष्ठिमल्लोऽत्र पलहस्तस्मादप्याविरासीदमितवितरणो  
ऽत्रस्य सत्य
- 6 स्वभावः । श्रेष्ठिश्रीरामनामा कृतसुकृतचयः संयुतो जानुसत्या सन्मत्या विष्णुभक्त्या [नि\*]  
वसति सद्ने ब्रह्मणो वेदवे
- 7 दः । ३ ॥ तदनु जनितपूर्वादुग्रपुण्यप्रभावात् कलिबलदलनेऽलं मोकलो निज्जलायां ।  
प्रणयति वरवापीं तत्प्रती
- 8 चीनभूमौ मधुरसलिलपूर्णं श्रेयसे तत्र पित्रोः ॥ ४ ॥ अनुतिष्ठेदधिष्ठानं मृष्टायां दृष्टनिर्जले ।  
स तिष्ठेदि
- 9 छमुद्दिष्टदिष्टं शिष्टैस्त्रिष्टिपे । ५ ॥ नीलोद्वाहं यो हरिमेधं सुनिपानं कुर्यात् पुत्रो गोत्रपवि-  
त्रोऽभिजनेन ।
- 10 दद्यादन्नं भूमिगजाश्वोभयवक्ता भूयाद्भावात् तीर्थक्षुपर्वद्विजभक्तः । ६ ॥ गोहिह्योसौ रणे  
शूरः सारंगः शार्ङ्गिसे
- 11 वकः [।\*] तदुर्व्यां कुरुते वापीं धर्म्मधीम्मोढमौकलः<sup>३</sup> । ७ ॥ उक्तं श्रीभारते । गोमासे  
गोगवाकांते गोरसे गगने
- 12 गते गोमात्रं गोरसं दद्याद्गोसहस्रफलं लभेत् । ८ ॥ श्रीकांतकृतदैत्यांत देव सेवकवत्सल  
त्वया विना प्र-
- 13 भुः कोऽत्र ज्ञातुं कर्म क्रियापदे । ९ ॥ पुराणपुरुषः पायादपायात् त्वां कृपादृशा । जलशायी  
प्रणीतोऽत्र यो ल
- 14 क्षम्या सह मोकल । १० ॥ उक्तं धर्म्मरप्यपुराणे ॥ पुरा सृष्टिसमारभे स्वयंभूर्भगवान्  
स्वयं । अस्यापयन्महास्था
- 15 नमिदं मोहविमोहनं । ११ ॥ धर्म्मरप्यं कृते प्रोक्तं त्रेतायां सत्यमंदिरं । द्वापरे वेदभुवनं  
कलौ मोहेर
- 16 कं मतं । १२ ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्पृथिवीक्रमाङ्कसमयातीतसंवत् १५०० वर्षे प्रजापतिनाम्नि  
संवत्सरे । उत्तरायणे । व
- 17 संतकृती वैशाखशुक्लपंचम्यां गुरौ । श्रीमधुमत्याः पश्चिमे प्रदेशे निर्जले । माता सती  
बाई जानुं पिता श्रेष्ठि श्री
- 18 रामा भ्रातृ श्रे० राघवश्रेयसे । श्रेष्ठि मोकलः भ्रातृ सांटा लीबा सहितो मार्गे शृंगारके  
मृष्टोदकपूर्णां वापीं निर्मिमीते । श्री ।<sup>५</sup>

### JUNAGADH (Uparkot)

No. 76]

v. s. 1507

[21-1-1451.

This inscription is fixed in a wall of the fort Uparkot in Junagadh. As it was considerably disfigured most probably by the victorious Muhammedans, it cannot be completely read. Fortunately no important portion is lost. The engraver no doubt did his work excellently. The inscribed portion measures

3. Read मोकलः

4. Read जानु

5. Below the words श्रेष्ठि मोकल in the line some letters are indistinctly seen. They are perhaps of the name of the engraver. For the letter सू i.e., सूत्रधार can be read.

2'8" in length and 1'6" in breadth. It is both in prose and poetry. The language of the record is mostly Sanskrit but sometimes Prākṛit forms are freely used in it, which are rather difficult to be understood.

The record opens with the date, Thursday the fifth of the dark half of Māgha of v. s. 1507, which is once more given in the 24th line both in figures and words. It then records that at the request of a merchant named Hāsā son of Devā, a resident of Stambha Tīrtha (i.e. modern Cambay) and of others the King Maṇḍalika, son of Mahīpāla and grandson of Rānā Melagadeva of the Yādava dynasty ruling at Junagadh (Jirṇadurga) in the Sau-rāṣṭra country, issued orders at the time of his coronation prohibiting the slaughter of animals on the 5th, 8th and the 14th day (of the month) in addition to the 11th day and the Amāvāsyā day, when prevention of slaughter was already in observance. This is the object of the inscription. But repeated praises of Maṇḍalika in prose and again in poetry for this kind action of his have made the inscription very long.

The inscription is interesting as it contains a few forms in old Gujarati.

Besides this two more inscriptions of the King Maṇḍalika are found, which are published below. Two dates of v. s. 1512 and 1525 are found of this king from MSS. (See p. 305 of Vol. I of *Purātattva*).

#### Text.

- 1 [ ओं स्व ] स्ति श्रीसंवत् १५०७ वर्षे माघ [ वदि पं ]चमी दिने गुरुवा [ रे ] सौ[रा]ष्ट्र देशे श्री [ जीर्णदुर्गे ] श्री[ याद ]चवंशे राणा श्रीमेलगदेसुत[ रा ] उलश्रीमहिपालदेसुत [ राव ] श्रीमंडलिकप्रभुणा य
- 2 ...तापगुरुणा सर्व्वजीवकरुणाकरणतत्परेण [ औ ]दर्यगां [ भीर्यचातुर्य ]शौर्यादिगुणरत्न-रत्नाकरेण स्वराज्यपट्टाभिषेकावसरे स्तंभतीर्थवास्तव्य सा० देवासुत हांसा.. गदी मध्य ? सर्व्वराजकुली...
- 3 ...समस्तजीवअभयदानकरण[ प्रसा ]दकारकेण पंचमीअष्टमीचतुर्दशीदिनेषु सर्व्वजीव अमारी कारिता । राज्या भिषेकभव[ ना ]नंतरं सिंहासनोपविष्टेन श्रीमंडलिकराजाधिपेन श्रीअमात्य
- 4 ....य लिखितं स्वहस्तलिखितश्रीकारसहितं समर्पितं । पुरापि एकादशी अमावास्याये पाल्यमाने स्तः संप्रति एव शेष एतेषु पंचमी अष्टमी एकादशी चतुर्दशी अमावास्यादिनेषु राजाधिराजश्रीमंडलिक[ प्रभु ]
- 5 णा सर्व्वश्रेयः कल्याणकारिणी सर्व्वदुरितदुर्गोपसर्गेनिवारिणी सर्व्वजीव अमा[ रि ]कार्यमाणा चिरं विजयतां । प्रथमं श्री-उगनि जीवकरुणासंज्ञबीजां लोकसमस्तजीवन-णा स... कीमार
- 6 -चहीमार सिंचानका.. धि आहेंडानकरइ चोरन मारि वा । बावर खांट तुरक एहेया-हडे.. कोई न विणा स-चिं ऊदसी-ई-मीलाई कुंभका[ र ]पंचदिन नीमी[ ति ]न-ई । जिको
- 7 ...इतेहनी घाणं भगकारक ए अ...श्रीमंडलीकनाथाया । आ [ धारा ] वकण [ इ ]लिबा । तेहनई गुणा-सिइ । जिदो-लो मुंकइ । ए दोषते...अमा [ रि ] प्रवत्ता वणहार श्री मंडलीकप्रभुकइं आशी

- 8 ...णी इ छ इ ॥ श्लोक काव्य । सर्वज्ञ [ : शि ] वमातनोतुसविता चारोग्यमिदुः श्रियं  
भौमः शत्रु...बुधश्च...धं धियं गीःपतिः । सौभाग्यं भृ[गुजः] शनिश्च विभुतां राहुः  
प्रतापोद्यतां केतुः कीर्तिः...
- 9 [सु]खं च द[द]तां श्रीमंडलीके प्रभौ ॥ श्रीभूयात् ॥ अथ प्रशस्तिकाव्यानि ॥  
श्री [मान्] श्रीयदुभूपतिर्गुणगणैः ख्यातः प्रभूतै [रभूत्] सर्वस्योपकृते कृतः कृतय  
[शो] लंकारतां सं....। त्परम.
- 10 ...वरा जीवादिरेक्षपरा । जज्ञःपा दवीत्रयेद् गुस्तरां श्रीमंडलीकप्रभुः [ ॥ १ ]  
दैत्यानां...शिक्षया [ त्रिभुवने दै ] त्यारिता नामतौ । लेभे येन यशःप्रताप-जुषा  
माहात्म्य...।...श्रीपुरुषे...इदं स्थानं
- 11 ...हृष्यति । ज्ञात्वा मंडलीकाहभूपनिहितां जीवेषु गुर्वी दयां । २ यस्माद्यद्वंशजातो  
नयविनययुतो मंडलीको नरेशः । सर्वो स्व [-] द...जी...दधानः [!:] सर्वांगी  
सु - प सुख...
- 12 लभ्यते भूरिभाग्यै [ : \* ] । जुष्टः स्या...धन्यो भवतिरिपुभरैरुक्तैरप्यसंख्यैः । ३ । श्रीने-  
मिस्वामिनाथः सकल...वधः—ग...द्र...कृष्णानुज...मसुमतिर्जुषा स...पि हेतो...  
ऽ पि प्रा ?
- 13 कृतोऽयं यदुकुलतिलकः प्रौढपुण्याश्च...[चं]चत्कारुण्यभाजा क्षितितलवलये मंडलीक  
...। ४ ।...मभूत्.....श्रीनमिः प... वादिभिरभूदेव ...पि प्राक्रः
- 14 रः प्रशस्य सुकृतैः श्रीजीर्णदुर्गाभिधः । स...तेजावपालनकृता श्रीमंडलीकेन तत् ॥ ५  
नैके भूपतय-दान...व्या...रा. य...वाप्तस-यः...वयः स...। के—
- 15 वंदने प...सं...संसत्संबधः । वि...निवसंति निर्मलगुणाः श्रीमंडलीके नृपे ॥ ६  
भूपाव.....विलसतेजः.....स्थं...
- 16 सां निधिर्विलसति श्रीमंडलीको नृपो । यद्वद्वास्य...स्वतिप्रसरति कैते गुणाः संतताः ॥  
७ आदित्यः प्रबलप्रता.....ताप्यत्वमभ्य.....सुवः शा...शुपते...मां च...
- 17 ...शुको बलं प्रोत्बण । शौरिः केतुयुतो निरस्तरिपुतां श्रीमंडलीके व्यधुः ॥ ८ या  
वेदेषु पुराणसुस्यतिमहासिद्धांत...प्रोक्ता जीवद.....मृ.....लकरी मा...रि
- 18 ...ऽष्टमिपंचमीप्रभृतिषु श्रीमंडलीकेन सा ॥ ९...शस्य प्रभावादमरमृगदशांबामुखी...  
तिभाऽ...साविध...कार्येष्व...नामा.....विविध दे...
- 19 ...जीवामारिमर्हा सृजति नरपतिर्मंडलश्रियायुक् ॥ १० कीर्तिः स्फूर्तिमुपैति सद्गुणतति-  
र्व्याप्नोति सर्वा दि[शः]...नि भयनि...क...घ... त्रिणिर्गतैः । तां श्रीजंतुदयां  
विचारवतुरः श्रीमंडलीकः
- 20 [कु]र्वाणः स विशेषेण लभते पूर्वोक्तमेतत्समं ॥ ११ श्राव्याः श्रीमेलगाद्याः पुनरपि  
नितरां श्रीमहीपाल....यादव...त...तो...भूरिदानाति...जनयति...दानं  
पशूनां म—
- 21 श्रीमंडलीको गुस्तरमहिमाप्राप्तिहेतौ निदानं ॥ १२ येन न्यायसमन्वितेन विदुषा सहान-  
शौर्यादितः ।.....मिः.....क...क्रमौ । नीयंते स्मृतिगोचरः सुकृतिनो...या  
श्रिया । स श्रीमंडलिका
- 22 [ख्य] भूपतिरसून् रक्षंश्चिरं नंदताम् ॥ १३ सर्वेषां यः पशूनाम् भयवितरणा मुख्यदानं  
प्रदत्ते । नृष्या भे...नानास्थल...भुवां स्वस्य राज्यामिषेके । चातुर्दस्यादि पमभि...  
स्वष्टमीषु.....



- 23 तोः स जयति नृपतिर्मंडलीकः श्रियाड्यः ॥ १४ यत्साम्राज्याभिषेके गगनतलगतास्तारका  
मौक्तिकंति । ज्योत्स्नाशाली सुधांशुः श्रितसकलकलो नालि[केरायते] च । स्थ...शाले  
दशविपुलहरिस्तुंद
- 24 ...णयोयं । या...यंति प्रतिदिशतु सुखं मंडलीकः प्रजानां । १५ सप्तर्षि ७ खे ०...१  
मितेऽत्र वत्सरे १५०७ । श्रीजीर्णदुर्गे व[दि] माघमासि वै । वारे गुरौ पंचमिकादिने  
शुभे । श्रीमंडलीके...सह्या ॥ [ १६ ]
- 25 [यावन्] मेरुगिरिः स्थितो वसुमती यावत्स्थिरा(रो) चंद्रमाः । सूर्योयं तपति प्रताप-  
परितो याव—निधेः । तावज्जीवदयादिपुण्यनिरतः संपद्भिरत्याश्रितः । श्रीमान्  
मंडलिक प्रभुर्वि[ जयते रा ]जाधिराजः [क्षितौ] इति प्रशस्तिः ॥ श्रीः ॥

## GIRNAR

No. 77]

[about 1454.

This inscription is engraved on a very large slab of stone built in the wall of the Neminātha temple or as is popularly called of the 'Rā Khengār Mahāl,' on the left of the entrance of the Devakoṭa on the famous Girnar hill. This slab does not contain the whole of the inscription but it seems that a second slab was used on which the remaining portion was engraved. But as the other slab is not discovered as yet we have to remain satisfied with this incomplete inscription. The upper left corner of the stone is broken away, otherwise the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation. The inscribed portion measures 3½' in length and 2' in breadth. The poet who composed this praśasti was no doubt a learned man, but his ideas are many times far-fetched and are difficult to be understood. Though the engraving is done in a very clear way the inscription is full of grammatical mistakes of every kind.

This important inscription was first published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, p. 64, and again in the *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, p. 159, and in the *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 347.

It opens with an invocation to the goddess of learning (Śārādā). The meaning of the second and third verses is not clear, but the second verse seems to praise the sun god. In the fourth verse the goddess Ambikā is praised. Then in three more verses the Girnar mountain called both Ujjayanta and Raivata in the record is described. From the eighth verse an account is given of a family born of Har., in which Śiva, Angaja (i.e. Madana), Acyuta (i.e. Kṛṣṇa), Bala [rāma] and others were born. In that famous family called Yādava, was born a great king named Maṇḍalika, who built with many gold plates a temple of Nemi[nātha]. His son was Navaghaṇa, whose son Mahipāladeva built a temple of Somanātha at Prabhāsa. His son was Śaṅgāra (Khangara), whose son was Jayasīrṇhadeva. The latter had a son named Mokalasīrṇha, whose son was Melagadeva. The latter's son was Mahipāladeva, who had a son named Maṇḍalika. From the seventeenth verse to the twenty-first this king is extravagantly praised. As the description of the royal family ends with this king it can be supposed that

the inscription belongs to his time. As we know that the last Maṇḍalika ruled from v.s. 1506-1527 this inscription belongs to that period probably to v.s. 1510 or (1454 A.D.). On the twenty-fourth line, which is the last one in this slab, description is begun of Śāṇa a famous merchant, but there being no sufficient space on the slab for further engraving the record is left incomplete.

This inscription gives the longest genealogy of the Cūḍāsamā kings, beginning with Maṇḍalika who is supposed to have begun his rule in v. s. 1316 to the king Mandalika the third of the name and who was destined to be the last ruler of the family, his kingdom being seized permanently by the Muhammedans in v. s. 1527. After Navaghana Mahipāla I is said in the inscription to have come to the throne. He was in fact the younger brother of Navaghana and not the son as is wrongly stated in the inscription. It may be noted that after Jayasirṇha I, the names of only direct descendants in the line are given. For Jayasirṇha was succeeded by his elder son Mahipāla and the latter by his younger brother Mokalasirṇha. Similarly Mokalasirṇha was succeeded by Maṇḍalika and the latter by Meliga. Thirdly Meliga was succeeded by Jayasirṇha and the latter was succeeded by Mahipāla. But our inscription which is bent upon giving the names of only direct descendants has dropped in the genealogy the names of Mahipāla, Maṇḍalika and Jayasirṇha, each of whom was succeeded not by his son but by his younger brother. Now on the same grounds the name of Navaghana the elder son of Maṇḍalika I, ought not to have been given. But the composer of our praśasti wrongly thought that his successor Mahipāla was his son and not younger brother. For the full genealogy of the family from the first Maṇḍalika in the inscription to the third Maṇḍalika see the Introduction.

### Text.

- 1 .....मतेः<sup>1</sup> श्रेष्ठः सुधीमासौ संबोधं नयति-या भुवपरित्राणानुरागाशयः ॥ पीयूषम्ब-  
तवीक्षणदिजगती
- 2 .....[तो]यदा सारदा ॥ १ यकांतेः<sup>2</sup> पुरतः सम[स्त]मरुचिप्रदो(द्यो)तनाया अमी  
खयोता इव रेजिरे त्रिजगती जाग्रत्प्रतापा अपि । दासंति स्म यदीय सस्मर
- 3 .....खयच्छ[ड]तशीश्वत् (?) । २ किं भूवध्याः प्रकटमु<sup>3</sup>कुटानीलरत्नप्रकृष्टाञ्चितारत्न<sup>4</sup>-  
जितपनिमतं (?) निमिदेधाविदिं मीडटीवर<sup>5</sup> ममतरमिसिं भूगेणदतापट्टशं मतिरिति भवे
- 4 .....तीवविघ्नकरिणो हंतुं तथा प्रार्थनासाफल्याय विभर्ति<sup>6</sup> या फलतति माकंदजां  
धर्मिणां ॥ धत्तेकं सुतसंयुतं सुतशतेच्छापूतये किं नृणां<sup>7</sup> तां<sup>8</sup> विश्वैकहि
- 5 तमाः श्रीअंकिनां संस्तुवे ॥ ४ ॥ श्री उज्जयंतं गिरिराजमधिप्रतीते सद्धर्म कर्म-  
करणोद्यमिनां जनानां । सांनिध्यमीहितममी गुरुमेघनादालेशाधिपप्रभृतय<sup>9</sup>

1. This line as well as some phrases in other lines are unintelligible.

2. यकांतेः

3. मुकुटा.

4. रत्न ?

5. This and the following phrases are unintelligible.

6. विभर्ति.

7. Such unnecessary strokes are common in this record.

8. विश्वैकहिता.

9. मेघनादादेश ?

- 6 [त्रि[दशा] सृजंतु ॥ ५ ॥ अथ च ॥ नानातीर्थोपवनतटिनीकाननै रम्यहर्म्यैः ॥ पौरैर्भू-<sup>10</sup>  
मीपतिपृथुकृतात्यंतसौख्यैरसंख्यैः ॥ शश्वद्भूषाभूदपि<sup>11</sup> विपुलां राध्वर्यः सु
- 7 राष्ट्रा<sup>12</sup> राष्ट्रोदधेनुपमगिरिराद्रैवतालंकृतिं यः ॥ ६ ॥ मागा गर्वममर्त्यपर्वतपरां प्रीतिं  
भजंतस्त्वया ॥ भ्राम्यंते रविचंद्रमःप्रभृतयः के केन मुग्धाशयाः [।\*] एको रैवतभूध
- 8 ॥ रो विजयतां यद्दर्शनात्प्राणिनो । याति<sup>13</sup> भ्रांतिविजिताः किल महानंदं सुखश्रीजुषः  
॥ ७ ॥ तत्र च ॥ गिरि<sup>14</sup> स्फुरदुरुस्थितिर्विततभूरिशालोदयः ॥ सुपर्व महिमास्पद-  
जगति व
- 9 ॥ श आस्ते हरेः ॥ यदुद्भवशिवांगजाच्युतबलप्रमुख्या अलंकृतिं ददति निर्मलामखिलसत्त्व  
मुक्ता अपि ॥ ८ ॥ वंशेस्मिन्यदुनाम कावरपतेरभ्युपशौर्याबलेरासीद्राजकु<sup>15</sup>
- 10 ॥ लं गुणौघविपुलं श्रीयादवख्यातिमत्<sup>16</sup> । अत्राभून्नृपमंडलीनतपदः श्रीमंडलीकः क्रमात् ॥  
प्रासादं गुरुहेमपत्रततिभिर्याचीकरन्नेमिनः ॥ ९ ॥ नवघननृपतिस्तदीयसूनु
- 11 नवघनमहितव्रजेसिमादधानः ॥ नवघनवृष्टिः प्रजावनौघे । नवघनसारसदृग्यशोभिरामः  
॥ १० ॥ महीमहेंद्रो महिपालदेवः पुत्रस्तदीयोजनि यन्मृदेवः ॥ यद्दानदास्यं
- 12 सुरधेनुरत्नद्रुमास्तदानीमगमन्नयत्नं<sup>17</sup> श्रीप्रभासे सोमनाथप्रासादकृत् ॥ ११ षंगारनामा  
रिपुराज्यक्षेत्रवृगार एवाजनि भूमिजानिः ॥ शृंगारकृत्तत्कुलराज्यलक्ष्म्या शृंगार [धा]
- 13 ॥ रा जगतीलतायाः ॥ १२ आसीत् श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतिस्तत्पट्टभूमिनी भास्व-  
द्भोगरसालसाद्रिनयनो न्याथांनुधिष्वेतर्ह् ॥ शत्रुनासनकृद्भूतो<sup>18</sup> च महिमा नम्रक्षमा-<sup>19</sup>  
भृत्सतिः
- 14 ॥ स्फूर्जन्मौलिमणीमयूषसलिलप्रक्षालितांघ्रिद्वयः<sup>20</sup> ॥ १३ ॥ दिद्युते तदनु मोकलसिंहः  
शत्रुभूषणभेदनसिंहः ॥ यत्प्रतापमभजयदि हंसः सन्मनःसरसिजे
- 15 कलहंसः ॥ १४ ॥ तदनु मेलगदेवनरेश्वरः सुकृततुष्टगारिच<sup>21</sup> सुरेश्वरः [।\*] समभवद्भव  
[ नाथ<sup>22</sup> ] पदांजुजे । भ्रमरतां कलयन्नमलांगवान् ॥ १५ ॥ तत्पादोदयसानुम
- 16 त्युदयकृतप्रोद्यत्प्रतापाद्भूतो ॥ दिक्चक्रप्रसरत्करकमितभूष्टच्छेखरे भासुरः ॥ आसीत् श्री-  
महिपालदेवनृपतिः निर्नाशितारिक्षमापालोत्त्व (?)
- 17 कततिः कुनीतितिमिरप्रश्चंसनपूत्यलः<sup>24</sup> (?) ॥ १६ तत्सूनुर्जयति द्विपत्करिकुलत्रासौ (सै)  
कर्पचाननः ॥ श्रीमन्मंडलिकःक्षितीश्वरशिरः कोटीरहीरभ्रमः ॥ स्व [।\*]
- 18 सिंधूम्युपलक्षिताक्षतगतिर्ब्रह्म्यतेद्यापि यत् कीर्तिस्मृत्यमतीत्यवाद्धिबल्यं वर्द्धिष्णुसार-  
त्यरा (?) ॥ १७ ॥ नात्यं (लं)प्यः कुत उन्नतो नरपतिः कस्याः कुतो विश्वभूः ॥
- 19 स्तं<sup>25</sup> पात्रे कुस्तः किमत्र कृतिनौ किं द्विदकृतः स्वामिना । सौराष्ट्राधिपतिः सुखाय  
रिपुभिश्चक्रे किं प्रीतितः ॥ कीदृक् मंडलिकः क्षितीश्वर इह श्रीराजराजिभितः ॥ १८
- 20 आलोनस्तंभरूपो जयकलकलमस्यासुखांभोधिसेतुः ॥ केतुः शौर्याघसौधे<sup>26</sup> रणदधिमयनः  
सद्यसो (शो)म्रक्षणेकः पूर्वादिः<sup>27</sup> खड्गवधश्चकिरणरुचां वैरिराजांगनाना

10. पौरैर्भू

11. भूषां

12. सुराष्ट्रो

13. यांति

14. गिरि

15. नामके नरपते. . . शौर्याबलै

16. यादवं

17. The number 11 of the verse ought to be after यत्नं.

18. व्रतौ ?

19. क्षमा

20. मयूख

21. गरिष्ठ

22. नाथ

23. तिर्नानि

24. or प्रत्यलः ?

25. तं पात्रे

26. शौर्यौघ

27. खड्गचंचत्खर.

- 21 २८मुवेवैधन्यदीक्षो जयति नरपतेर्मंडलीकस्य बाहुः ॥ १९ ॥ रे रे प्रत्यर्थिनो वः ।  
किमपि हितवचः श्रावयेहं कृपालो<sup>२९</sup> ॥ यस्याश्चीयाङ्घ्रिघातोस्थलितमृदुरजोप्युत्कटशौर-  
तेजः ॥
- 22 हत्वा भूलोकमेनं मलिनयतितमां तत्किमेतत्पुरस्ताद् । यूयं भुक्तामदभ्राक् श्रयतनरपंत-  
र्मंडलीकस्य सेवा ॥ २० ॥ चातुर्यं व ( ब ) त वेधसः सुरगवीरत्नद्रुमान् यत्पशु ।  
प्रोयत्कर्करका
- 23 दृदुष्टवपुषश्चक्रेयमाजन्मतः ॥ स चैतन्ययुजन्नपाकुलहृदो दानैकनिष्णाततां ॥ दृष्ट्वा मंड-  
लिकप्रभोत्रभवतस्तेद्याभविष्यन्कथं ॥ २१ ॥ इति श्रीराजवंशवर्णनं ॥
- 24 अथ श्रीशाणवर्णनं ॥ अस्ति स्वस्तिनिधि [ : \* ] श्रियो निरवधिप्रेमास्पदं सेवधि [ : \* ]  
श्रीधर्मस्य वसुंधरोत्तमवधूमौलिस्फुरन्मंडनं । वापीकूपतटाककानम ( न ) जिनप्रासादशै-  
वालय

## PASNĀVḌĀ

No. 78]

v. s. 1514

[5-2-1458 A.D.]

This slab of stone containing a bilingual (Persian and Sanskrit) inscription was found fixed in the southern wall of the Darbargadh of Pasnāvḍā a very old town in Junagadh State, at a distance of 5½ miles to the east of Sutrā-Pāḍā. The Sanskrit portion measures 1'3½" by 3". The language of the record is very incorrect but the mistakes can easily be detected.

The inscription opens with the date, Sunday, the second of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa of v.s. 1514 (7-8-1457 A.D.) and states that SULTAN MALIK ASAD, son of Malik Muhammad, and grandson of Malik Mubārak, was then governing Devapāṭaṇa (i.e. Somanātha Pāṭaṇa) on behalf of SULTAN KUT-BUDDIN (of Gujarat). He caused very strong iron gates to be made to the fort at PASNĀVḌĀ. This work was completed on Sunday, the sixth of the dark half of v. s. 1514 (Māha).

## Text

- 1 ॥ संवत् १५१४ वर्षे श्रावण वदि २ रवौ सुलतान श्रीकुतबदीन विजिराज्ये श्रीदेव-  
पतन
- 2 ॥ तः सुलतानप[द्वी]मलिक श्रीः मबारक सत मलिकश्रीमहंमदसत मलिक श्रीअसदः
- 3 ॥ किरीयाति वजे पस्नावदं । कोटेन हपन्यात । अमारति साहाण्ड । सरवीलवाबीरासिला
- 4 सूत्र धीम्मा सूत्र सुरा । सूत्र षला । सूत्र धीणा ॥ १ सूत्र सूयामिहि सूत्र सल । कायस्थ ।  
सत सारंगदे लष्यमिती । संवत्
- 5 १५१४ वर्षे माह वदि [६] रिवौ लष्यतं ॥

## JEGADVĀ

No. 79]

v. s. 1518

[9-4-1462 A.D.]

This inscription is found in one of the deris near the Mātri Vāv in the village Jegadvā at a distance of six miles to the south-east of Dhrangadhra. It measures 27" × 13".

The inscription records that Ramābai, born in the Guhila family and married to Rāṇa Raṇavīra of the Zālā family caused a well to be built on the 10th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1518. Ramā's sons were Rāmādāsa, Arjuna and Gajabhrama.

Four more inscriptions, recording the same object are found in four other *deris* in the same place. Two of them are of the same date, but the remaining two do not give any date.

The expression 'chief queen' पट्टराज्ञी used with Ramābai, wife of Rāṇa Raṇavīra seems to be a formal one, since the Halvad inscription of v.s. 1538 published below gives the name of Lālāde of the queen of Raṇavīra whose son Bhīma succeeded his father to the gādi. Ramābai built the well after the death of her husband in v.s. 1516.

*Text.*

( १ )

- 1 संवत् १५१८ वर्षे वैशा
- 2 ष शुदि १० दिने श्रीमल्ल
- 3 वंशे राणश्री रणवीर<sup>१</sup> राज्ञी गुहि
- 4 लवंशे बाई श्रीरमादे
- 5 इ वावि करावी पुत्र राण
- 6 श्रीरामदास राणश्री
- 7 अर्जनदे राणश्री [ गज ]
- 8 [ भ्रम ]<sup>२</sup>. . . . .
- 9 . . . . .
- 10 . . . . .

( २ )

- 1 बाई श्रीरमया
- 2 वापिका का
- 3 पि कारुण्या जीवजीव
- 4 नजीवना [ १\* ] उचिता रचिता देव्या
- 5 रमया समयातगा [ ? ॥ \* ] १ रणवीरस्य
- 6 राजर्षे [ : \* ] पट्टराज्ञी रमाभिधा वर्तते निःक<sup>३</sup>
- 7 लंकस्य धर्मस्य करुणा यथा [ ॥ \* ] २

GIRNAR

No. 80]

v. s. 1519

[13-5-1463.

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a black marble image in the *nijamandira* of the Sampratirāja temple. It consists of two lines and

1. This word was left to be engraved in its proper place and was therefore engraved on the top of the first line.

2. The further portion is worn out.

3. Read. निष्क०

measures 2'10½" in length and only 3" in breadth. It is in a good state of preservation.

It records that during the time of the king MAṆḌALIKA an image of Nemi-nātha was caused to be made by two brothers Sahasakarāṇa and Pomaśiha, sons of Sikhara and that it was consecrated by Udayavallabhasūri of the Vṛddhatapā pakṣa (i.e. Gacha), on Friday, the 11th of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in v. s. 1519.

*Text.*

- 1 ॥ सं १५१९ वर्षे वैशाखवदि ११ शुके रायाया श्रीमंडलिकविजयराज्ये सो० शिखर-  
सुत सो०
- 2 सहसकरणपोमसीहाभ्या (०) श्रीनेमिनाथबिंबं कारितं प्रति० वृद्धतपापक्षे श्रीउदयवल्लभ-  
सूरिभिः

JEGAḌVĀ

No. 81]

v. s. 1524

[26-1-1468 A.D.

This inscription is engraved on a *pālio* standing on the eastern bank of the Kālāsara tank to the east of the village Jegaḍvā in Dhrangdhra State. A camel driver is engraved between the second and the third line of the inscribed portion, which measures 1'4" in height and 1'1" in breadth. The concluding three lines cannot be clearly read.

The record opens with the date, viz. Tuesday, the second of the bright half of Māgha of v. s. 1524, and refers to the reign of a king named MAHĀ-RĀNĀ VARASIMHADEVA. It seems to record the death of a person in a fight on the above mentioned date.

It must be noted that the king who held sway over Jegaḍvā at that time must be no other than a Zālā king of Kuvā. We do not however find a king in that family who was ruling in v.s. 1524 and who was called Varasimhadeva. A king of that name did rule in the Zālā family but he lived in an earlier period from circa 1441 to 1448 of the Vikrama era. The date, again, can definitely be read as 1524. I am, therefore, inclined to propose that Varasimhadeva was some *Bhāyāda* of the ruling family but was given the honorific title 'Mahārāṇa' only in the inscription. He may be the eleventh son of Rāṇū Satrasālji of the main ruling of Kuvā.

*Text.*

- 1 संवत् १५२४ वर्षे माघ
- 2 मासे शुक्लपक्षे द्वितीया ति
- 3 थौ भौमदिने शतिभिषान
- 4 क्षत्रे शिवनाम्नि योगे वक्करणे
- 5 एवं गुणविशिष्टायां पुण्यतिथौ
- 6 महाराण श्रीवरशंगदेविजयराजे<sup>1</sup>
- 7 बाई कामेलासत बाई काकाला ?
- 8-10 . . . . .

1. Read. वरशंगदे i.e. वरसिंहदे

## KHĀMBHAD

No. 82]

v. s. 1531

[25-7-1474.

This inscription is engraved at the door of a small temple near the *deri* of Khāmbhadia Nāg in the village Khāmbhad. The inscribed portion is round an image of Gaṇapati and measures 1'·7" in length and 6" in breadth.

It records that the temple was built on Monday the 12th of the first half of Śrāvaṇa in v. s. 1531 in the village Khāmbhad by Mehta Harapal in the time of a Zālā king, whose name is illegible, but is probably Bhima.

*Text.*

- 1 संवत् १५३१ वर्षे सरावण सुदि
- 2 १२ सोमे षांभडाग्रामे
- 3 झाला श्री [भीमराज्ये] महं हरपाल
- 4 ..... देरी करावी ।

## KUTIYĀṆĀ

No. 83]

v. s. 1531

[5-10-1574.

This inscription was found in Kutiyāṇā under Junagadh State, but it is now kept in the Junagadh Museum. It is broken in its lower portion. The record is full of mistakes.

It opens with the date, Wednesday, the tenth of the dark half of Aśvina in v. s. 1531, and makes a mention of the Mahājanas of KUNTIPUR (i.e. modern Kutiyāṇā). The names of certain articles of commodity, viz., ja-wari, cotton, etc., are given. It seems that the Mahājanas trading in the Māṇḍvi were asked to contribute to some public purpose certain amount of grain, cotton, etc.

*Text.*

- 1 संवत् १५३१ वर्षे आश्विन<sup>1</sup> वदि १० बुध्येः<sup>2</sup>
- 2 श्रीकूतीपुरवास्तव्य<sup>3</sup> मांडवीनकास्मि (?)
- 3 महाजन तलपद । त्रि ? वप्रिः<sup>4</sup> ॥ तथा वछीआ
- 4 जोरी कलट<sup>5</sup> १ । तथा वछीआत<sup>6</sup> कीमति सवा
- 5 कबुलक १ प्र० ६ [जो]री क १ प्र टं० १ । वंडीकः ॥ विप्र
- 6 [क]पास भा १ प्र ६ कबुलक<sup>7</sup> १ प्र० ॥ नागरपुण्य वंडीक
- 7 ... । पडीकसु कपास भा १ प्र० ॥ आपइ ॥ पाट
- 8 ..... धनसा भा १ प्र ७९ को १ प्रट-
- 9 ..... भा १ प्र. १४ जेहन पाडि
- 10 ..... ते पल
- 11 ..... नही

---

1. Read आश्विन      2. Read बुधे      3. Read कुंतीपुर कुंतीआणा  
4. and 6 and 1?      5. Read कलशी ?

## CANDRĀSAR

No. 84]

v.s. 1534.

[9-2-1478

This inscription is found engraved on a stone fixed in the southern dam of the big lake to the south of the village Candrāsara in the Rājasitāpur mahal of the Dhrangdhra State. Its length is 5'-9" but the breadth is only 4". The average size of the letters is 2" by 1½".

It records that a farmer or a kṣatriya (क्षेत्री) named Dīpacandra of Darbha gotra caused to be dug a beautiful tank for the comfort of beings on Monday the 7th of the bright half of Phālguna of v.s. 1534.

On p. 241 of the revised list of *Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* this inscription is read thus—

चंद्र हारं तडागं च कारितं दर्भ गोत्रिणा ।

वृषाणां शान्तयेनूनं चंद्रराधन क्षत्रिणा ॥

and the making of the tank is attributed to the king Candrasinhaji of Halvad. But there is no doubt that the correct reading of the text is as given below. The date 1534 is quite clear. In another inscription of v.s. 1911 at the same place published below this work is attributed to Candrasinhaji and the date for that occasion is given as v. s. 1640 simply to suit to the reign of *Candra*-sinhaji the Zālā ruler of Halvad. The present inscription tells us that the author of the tank was Dīpacandra and that his gotra was Darbha, whereas the gotra of the Zhālā family in which Candrasinhā was born is known to be Mārkaṇḍeya.\* It is thus clear that the building of the tank is wrongly attributed to Candrasinhaji by tradition, that the writer of the inscription of v.s. 1911 simply bowed down to that tradition and stated the wrong year for that purpose, and that BURGESS wrongly read the inscription in the light of the tradition, if at all the Zālā ruler might have repaired and enlarged the tank.

## Text

1 संवत् १५३४ वर्षे फागुण सुदि ७(?) [सोमे म]नोहरं तडागं च । कारितं दर्भगोत्रिणा

2 सत्वानां शान्तये नूनं । दीपचंद्रेण क्षेत्रिणा ।

## GOSĀ

No. 85]

v.s. 1536.

[6-2-1480

This inscription is found in the southern part of the village Gosā. It measures 12"×11".

It refers to the rule of Patshaha Mahammad and the Jethvā chief Vikamāitjī and states that on Sunday, the 11th of the dark half of Māgha in v.s. 1536 one Munjāl, son of Surā, belonging to the Nāgar Vāṇia community caused a well to be dug up in Gosā.

Patshaha Mahammad mentioned in the record was the powerful Gujarat Sultan Mahmud Begaḍā who conquered Kathiawad in v.s. 1527, ended the Cūḍāsamā rule at Junagadh and enforced his claims as overlord over

\*See Limbdi Inscription of v.s. 1830 published below.



the small states in Kathiawad, Rana Vikamāitji of Porbandar being one of them.

*Text.*

- 1 संवत् १५३६ माघ वि
- 2 दि ११ रिवौ पातसाह श्रीम
- 3 हमंदराजे जेठवा श्रीचिकमा
- 4 इता गोसाग्रामांत नागरन्या
- 5 ति वाणि सूरसुत मुंजालिअे
- 6 वाव्य कराव्यु लिखितं मुं
- 7 जालसुत भोजा

RĀMPURĀ

No. 86]

v.s. 1538.

[1-2-1482.

Between the villages Rāmpurā and Rātbā in the Wadhwan State there is a well where the following four inscriptions of the same date are found. The letters of all are well engraved and well preserved. The first inscription measures 18" in length and 14" in breadth, the second 17½" by 14", the third 17" by 13½" and the fourth 17½" by 14½".

All the four inscriptions bear the same date, viz., Friday, the 13th of the bright half of Māgha of v.s. 1538 or Śaka 1403. Though they are differently worded, as may be seen below, their object is the same. It is as follows :—In the time of Pādashāha MAHAMUD and during the regime of Rāṇā VĀGHJI and when Paramāra Lakhadhir and Hādā and Alukhān were governing the locality two wives, Raṇibai and Velhāde of Setha Viṇā of Śrīmāl community residing in JHĀNJHANAGAR (i.e. Jhinjhuvāḍā) caused a well to be made in Sūryapura for public use. The account of the family to which Viṇā belonged is given thus—Setha Kelhaṇa had a wife named Pomī. They had a son named Āso. His wife was Vānu, from whom he had a son named Māṇ-ḍaṇa. The latter had two wives—Manī and Mānu. By Manī he got four sons—Viṇo, Dhano, Suro and Viṣo. Vīno had two wives—Ranibai and Velhādebai, who caused the well to be made as mentioned above. Surā had two wives—Sampu and Sobhagani; while Viṣā had a wife named Haḍī. The names of the officers of Rāṇā Vāghji in whose time the well was dug are also given.

Padshaha Mahamud mentioned in the record is the Gujarat Sultan Mahamud Begada and Rāṇā Vāghji is the Zala ruler of Kuvā. Paramaras Lakhdirji and Hada were governors of the part and Khan Alu Khan was the *thānādar* of Jhinjhuvada.

Below is given the text of only two inscriptions, the remaining two being almost similar to these.

*Text*

(१)

- 1 ॥ १० ॥ संवत् १५३८ वर्षे शाके १४०३ प्रवर्तमाने माघमासे शु
- 2 कल्पक्षे १३ शुके पातसा श्रीमहिमूद राणश्री वघविजयराज्ये

- 3 परमार लषधीर परमार ह्या[दा]विजयराज्ये षानश्रीअल्लूषा  
 4 नराज्ये महं श्रीवेणा भार्या बाई राणी, बाई वल्हादे, चलं चित्तं च  
 5 लं वित्तं चलं जीवति योवनं चलाचलस्य संसारो धर्म एको हि  
 6 नश्चल १ एकगोपदमात्रेण उदकं धारये मही षष्ठिर्वषसह  
 7 श्राणी शिवलोके स गच्छति १ जले ब्रह्मा जले विष्णु जले संस्ता  
 8 च देवता जलं जगस्य आहार त्रैलोक्यं स चराचरं २ दशकूपसमो  
 9 वापी दशवापीसमो सरः दशसरसमो कन्या दशकन्यासमो द्वि  
 10 ज ॥ अहो प्राज्ञ सुरोत्तंस सृजसे....सर्वेषां देवदैत्या  
 11 नां मानुषाणां न संशयः जलं श्रीदं जलं रम्यं जलं आयु विवर्ध  
 12 नं जलं जगस्य आहारं सर्व उदकसंभवं ॥ शुभ भवतु ॥ श्री

( २ )

- 1 संवत् १५३८ वर्षे शाके १४०३ प्रवर्तमाने माघ  
 2 मासे शुक्लपक्षे १३ शुके पातसा श्री महिमूद  
 3 राण श्रीवाघजीविजयराज्ये अदेह सूर्यपुरे झंझन  
 4 गरवास्तव्य षान श्री अल्लूषानराज्ये मंत्रि श्रीश्री  
 5 मालज्ञातीय श्रेष्ठि केल्लणभार्या बाई पोमी सु  
 6 त श्रेष्ठि आसा भार्या बाई वानू सुत श्रेष्ठि मांडण भा  
 7 र्या प्रथम बाई अरघूबाई मानुबाई मनीसुत धना  
 8 महं सूरु भार्या प्रथम वै संपू वै सोभागिणी महं  
 9 श्रीवीणा भार्या बाई राणी बाई वल्हादे भात्रि महं वी  
 10 सा भार्या बाई रूडी राज्यमानि महं श्री वीणा वा  
 11 पी कारापनीयाः । सुभं भवतु कल्याणमस्तुः ॥

KHODU

No. 87]

v.s. 1544.

[17-7-1488.

Khōḍu is a very old village in Wadhwan State at a distance of 15 miles to the north-west of Wadhwan. Near the temple of Phuleśvara Mahādeva a stone slab containing the following inscription is lying. The inscribed portion is in an excellent condition but being so full of mistakes cannot be well read. It measures 5½ feet in length and only ½ foot in breadth.

The purport of the record is this : VĀJA, son of Rāṇā SURADĀSA who was son of Devā died in JHĀLĀVĀD on Thursday, the eighth of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1544. To commemorate his memory his mother named 'Purāde' caused a *deri* to be made.

Vāja was evidently a *bhāyāt* of the main Zālā family of Kuvā.

Text

- 1 संवत् १५४४ वर्षे श्रावण सिदि ८ गुरू रांण श्री सूरदास देवासुत वाज झाला-  
 वाडमां ग  
 2 त्वा जानषणी ? रांणा श्री सूरदासनी देहेरी माता श्रीपुरादे देहेरी करावी सूत्र भोटा  
 नीपा  
 3 ई करावि जोसि प-स्र सारिधिः ( ? ) सुत जसा ( ? )

## BĀḌĪ

No. 88]

v.s. 1572.

[1516.

This inscription is engraved on a stone lying near the temple of Khodiyār Mātā in the village Bāḍī in the Gogha district. The letters are very carelessly engraved.

It opens with the date, Thursday, the eleventh of the dark half of Māgasara of v.s. 1572 and seems to record that by order of the MAHĀMALIK PIR MUHAMMAD and other officers Miyā Alādiyā, Dosi Shivarāja, Meheta Mankā, Patel Varajang, Brahman Nāga made a grant of a piece of land in the village BĀHADĪ in the possession of the VAZIR. Imprecatory lines are given at the end so that no Hindus and Muhammedans should violate the grant.

*Text*

- 1 संवत् १५७२ वर्षे मागसर
- 2 वदि ११ गुरौ\* महामलेक
- 3 पीरमहिमद् तथा समस्त वजे
- 4 दार (?) वचनात् वजीरनि बाहडीग्रा
- 5 मे मीयां श्री अलदीया, दोसी
- 6 सिवराज, महं० मांका, पट० वर
- 7 जांग, ब्राह्मण नागा, मुटी
- 8 आनी फूलसरी ते हलनी
- 9 भूमि मूकी ही कोलो (?) पि हीदु
- 10 मसलमान इहनि तेहनि
- 11 प्रमस्वर दोषि जाको कालि
- 12 कालि वेह लोपि तेहीनी प्रथीनुं
- 13 पाप प० हरदास कणबी

## KUVĀ

No. 89]

v. s. 1572

[20-7-1515.

Kuvā is the chief town of a Mahal of the same name in Dhrangdhra State. It is also called Kankāvaṭī. In its north-west quarter there is a well called Khārivāva. The present inscription is found fixed there. Its length is 3'-2" and breadth 1'-2". Being very incorrectly engraved it is doubtful if the reading of certain names is correct. The mistakes can easily be understood, so they are not given in the footnotes.

The inscription records that on Thursday the ninth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1572 (śaka 1437) Patel Abu repaired the well. At that time Bādasnahā Muzfar was ruling (over Gujarat) and Rānā Rāṇakade, evidently the Zālā ruler of Halvad was ruling as his subordinate and Tājakhān and AMAN were governing as Subas. The village Patel was a Muhammedan named Muso.

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\*The date does not agree.

The Bādashaha Muzfar mentioned in the record was the Gujarat Sultan Muzfar II who reigned from A.D. 1513 to 1526 at Ahmedabad.

*Text*

- 1 संवत् १५७२ वर्षे शके १४३७ प्रवमाने दक्षिणायने वषारतौ महामांगलप्रद श्राव
- 2 णमासे शुक्लप्रषे नवम्यां तथौ भृगवासे रोहिणी नषत्रे पातसहा श्रीमदफर व
- 3 जिराजे महाराणश्रीराणगदेविजयराये पानश्रीताह ( ? ) पान
- 4 मी० श्रीअमन व्यापारे पटलश्रीवाहाम (?) ग्रहे भार्या बाई जलेषां सु
- 5 त पटल आलीग्रहे भार्या बाई षमी सुत पटल हाजी ग्रहे भार्या बाई
- 6 जबा सुत पटल मूसो ग्रहे भार्या बाई ओमणां वापी अघरण सुत पटलई
- 7 सप भात्र अबु पटल मूसे वापी उघरण\* भात्र ब्रहाम भात्र शलमान भात्र भा
- 8 ईआ भात्र षीहा भात्र हांसा भात्र फवीद शुभं भवतु आरोग्यकल्याणमस्तु ।

SARĀ

No. 90]

v.s. 1579.

[20-11-1522

Sarā is a small but very old village in the Sāyalā taluka. It is 18 miles to the north of Thān. In the Darbargadh there is a masjid called Gebal Shah Pir. There the subjoined inscription was found. It measures 1'-10" in length and 12" in breadth.

The inscription records that Moḍhera Hājadi, resident of Sarā caused a masjid to be made on Thursday, the second of the bright half of Māgasar in v.s. 1579 during the rule of PĀTSĀHĀ MUZFARSHAH and his queen BĪBĪ RĀṆĪ.

Muzfar Shah was the Gujarat Sultan who ruled from A.D. 1513 to 1526.

*Text.*

- 1 ॥ संवत् १५७९ वर्षे मांगशार शुदि २ गुरू
- 2 ॥ पातसाह श्रीमुदाफरशाह बीबीश्रीराणी
- 3 ॥ वजिराज्ये सारावास्तव्य हीदि मी० मलकजी क
- 4 ॥ तब मोढेर आला भारज्या बीबी सत मोढेर
- 5 ॥ दाउद भारज्या षादी भात्र कासम मोढेर
- 6 ॥ भारजा वाली मसीत मोढेर हाजदि करा
- 7 ॥ बी सत मोढेर हीजी मोढेर डोसी मोढेर सलम्

*To be continued.*

\*This word उघरण i.e. उद्घरण shows that the old well was probably repaired.

## NOTES OF THE MONTH

The *Aryan Path*, the premier monthly journal of Bombay, "stands for all that is noble in the East and the West alike." After a meritorious service of no less than a decade it has just entered its eleventh year as evinced by its issue for January 1940 (Vol. XI, No. 1). The entire credit for running this illustrious monthly with increasing popularity and international reputation must go to Mrs. Sophia WADIA, who by her learning and ability has succeeded remarkably well in establishing a firm contact with thinking minds and busy pens of the foremost countries in the world. The need for such an organ maintaining a dignified but philosophic outlook on all matters of moment affecting the conflicting creeds and warring nations is greater at present than in bygone days in view of the infinite capacity for mischief generated by our so called civilization. The message of the *Mahābhārata* "A man should practise *dharma* as if he is held by the hair by Death" appears to have been lost on us. The need for self-purification and self-discipline, not to say the curbing of the desire for "self-help" is also to be emphasized by all whose voices are heard by the "madding crowd" who control the machinery of the state and direct it for "ignoble strife." We feel confident that the *Aryan Path* with its eclectic message deeply rooted in spiritual development and strengthened by the hard work of a decade will continue to spread this beneficent message to the innermost recesses of the civilized world in the years to come. It requires no prophet to tell man that he is a brute but it certainly requires a prophet or a philosopher to point out the divine capabilities of this brute. The *Aryan Path* points the finger to this God in Man and we must stand by it in its uphill task of spreading this important message un-mindful of all sacrifices.

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The Karnatak Historical Research Society of Dharwar inaugurated its Silver Jubilee celebrations on 29th May 1940 under the distinguished presidentship of Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., the Director-General of Archaeology of India. On this occasion two Silver Jubilee publications of the Society were announced and the portrait of the founder Mr. Venkatrao ALUR, B.A., LL.B., was unveiled. During the last 25 years the Society had "to rouse the political consciousness of the Kannadigas" and to recall to them their glorious past. The Society conducts an English Journal called the *Karnatak Historical Review* of which five volumes have been so far published. Publications of the Society in Kanarese language, though they may possess a local appeal to the Kanarese knowing public are not likely to rouse much interest in the Society's work in other parts of India. We trust, therefore, that the Society would develop their Research Journal into a first class medium for making widely known all important results of research conducted by the members of the Society. The Museum of the Society contains 457 coins, 8 stone images, 37 palm leaf manuscripts and 50 choice photographs of temple architecture in Mysore. This collection of exhibits in the Museum needs also to be increased and we have no doubt that with the sound advice of Rao Bahadur DIKSHIT and the ardour for research displayed by the organizers of the Society the Museum can be developed into a Model Museum of Karnatak antiquities and culture. The Karnatak territory is not lacking in well-to-do and highly educated persons and given the will to develop the Karnatak Historical Research Society into a research centre with a dynamic drive it will not fail to attract scholars from other parts of India. We congratulate the present and past organizers of this Society for the groundwork of research done by them during the last quarter of a century and wish the Society ever-increasing prosperity and success in all their endeavours to put the Karnatak Historical Research in its proper academic perspective.

## A-I. ŪRNĀVĀBHI- "SPINNE".<sup>1</sup>

By

ALBERT DEBRUNNER, Bern.

Die Ausführungen von Otto PAUL in der Zeitschrift "Wörter und Sachen" (20, 1939, 56-58) und von H. GÜNTHER ebenda S. 247 f. veranlassen mich, ein paar Bemerkungen zu veröffentlichen, die ich mir zu gelegentlicher Verwendung aufgezeichnet hatte.

Von dem das Vorderglied *ūrṇā-* "Wolle" enthaltenden Wort für "Spinne" sind durch die Petersburger Wörterbücher (einschliesslich der Nachträge im 4. Band des grossen) folgende Bildungen bekannt geworden :

Kāth. 8, 1 (83, 8) (Prosa) *ūrṇa-vābhi-*, ŚB. 14, 5, 1, 23 *ūrṇa-vābhi-* ist die Grundlage des Dämonennamens RV. 2, 11, 18 b ; 8, 32, 26 b ; 8, 66 (77), 2 b *aurṇavābhā-* (eigentlich "Spinnensohn"), ist demnach die älteste bezeugte Form des Wortes ; *aurṇavābhā-* und *aurṇavābha-* kennt als Patronymikon das ŚB. 14, 7, 3, 26 (=BĀU. 4, 1), als Eigennamen Nir. und Bṛhadd.

Etwas jünger bezeugt ist *ūrṇa-nābhi-* : T.B. 1, 1, 2, 5 ; BĀU. 2, 1, 20 ; Mund. U., Kauś., BhP. (*ūrṇa-nābhi-* Kśurikop. 9), noch jünger *ūrṇa-nābha-* : Svet. U. 6, 10, Lex, als Name ep. und im Gaṇa śiva zu P. 4, 1, 112 (als Grundlage des Patron. *aurṇanābhā-*) und im Gaṇa rājanya zu P. 4, 2, 53 (als Grundlage von *aurṇanābhaka-* "vom Stamm der U. bewohnt").

Aus dem Pāli bringt GÜNTHER a. a. O. einige Stellen für *unṇanābhi-* und eine für *unṇānābhi-* bei.

Zu diesen verbuchten Belegen kommen aus den Paralleltexten zur Kāthakastelle hinzu : MS. 1, 6, 9 (101, 5) *ūrṇā-vābhi-* und KapiṣṭhSaṃh. 6, 6 (64, 11 Raghu VIRA) *ūrṇa-vābhi-*. Damit ist das Altersvorrecht des *-v-* über das *-n-* bestätigt.

Etymologisiert wurde *ūrṇa-nābhi-*, wie GÜNTHER zeigt, schon von indischen Kommentatoren von Pālitexten aus v. *nābhi-* "Nabel", and PAUL a. a. O. erklärt es als " (Wesen) dessen Nabe (Nabel) Wolle hat " ; die *v-* Variante trennt PAUL in *ūrṇa-vābhi-*, wobei er begreiflicherweise für das *-bhi-* keine Entsprechung findet. Beiden ist entgangen, dass schon AUFRECHT (KZ. 4, 1855, 282) *ūrṇa-vābha-* einleuchtend zu *वप-अव* und deutsch *weben* usw. gestellt und als "Wollweberin" gedeutet hatte ; diese Etymologie war bequem bei BÖHTLINGK-ROTH unter *ūrṇa-vābhi-*, bei WACKERNAGEL Ai. Gr. II 1, 11 § 3 ea (wo

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1. Dieser Aufsatz war schon seit Monaten geschrieben, als ich von S. M. KATRE seine Bemerkungen über dasselbe Wort im *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* I, Nos. 2-4 (März 1940) S. 153 f. zugeschiedt erhielt. Auch er hebt die Bedeutung des Suffixes *-i-* und des Doppelakzents der neubelegten Wortform hervor. Da ich aber das Problem weit darüber hinaus behandelt habe, darf ich damit rechnen, dass meine Ausführungen ihren Wert behalten.

ebenso einleuchtend *ūrṇa-nābh-* als volksetymologische Umdeutung von *ūrṇa-vābh-* erklärt ist) und bei WALDE-POKORNY I 257 zu finden.

Die Bildung von *ūrṇa-vābh-* ist klar : es ist ein Kompositum mit Nomen agentis auf *-i-* im Hinterglied und abhängigem Nomen im Vorderglied (vgl. WHITNEY Sanskr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> § 1276 a, 1287 c, WACKERNAGEL a. a. O. 224 § 92 d), wie z. B. v. *saho-bhāri-* "Kraft nährend", AV. *pathi-śādi-* "am Weg sitzend", v. *pād-grbhi-* "am Fuss ergreifend" (Name), ŚB. *mano-mūṣi-* "den Sinn raubend." Allerdings hat in diesen Bildungen das Hinterglied gewöhnlich Tiefstufe oder Vollstufe. Die Dehnstufe ist äusserst selten : ich kenne nur *hamsa-sāci-* als Namen eines Vogels ("Gänse begleitend") in einem Mantra TS. 5, 5, 20, 1 = KāthAśv. 7, 10 (181, 4) ; der Name *puṣkarasādi* ĀpŚS. ist wohl nur Verschreibung für *pauṣkarasādi-* BÖHTLINGK Wb. s. v.)<sup>2</sup>. Wir werden es also begrüßen, wenn uns neuerdings die Kürze in *vābhi-* bezeugt ist : In dem Band Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda (New edition), Part I (containing, Ādhāna and Punarādhāna sections)<sup>3</sup>, ed. by Paṇḍit Vāmanāśāstrī KINJAVADEKAR und Brahmaśrī Rāmadikṣit HANGAL (Poona 1938) ist auch die oben angeführte Stelle des TB. abgedruckt (S. 3 Z 1. 3); aber unser Wort lautet dort nicht *ūrṇa-vābhayaḥ*, wie in der Ausgabe der Bibliotheca Indica, sondern *ūrṇā-vābhayaḥ*, und KATRE bemerkt in der Uebersetzung, die er zu dem genannten Buch beige-steuert hat, mit Recht : "The word has not so far been recorded either in PW or pw." (S. 4 f. Anm. 6). Ich zweifle nicht, dass dieses *ūrṇā-vābhi-* die ursprüngliche Form des Wortes ist : die Vollstufe *-vābhi-* entspricht der Norm weit besser als die Dehnstufe *-vābhi-*. Da die Wurzel *vabh-* sonst verschwunden war, suchte man "volksetymologisch" Anknüpfung und fand sie zuerst wohl in dem Synonymen *vā-* "weben" (daher die Umgestaltung zu *vābhi-*), dann an *nābhi-*, und schliesslich wurde *-nābhi-* nach der Regel *angūri-* : *daśāṅgulā-* (WACKERN. a. a. O. 118 f. § 51 a) zu *-nābha-*.

Die Beibehaltung des *a* von *ūrṇā-* im Vorderglied entspricht der Regel (WACKERN. a. a. O. 49 § 21 aa), wenn auch Ersetzung des *ā* durch *ā* in solchen Fällen vorklassisch häufig ist (ebenda β). So heisst es VS. ŚB. ŚāṅkhŚS. *ūrṇā-sūtrā-* "Wollfaden", AB. ĀśvGS. *ūrṇā-stukā-* "Wollbüschel", TB. 3, 7, 4, 10 ; 6, 5 *ūrṇā-mṛdu-* "wollenweich", dagegen (wohl wegen der zweifachen Konsonanz) v. *ūrṇa-mradas-* "wollenweich" ; von andern Verbal-determinativen vergleiche man etwa v. *senā-nī-* und ep. *pṛtanā-nī-* "Heerführer."

Der Doppelakzent der neuen Bezeugung des Wortes ist ebenfalls eine Altertümlichkeit. KATRE a. a. O. erinnert mit Recht an v. *brāhmaṇas-pāti-*, *śūnah-śépa-* u. dgl (WACKERN. a. a. O. 262 f. § 103 a) ; zu bemerken ist jedoch, dass diese und alle andern Fälle von Doppelakzent (ebenda 41 § 17 b) andern Kompositionstypen angehören : *ūrṇā-vābhi-* ist meines Wissens das einzige Beispiel für Doppelakzent in einem Kompositum mit regierendem

2. Über P. 6, 2, 40, 41 *-sādi(n)- -vāmī-* s. WACKERN, a. a. O. 220 § 91 f. α A.

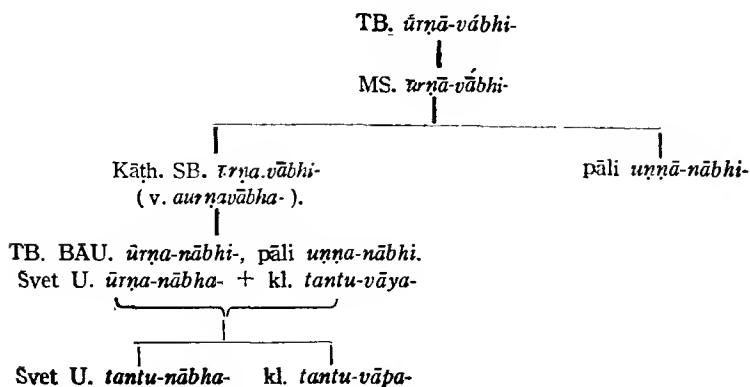
3. Seine Kenntnis verdanke ich der freundlichen Zusendung durch Prof. S. M. KATRE in Poona.

verbalem Hinterglied ! Das gibt uns aber nicht etwa ein Recht, dieses Beispiel anzuzweifeln ; denn die von KATRE angeführten Bemerkungen der Kommentatoren zeigen deutlich, dass auch ihnen der Doppelakzent vorlag.

Es gibt übrigens noch andere Wörter, die an die behandelten anklingen. So schreibt die Ausgabe der Ānandāśr. Sanscrit Series in der Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad 6. 10 *tantu-nābha-* gegenüber *ūrṇa-nābha-* der Ausgabe der Bibliotheca Indica ; das kleine Peterburger Wörterbuch belegt dieses *tantu-nābha-* auch aus Śaṅk. zu Bādar. 2, 1, 25. Ferner gibt es kl. *tantu-vāya-* "Weber", nach den Lex. und Gramm. auch "Spinne" nach den Lex. auch *tantra-vāya-* "Weber, Spinne" und *tantu-vāpa-* "Weber, das Weben", endlich *tantu-vāna-* "das Weben". Das Hinterglied *-vāyá-* von der Wurzel *vā-* "weben" (vgl. TB. *-dāyá-* "gebend" von *dā-*, v. *upa sthāyam* "das Herantreten" von *sthā* ; P. 3, 1. 141) kennt schon der RV. : *vāso-vāya-* "Gewand webend" 10, 26, 6 c ; dann AB. 8, 12, 3 und 8, 17, 2 *tiraścīna-vāya-* "Querband" (eig. "Querweber"), ep. kl. *tunna-vāya-* "Schneider" ("Gestochenes webend") ; also *tantu-vāya-* *tantra-vāya-* "Fäden webend". Daraus ist umgestaltet *tantu-vāpa* durch Anschluss an *vap-* "hinstreuen" und *tantu-nābha-* durch Kontamination mit *ūrṇa-nābha-* (*tantu-vāna-* enthält natürlich ein Nomen actionis auf *-(a)na-*).

Zum Schluss ein Wort über das Geschlecht dieser Wörter für die Spinne. Es wäre nicht nötig wenn nicht PAUL a. a. O. 57 *ūrṇanābhi-* als Femininum von *ūrṇanābha-* bezeichnete weil er gegen die geschichtliche Folge der Wörter im Ai., aber seiner Etymologie *ūrṇanābha-* = aw.\* *varnanāwa-* > *varanava-* zuliebe, *ūrṇanābha-* für die älteste Form hält (in den Zitaten aus dem PW. setzt er S, 56 richtig das Maskulinum an !). Die Lexika geben aber für alle diese Wörter männliches Geschlecht an, und mit vollem Recht ; schon der Kompositionstypus *ūrṇā-vābhi-* beweist das Mask., natürlich auch für die Umgestaltungen des Wortes ; auch spricht in den Belegen rein nichts für Femininum, wohl aber manches für ein Maskulinum, z. B. Kāth. so 'yam *ūrṇavābhiḥ*, MS. *yé 'dhare tá ūrṇāvābhayaḥ*, ŚB. 14, 5, 1, 23 *sá yātho 'rṇavābhis tāntuno 'ccāret* "wie diese Spinne vermittelt des Fadens aus sich herauskommt".

Der Stammbaum der Bildungen ist also so herzustellen :





# ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND RESEARCH WORK \*

By

P. C. DIVANJI, Bombay.

- I. Genesis of the Study of Ancient Indian History.
- II. Available Sources for that Study.
- III. Commencement of Research Work and Its Reaction on History.
- IV. Progress in Research Work and in History.
- V. Discovery of the Indus Valley Civilization and Its Reaction on Historical Studies.
- VI. Problem Left Unsolved By Them.
- VII. Ways and Means To Solve It.
- VIII. Immediate Objective Requiring Concentration.
- IX. Necessity of Active Co-operation between the Research Scholars and the Archæologists.
- X. Suggestions for their Lines of Action.
- XI. Their Effect on the History of Indian Culture.
- XII. Way to Further Progress and Appeal to Research Scholars.

## *I. Genesis of the Study of Ancient Indian History.*

Although the East India Company had ceased to be a purely trading company and had begun to take an active interest in the political condition of India since about the beginning of the second half of the 18th Century, it was not until the then predominant power of the Peśwās was gradually broken by making separate subsidiary alliances with the members of the Maratha Confederacy, and was finally crushed out of existence in 1818 during the Governor-Generalship of the Marquis of Hastings that the said Company can be deemed to have laid the foundation of the British Indian Empire. Shortly after that foundation was laid the work of its consolidation and reconstruction was commenced with a view to its roots being planted as deep as possible in order to make it as permanent as human institutions could be and as human ingenuity and foresight could make it. Amongst the various steps that were taken towards that end on getting the constitution amended by an Act of Parliament in 1833 was the ascertainment of the history of India prior to the commencement of the struggles for supremacy between the British and the other European powers, the Portuguese and the French, who had some possessions in India, in order that the mistakes of the past rulers of India may not be repeated by the British.

## *II. Available Sources for that Study.*

2. There were ample materials for the study of that history upto the date of the first Mahomedan incursion in India headed by Mahomed of

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\* This paper was read before the Archæology Section of the Tenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Tirupati in March 1940.

Gazni<sup>1</sup>, namely the first quarter of the 11th century, because the Mahomedans had all along kept sufficient records in the Persian language of the most important events that had taken place since then. The task of ascertaining the vicissitudes through which the different provinces of India had passed prior to that date was however by no means easy for the European administrators and historians, who had undertaken the study of Indian history, because, whereas, on the one hand it could not be denied that the Indian civilization was at its zenith from a date long long prior to the commencement of what is called the mediæval period, there was, on the other, a total absence of purely historical records thereof kept in Sanskrit or in any other language and such Sanskrit works as contained materials from which the necessary dates could be ascertained were so voluminous and so mixed up with mythology that a very labourious research was required to be made for that purpose even after one acquired a workable knowledge of the language. Before Mount Stuart ELPHINSTONE undertook to write the first History of India in 1833 such research work, so far as the Sanskrit works on law and general literature were concerned, had already been commenced by Oriental scholars like Sir William JONES and others, who founded the Bengal and Bombay Branches of the Royal Asiatic Society. But the vast mass of the Vedic, Paurāṇic and Prakrit literatures, from which historical materials could be garnered, had remained practically unexplored and much of it had also remained unknown to the European scholars. Some Christian missionaries had dived into a portion of it but they had been led to form some fantastic and unsavoury notions about the character of the Indian civilization. ELPHINSTONE therefore stigmatized that source as unreliable and set down 326 B.C., the date of the incursion of Alexander the Great of Macedonia according to the Greek writers, as the earliest date from which the past history of India could be re-constructed.

### III. *Commencement of Research Work and Its Reaction on History.*

3. Such evaluation of the known indigenous sources rendered it necessary to make scientific researches for more reliable ones. Towards that end, the authorities turned their attention to the collection of such other historical evidence as it was possible to procure on searching for epigraphs, coins, plates, tablets, relics of artistic works, grants and literary records. In order to carry out that plan, they created the posts of the Director of Archæology in India and of the Superintendents of Circles for the Search of Sanskrit Mss., all over India. Thus, while on the one hand CUNNINGHAM, BURGESS, COUSENS, FERGUSSON, PRINCEP and others carried out archæological researches, PETERSON, BHANDARKAR, Rajendralal MITRA, STEIN and others carried on the

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1. Technically speaking the first Mahomedan invading army that had entered India from the north-west was that of Mahomed Kasim and it had done that in the last quarter of the 8th century but it had touched only the border-province of Sind, and the principal Hindu States then in existence in the interior and along the other borders had remained unaffected by it,

search for Sanskrit Mss., all over India. The former brought to light many hidden inscriptions, coins and relics and led to the development of the sciences of palæography, epigraphy, numismatics and archæology on which CUNNINGHAM, PRINCEP, PETERSON, BHANDARKAR, Bhau DAJI, Bhagwanlal INDRAJI and others worked very hard and the latter aided further by the researches of the representatives of learned societies here and in Europe like Bhau DAJI, BÜHLER and others led to the establishment of Mss. libraries at important centres in India like Poona, Calcutta, Benares, Jammu, Bikaner and Madras and in Europe like London, Paris, St. Petersburg, Rome &c., and to the application of the method of historical research to the interpretation of the Indian religious works.

4. While this spade-work was in progress for nearly four decades Henry BEVERIDGE published his *Comprehensive History of India* in 1862, Sir H. M. ELLIOT brought out his *History of India* in 8 volumes commencing from 1867 and COWELL revised ELPHINSTONE's *History of India*. The two former had not indeed sufficient materials before them because research work had been commenced shortly before they composed their works. But even COWELL, who had some pre-historic materials before him did not think it worth his while to collect and sift them with a view to arrange them chronologically and give them a place in a chapter on the history of a period prior to the date of Alexander's incursion.<sup>2</sup>

5. The British Indian Government, however, made use of the results of the researches so far made by getting the volumes of the Imperial and Provincial *Gazetteers* composed and published for the benefit of its administrative officers. The Oxford University too decided to start independently literary research work and inaugurated the *Sacred Books of the East Series*, in which were published English translations of important works in Sanskrit and other ancient eastern languages with critical notes, introductions &c. The Indian Universities too had by that time begun to turn out able Indian scholars. Dr. Max MÜLLER, the general editor of the said series, therefore availed himself of the co-operation of some of those scholars like K. T. TELANG in addition to the European oriental scholars like BÜHLER, JOLLY, and others. A historical study of the Vedic literature was pursued also at other centres of learning in Europe and notably thereout in Germany by ROTH, SCHLEGEL, GOLDSTUCKER, WEBER and others. As the result of all this literary activity of the European linguists, who already knew Greek and Latin, the Science of Comparative Philology was founded, the theory was established that the Indo-Aryan civilization was a sub-branch of the Indo-Iranian civilization, which itself was a branch of the Indo-European civilization and it was placed beyond the possibility of a doubt that the Jain and Buddhist works in Prakrit contained unmistakable data for the re-construction of the political history of India from the foundation of the Śaśunāga dynasty at Girivraja in Magadha by King Śīśunāga in about 602 B.C. to the accession of Candragupta Maurya on the throne of Magadha, on extirpating the line of the

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2. V. A. SMITH's *Early History of India*, Third Edition, Ch. I, p. 1.

Nandas between 323 and 321 B.C. with the assistance of the well-known statesman Cāṇākya *alias* Viṣṇugupta. Moreover the *Histories of Sanskrit Literature* by WEBER, MAX MÜLLER, and MACDONELL, *Buddhist India* by Rhys DAVIDS, BHANDARKAR's *Early History of the Dekkan*, and PARGITER's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* had also shown the way to re-construct Indian history from the indigenous sources.

6. These were results so definite and based on such solid foundations that even the strictest votary of truth, sitting solemnly to weigh facts like a jury-man, which was the ideal of a historian set up by Goethe and adopted by Vincent SMITH,<sup>3</sup> could not shut his eyes against them. Accordingly when the latter published the third edition of his *Early History of India*, which is the earliest edition which seems to have come down to India, he recognised "literary tradition" as a source of history buttressed by as much corroboration as could be drawn from the works of the Greek travellers and ambassadors<sup>4</sup> and devoted the first about 50 pages of the book containing 475 pages to a discussion as to the nature and reliability of the sources of information with regard thereto and the reliable facts which could be gathered therefrom. So far as political history was concerned, he pushed back its commencement to 602 B.C., relying for that purpose on the conclusions drawn from the Buddhist and Jain Prakrit works and as regards the condition prior to that date he made the following remarks, namely "Modern research has brought to light innumerable facts of the highest scientific value concerning pre-historic India but the impossibility of assigning dates to the phenomena discovered excludes them from the domain of the historian whose vision cannot pass the line which separates the dated from the undated,"<sup>5</sup> although the latter may be invaluable for the purposes of ethnology, philology and other sciences. The great Sanskrit epics, he looked upon as "of value as traditional pictures of social life in the heroic age" but as not containing "matter illustrating the political relations of states during the historical period."<sup>6</sup>

#### IV. *Progress in Research Work and in History.*

7. A decade before that standard work on history appeared Lord CURZON had begun to take an unusual interest in the archaeological department. He had got a special Act passed by the Indian legislature in order to empower it to take the necessary step towards the preservation of the ancient

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3. SMITH quotes in support of his view the following definition of the duty of a historian from the *Maxims and Reflections of Goethe* namely :—"The historian's duty is to separate the true from the false, the certain from the uncertain and the doubtful from that which cannot be accepted. Every investigator must, before all things, look upon himself as one who is summoned to serve on a jury. He has only to consider how far the statement of the case is complete and clearly set forth in the evidence. Then he draws his conclusion and gives his vote, whether it be that his opinion coincides with that of the foreman or not". (*Early History of India*, Third edition, Introduction pp. 3-4.)

4. *Op. cit.*, Ch. I, p. 10.

5. *Op. Cit.* Ch. II, p. 27.

6. *Op. Cit.*, Ch. I, p. 10.

monuments throughout the Indian Empire. He also re-organised the department and expanded it by appointing Superintendents of Circles under its Director-General and provided for a handsome recurring grant being placed at his disposal for enabling him to carry out the necessary repairs to the existing monuments, to make arrangements for their preservation and also so far as may be possible to excavate new sites selected on the strength of reliable evidence. This gave an unusual impetus to the officers of the department to strive to assist the historians in their attempt to place the ancient history of India on a more solid basis than that of mere literary tradition. The discovery of the fort-wall of Rājagṛha and Jarāsandha's Akhādā in Bihar was the outcome of this impetus. But for one reason or another it was not followed up by excavations in the surroundings of those sites which might most probably have brought to light unmistakable positive evidence of the statements of facts contained in the literary works. The consequence was that archæology remained what it had hitherto been, a hand-maid of history and could not become its guide along an untrodden path. And since the sciences of epigraphy and numismatics depend for the supply of the necessary materials for their advancement on archæology, and since the votaries of that science limited their activity to the discovery of facts tending to confirm, correct or contradict the conclusions arrived at by historians from the literary sources or at best to fill in the gaps left by them, they too even in their highest flights could not pierce the layer of clouds at the 4th century B.C. which obstructed from the vision of the denizens of earth, the bright celestial region above it peopled by the Aryans of the Vedic and Epic ages.

8. Therefore although literary research continued to progress, history remained static between the years 1914-19, as can be seen from the second impression of the *Early History of India* by Vincent SMITH published in 1919 and the second chapter of the *Ancient History of India* by D. R. BHANDARKAR published by the Calcutta University in the same year. From the fact that the second edition of *The Hindu History* of A. K. MAZUMDAR of Dacca was published in 1920 it appears that its first edition must have been published before that but as at any rate the position of the history for the period 3000 B.C. to 600 B.C. as re-constructed by him did not receive recognition at the hands of any university authorities the above observation remains unaffected by that fact.

#### V. *Indus Valley Civilization and Its Reaction on Historical Studies.*

9. The three or four years that followed 1919, which marked the conclusion of the Great War by the Treaty of Versailles, were the years of some of the greatest upheavals not only in the contemporary political history but also in the ideas of scholars as to the ancient history of India. The great event which caused that upheaval was the accidental discovery in 1921 by the late Mr. R. D. BANNERJI of certain seals at Mohenjo-daro in the Larkhana district of Sindh while digging up certain mounds there for the purpose of locating an old Buddhist monastery. His chief, Sir J. MARSHALL, agreed

with him that those seals, though not capable of being deciphered, pointed to the spread of a pre-historic civilization in the region of the Indus Valley since similar seals had been found also at Harappa in the Punjab and encouraged him to make a determined effort to get the relics of that civilization from the deeper layers of the earth there. His effort was crowned with success beyond anybody's expectation for it led to the discovery of three cities built one over the other, by a fairly civilized race of people, according to fixed plans, and of statues, images, implements, pottery, toys and ornaments besides seals of the above nature, from the buried houses, prayer and assembly-halls, gutters, roads, by-roads, wells &c. comprised in those cities. On their being subjected to a most careful scrutiny they led to the unmistakeable conclusion that those cities must have been built between 3000 and 4500 B.C. by an Anaryan race of people. A comparison of those relics with those found at the sites of old Sumeria and Elma in Asia Minor led to the further conclusion that there must have been a close commercial intercourse and a cultural affinity between the Indus Valley people and the Sumerians. A patient study of the seals made by scholars like Rev. Father HERAS has further made it possible to infer that the said people must have belonged to the Dravidian stock whose early home was in Baluchistan and that their principal deities were Śiva with or without his consort and the Mother Goddess and that even in that distant age Śiva was being worshipped in the form of a Liṅga.<sup>7</sup> All these conclusions stirred the historians to the very depths of their souls and set them thinking seriously whether in view of them it was right to adhere to the view that the political history of India really commenced from 600 to 650 B.C. As the result of this convulsion in the minds of the historians many works on revised history had been published since 1921, the notable ones amongst which were the following namely:—*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, by F. E. PARGITER, 1922; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, by E. J. RAPSON, 1922, *Early History of India*, by V. A. SMITH, 1924, *A Sketch of the History of India* by DODWELL, 1925, *Ancient and Mediæval Hindu India*, and *Downfall of Hindu India*, by C. V. VAIDYA, between 1924-26, *Hindu India*, Parts 1 & 2, by S. K. AYYANGAR, 1927, *Outlines of Ancient Indian History and Civilization*, by R. C. MAZUMDAR, 1927, *A History of India*, by SRINIWAS and AYYANGAR, 1927, *Chronology of Ancient India*, by S. N. PRADHAN, 1927, *Mohenjo-dāro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, Vols I to III, by Sir J. MARSHALL, 1931, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vols. I & II, by Hema Chandra ROYCHAUDHARI, 1931, *Political History of India*, by the same author, 1932, *Imperial History of India*, by K. P. JAYASWAL, 1934, *Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India* by R. D. BANNERJI, 1934, and *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, by ALLAN, HAIG and DODWELL, 1934. Thereout JAYASWAL's work is an English translation of a Chinese version of a Sanskrit work on history commencing from 700 B.C. The writers of the rest of the works can be divided into two classes, the radical historians and the conservative historians. In the

7. *Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India*, by R. D. BANNERJI, 1934, Foreword by D. A. MACKENZIE, p. vii.

first class fall PARGITER, RAPSON, VAIDYA, S. K. AYYANGAR, R. C. MUZUMDAR, SRINIVASA and AYYANGAR, PRADHAN, and BANNERJI and in the second V. A. SMITH represented by S. M. EDWARDS, DODWELL, H. M. RAYCHAUDHARI and ALLAN, HAIG and DODWELL. These two classes are distinguishable by the amount of enthusiasm and frankness with which they availed themselves of the results of the literary researches made during the period preceding the composition of the work of each although owing to the changed outlook almost all of them were compelled to devote a first few pages of their works to an account of the ancient geographical situation of the Indian Peninsula and the changes it had undergone during nearly the last 5000 years, the early and later Vedic civilization and the civilization of the epic period and the post-epic period down to about 650 B.C., when according to the Buddhist works in Pali and Jain works in Ardhamāgadhī there were 16 states in Northern India.<sup>8</sup>

#### VI. *Problem Left Unsolved By Them.*

10. In spite of this changed outlook which is no doubt due to the archaeological discovery above referred to, and in spite of so many histories having been composed in the meanwhile, it cannot be denied that the only original attempts to push back the beginning of political history to a distant past were those of PARGITER and PRADHAN, the others having merely summarised the conclusion arrived at by the research scholars in the meanwhile. Of these two again, PRADHAN seems to have attempted to re-construct history from the later Vedic age downwards, the most outstanding personality wherein was Divodāsa, son of Vadhryaśva of Kāśī and the most notable event in whose life recorded in the R̥gveda is a battle with Śambara and Varci in which he had the help of one Daśaratha, who is identified with the father of Rāmācandra. The learned doctor has arrived at the conclusion that this event must have occurred about 1514 B.C.<sup>9</sup> and taking that as the starting point he has attempted to make out connected lines of contemporaneous kings of several dynasties continued upto the time of Buddha and Mahāvīra. For establishing their contemporaneity he has made use of data obtainable from the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads, the Sūtras, the Epics and also some Buddhist and Jaina canonical books. The above conclusion, though arrived at after so much extensive and intensive research, deserves to be examined seriously and carefully because the author seems to have overlooked certain data not consistent with his conclusion. And even he has not pursued the subject further and tried to give a connected history of the period between 1514 B.C. and 583 B.C. as it could be gathered from the sources which he had tapped. As for PARGITER, he seems to have relied almost exclusively on the Paurāṇic tradition and the result which he arrived at was such as to compel

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8. E.g., see *History of India*, by SRINIVAS and AYYANGAR, Part 1. *Hindu India*, pp. 1 to 36. *Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India*, Bk. I, pp. 1-58. *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* by ALLAN, HAIG, and DODWELL, pp. 1 to 15.

9. *Chronology of Ancient India*, Ch. XV, pp. 168-76.

Dr. RAYCHAUDHARI to criticise it in the following words :—" But the scheme of chronology proposed by them (i.e. PARGITER and other scholars of his class) on the basis of this (i.e. the Paurāṇic tradition) has not yet been thoroughly discussed and tested so that it can be safely adopted in any survey of Indian history. The earliest land-marks known for certain in Indian history are still "the approximate dates of the Achæmenian invasion of India (Cir. 520-18 B.C.), and of Alexander's irruption (Cir. 326-25 B.C.). By calculating backward from these dates and with the assistance of the chronicles of the Brahmans, Jains and Buddhists a rough chronological frame-work has been established from about 600 B.C. downwards."<sup>10</sup> ALLAN, HAIG and DÓDWELL writing in 1934 also deplore the lack of reliable materials for the re-construction of Ancient Indian history in the following telling phraseology namely :—" The most striking feature of the literature of Ancient India when compared with the European is the absence of historical works. It has no Herodotus or Thucydides, no Livy or Tacitus. The early literature is entirely religious and exegetic in origin and while the important data regarding the social life of the people can be deduced from it, it contains little reference to historical events and still less matter of chronological value."<sup>11</sup> They have illustrated this remark by a specific reference to the Epics while as regards the Purāṇas they say :—" The Purāṇas, whose authors might in some ways be compared to our mediæval chroniclers, are mainly legendary and mythological collections ; they contain a certain amount of genealogical matter, the historical significance of which it is difficult to estimate."<sup>12</sup> Having thus dismissed the Epic and Paurāṇic sources they came to the Sanskrit and Pali works of the Buddhist period and remark :—" The historical data that can be gathered from the Sanskrit and Pāli literature cannot be despised but interpretation is often difficult and there is an entire lack of chronological data. It is with the help of synchronisms given by foreign, mainly Greek and Chinese, writers that the chronology of Indian history has been built up."<sup>13</sup> Such being their opinion, although they had some good things to say about the Indus Valley culture, they commenced Indian history proper from the date of the incursion of Alexander preceded by a short account of the Kingdom of Magadha, which existed at that time, occupying a few pages (16 to 20).

11. This undoubtedly means that the historians of India whose opinions carry weight with the authorities and are imbibed *ad hoc* by the university students here and abroad, are not prepared to extend the scope of ancient Indian history beyond the seventh century B.C., whatever the quantity and quality of the facts deduced solely from the indigenous literary records, unless they can lay their hands on some sure data enabling them to fix up definite chronological periods in which such facts can be deemed to have occurred. We

10. *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, Introduction pp. XXXI-II.

11. *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, Part I. Ch. I, "Sources and Early History" p. 1.

12. *Op. cit.*

13. *Op. Cit.*, p. 5 ff.



cannot afford to ignore their opinions. Can we then bear to look unconcerned at the present unfortunate extrangement that has taken place between the peevish son, history and his two living parents, archæology and oriental research? Our patriotism, our love for truth and our ambition to secure for our country an honoured place in the coming new world-order by making an admirable contribution to the stock of the world's knowledge of the first appearance of human life on earth, of the different currents into which it has flown, of the forces which have impeded and those which have invigorated their flow during their long journey in the plains of time and of the occasional conflicts between the mutually irreconcilable ones amongst them such as the one we are witnessing to-day and to the foresight and resourcefulness required in determining the future course or courses of those currents, would not allow us to do that. What then shall we do to bring about an amicable settlement of that family dispute?

#### VII. *Ways and Means To Solve It.*

12. The easiest way that readily suggests itself to anyone interested in this affair is that individual scholars should in right earnest sit down to work on the available materials in order to supply the want of history. That it is not however the surest way is already proved by the experience we have had during the last quarter of a century. There has been no dearth of enthusiastic individual scholars in India. We have seen that some such have already worked hard on the materials brought to light upto the time that they conceived the idea of making a substantial contribution to the re-construction of ancient Indian history and produced historical works commencing from the Vedic period. But we have also seen that they have failed to impress the cool thinkers who are at the helm of affairs at the leading universities. They would apparently nod their heads only if something tangible is discovered in support of what the Indian literary works lead us to believe. The officers of the Archæological Department now fortunately headed by the Indian scholar of the calibre and established reputation of R. B. K. N. DIKSHIT and the leading lights of certain private institutions here and in the West have not been slow to realize their duty in the matter. The latest reports to hand<sup>14</sup> show that certain sites situated in the Ranchi and Singhbhum districts of Bihar have been dug up departmentally and relics of the palæolithic or at least the neolithic age were discovered therein, that excavations carried on by Dr. K. A. A. Ansari at Bijnor, Dehra Dun and other places outside the Indus Valley have confirmed the belief held by some scholars that the kind of civilization which was prevalent in the parts of Sindh, and Punjab watered by the Indus in pre-historic times was not confined to that region but had extended to the Ganges delta as well<sup>15</sup> and that the department had also sought the guidance of a British archæologist named Sir Leonard Wooley on getting its activities

14. "Times of India," dated October 5th, 1939.

15. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, (1936), published by the Kern Institute, Leyden; *Poona Orientalist*, IV, 1 & 2, p. 91.

during the last few years critically examined by him.<sup>16</sup> We also learn that an American school of Iranian and Indic Studies has been taking an active interest in the re-construction of the cultural history of India on scientific lines and had in 1935 sent to India a deputation headed by Dr. Earnest Mackay charged with the duty of gauging by experimental field-work the extent of the Mohenjo-daro civilization and that its labour and outlay were amply rewarded by the recovery of such an unusually large number of such antiquities from a site near Chanu-daro in the Nawabshah district in Sindh, as throw "a new light on the problem of the successive cultures that flourished in the Indus Valley in the third millennium B.C."<sup>17</sup> These discoveries striking as they are, have, instead of solving the riddle of the Mohenjo-daro civilization, added yet another to it, namely that of the chronological sequence or the co-existence of different types of civilizations, Āryan and Anāryan, in the same area. In view of that can we hope that the formation of Field Clubs for conducting excavations at several places in the United Provinces, Bihar, Gujarat, Kathiawad, Karnatak and other provinces which the learned Director-General has advised in order that the efforts of the Government department may be supplemented by non-official ones backed up by financial support from philanthropic resourceful gentlemen would tend to an early solution of the riddle? I believe, not, so long as the stray inferences suggested by the relics that have been and may hereafter be discovered remain unsupplemented by other corroborative evidence which would enable the historians to make out a connected and dated account of the period or periods to which the relics relate. Where shall we search for such evidence?

13. The answer to that question is that archaeological research is only one of the wheels of the slowly-moving cart of our political history. It has another wheel, namely that of literary research. An impatient listener is likely to murmur at once that it has already been tried and found wanting. To him I appeal to bear with me for a while. I agree that there are no such contemporary foreign records as the historians are accustomed to rely on for the period commencing from the incursion of Alexander of Macedonia. They do not, however, exhaust all the available materials. It cannot be denied by any honest and open-hearted thinker that such of the Indian literature as has been preserved for our generation by the much-maligned Brahman community and the conservative Sannyasis and Sadhus is still considerably extensive and valuable even from the purely secular stand-point. It is true that our country had produced no Herodotus or Thucydides, no Livy or Tacitus, but that is due to the predominantly religious character of the civilization which has survived in a modified form through several thousands of years and it is due to that very character that this country can boast of having admirably preserved at considerable risk and sacrifice and with infinite and unparralleled reverence the records not only of events which occurred ever since the development of human

16. *Report on the work of the Archaeological Survey of India*, by Sir Leonard WOOLEY, 1938.

17. *A.B.I.A.*, Leyden, (1936) ; *Poona*, IV, 1 & 2, pp. 90-91.

life on earth but also of those which some of the seers had in their ecstatic visions witnessed just as they had occurred ever since the idea of "being manifold" arose in the mind of "The One."<sup>18</sup> Thus in India history becomes a branch of anthropology, anthropology that of cosmology and cosmology that of metaphysics generally and of its two branches epistemology and ontology in particular. The names of those great seers and sages who contributed to the development of these records from eon to eon are so numerous that a mere mention thereof instead of occupying a line or a page would occupy several pages. I can anticipate being confronted with the fact that the great European and Indian savants of the 19th and the first three decades of the 20th century had explored all the available Vedic literature and brought to light all the best points therein. But let me remind this audience that in recent years even European scholars have begun to realize that the way in which the said literature has been interpreted by the Oriental scholars so far, is not the only possible way of interpreting it and that one of the alternate ways is the one in which the great Smṛtikāras, amongst whom I include the authors of the epics also, understood it and interpreted it in their works in the age succeeding the Vedic after some upheaval, whose effect must have been so extensive and deep-rooted as to make re-organization of the social fabric, on keeping in view the changed circumstances, necessary and to embody its scheme in a language which the majority of those for whose benefit it was meant could easily understand, as distinguished from the old Vedic. But considerable progress will have to be made before the necessity to interpret the Vedic literature would arise. Our immediate purpose can be served by the Itihāsas and Purāṇas and to some extent the Brāhmaṇas including the Āryanyakas and the Upaniṣads. I agree that in the mixed and somewhat exaggerated forms in which the accounts of the races which inhabited this country according to tradition, appear in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas they can be of no use to a secular historian. But that is exactly where the oriental scholars can help the historians. As made out by me in my paper on the *Historical Value of Purāṇic Works*<sup>19</sup> the facts that can be gathered from them can be scientifically tested by comparison with similar facts relating to the same period gathered from another independent source, e.g. the Jain Purāṇas in the case of the Mahābhārata period<sup>20</sup> and

18. "It willed :—I am one ; let me be manifold" : *Chāndogya Upanishat*, VI, 2-3.

19. *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, I, 4, pp. 102-25.

20. The reason which makes these Purāṇas available for the collection of historical facts of the above-mentioned period is that the history of the Indian religion contains to my mind clear evidence of the Jain and Bhāgavat sects being the offshoots of a single sect started by way of protest against the doctrine that the highest goal of man was to secure happiness in this world and in the Swarga ruled over by Indra by the performance of animal sacrifices and of their having held in reverence several important personages of the pre-Mahābhārata period and preserved their memories in literary compositions made in a Prākṛt dialect and traditionally handed down till committed to writing. It is therefore desirable for the Hindu writers to shake off their prejudice that the Jain accounts are only perverted versions of stories borrowed from the Hindu literature.

those which pass that test can be safely pressed into the service of secular history. It is no doubt true of them too that the facts of history are at times mixed with legends or twisted for the purpose of exalting the dogma of their own sect in the eyes of their readers. Great and minute circumspection would therefore be required in selecting facts from them also as in selecting them from the orthodox Purāṇas. It would be necessary in some cases to remove the sectarian varnish which may be found applied to them in order to suit the particular purpose their writers had in view. Once this is done in the case of both the sets of facts they become ready for comparison and out of them that can be taken to answer the purpose of the historian which in view of his knowledge of the other relevant circumstances appears to him more rational. In forming that judgment, however, it must be borne in mind that mutability is the inherent characteristic of all the products of nature, that the heart and head of man are susceptible of development in several other directions than those known to us in this age, that human thoughts are capable of being expressed in other ways besides that in which we are habituated to express them and that nature could have revealed her secrets to the human beings of a far distant age as the result of a method of approach different from that with which we have become familiar for the last 3½ centuries. If these truths are borne in mind while working on the above materials I feel sure that we would be able to get several important facts which would serve as landmarks on the road which we have to traverse and supply many of the missing links which the research workers are striving to get.

*(To be Continued.)*

# NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA : THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION\*

By

V. M. APTE, Poona.

ĀG. I. 17. 6 : *Paścāt kārāyīṣyamāṇasyāvasthāya śītoṣṇā apaḥ samā-  
nāya "Uṣṇena Vāya udakenehi" iti.*

Trans : (The father) taking his position to the west of (the boy) for whom the ceremony is being performed, pours cold and hot water together with the mantra 'With hot water, O Vāyu, come hither'.

The context is the ceremony of Caula [or forming the (hair-) crest] performed in the boy's third year.

Sources : AV. VI. 68. 1<sup>ab</sup> = (a) Āyamagan savitā kṣureṇa (b) *Uṣṇena vāya udakenehi* | (=Savitṛ has come here with the razor) : clause (b) as will be seen, is identical with our formula. The hymn AV. 68 in its liturgical employment accompanies the act of shaving.

PG. 2. 1. 6 has the identical formula and variants of it are found in other Sūtra texts such as SMB., ĀPMB., MG., GG., etc.

ĀG. I. 17. 7. *Tāsām grhītvā navaṇūtaṁ dadhidrapsān vā, pradakṣiṇam śiras trir undati* (a) 'Aditiḥ keśān vapatu,' (b) 'Āpa undantu varcase' iti.

Trans : Taking (some water) out of those (i.e., the mixture of hot and cold water referred to in the preceding sūtra) and fresh butter or globules of dadhi (curds), (the father) moistens (the boy's) head three times from the left to the right, with the mantra "May Aditi cut (thy) hair ; may the waters moisten (thee) for glory."

Sources : The first two pādas of the verse : AV. VI. 68. 2 [immediately following the one (AV. VI. 68. 1<sup>ab</sup>) quoted under the preceding sūtra] are :— (a) "Aditiḥ śmaśru vapatu (b) Āpa undantu varcasā |." This part is identical with our mantra except for the word *śmaśru* instead of our *keśān* but this does not make it a different mantra for the following reason : Our text while describing the *Godāna* ceremony later prescribes in ĀG. I. 18. 3. the employment of the same mantras that are employed here for the *Caula* ceremony with the modification that the word 'Śmaśru' is to be substituted for the word 'keśa' ! So the AV. Mantra above (AV. VI. 68. 2) is exactly the mantra prescribed in our texts for the 'godāna' ceremony as the *Ūha* (modified form) of the mantra cited under this sūtra. The AV. verse, then, is definitely the source of our mantra.

It is interesting to find out in what *sacrificial* context, such mantras

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\* Continued from p. 110 of Vol. III.

(treating of *hair-dressing*) were possibly employed in other Saṁhitās ! TS. 1. 2. 1. 1. reads 'Āpa undantu (jīvase dīrghāyutvāya) varcase'. The part outside the brackets is identical with our (b). *The two formulas immediately following TS. 1. 2. 1. 1. are identical with those that follow in our text !* Evidently then these TS. formulas stand in a close relation to the formulas cited in this Kaṇḍikā. The TS. context is the shaving of the whiskers of the sacrificer, which is part of his bath etc. as a preparation for his initiation into the Soma-sacrifice.

ĀG. I. 17. 8 and 9. *Dakṣiṇe keśapakṣe trīṇi trīṇi kuśapīṇjūlāny abhy-āt māgrāṇi nidadhāti* (a) 'Oṣadhe trāyasvainam' iti || 8 || (b) 'Svadhite mainam himsiḥ' iti niṣpīḍya lauhenā kṣureṇa || 9 ||

*Trans* : (8). Into the right part of the hair, he inserts three (*and again*) three Kuśa bunches with the ends pointing towards (the boy) himself (i.e., three each time before cutting the hair) with the formula 'O Herb ! protect him' (9) "With the mantra 'O Axe ! do not injure him,' he presses a copper razor (on the kuśa bunches).

*Sources* : As pointed out under the preceding Sūtra, TS. 1. 2. 1. 1. has both the formulas (a) and (b) in an identical form. VS. 4. 1. also has them in exactly the same context as in the TS. (which has been described already). But these two formulas occur also in these two Saṁhitās elsewhere and in other Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas, so frequently that the contexts in which they are employed may be classified as follows : (1) Shaving of the whiskers of the Soma-sacrificer, as in TS. 1. 2. 1. 1 (mentioned already). (2) The cutting of the 'Yūpa' by the adhvaryu with the aid of a carpenter. The address 'Oṣadhe' in this case is appropriate because darbha grass is placed on the Yūpa (just as Kuśa grass is inserted into the hair) before cutting it ; compare TS. 1.3.5.1 and VS. 5.42 (pointed out by STENZLER on p. 43). (3) Cutting of the Omentum in an animal sacrifice, 'Oṣadhe' in this case being addressed to a grass-blade placed on the navel of the victim ; Compare TS. 1.3.9.2 ; and VS. 6.15 mentioned by STENZLER p. 431.

The two formulas are also met with in the ŚB. and the Śrauta Sūtras of Kātyāyana, Āpastamba and Mānava, in one or the other of these three contexts, the first one (the shaving of the whiskers of the Soma-sacrificer) being almost an exact Śrauta counterpart of our Grhya ceremony !

ĀG. I. 17. 10 : *Pracchinatti* : (a) 'Yenāvapat savitā kṣureṇa (b) Somasya rājño Varuṇasya vidvān | (c) tena brahmāṇo vapate dāmasya (d) āyusmāñ jaradaṣṭir yathāsat' iti.

*Trans* : He then cuts [(the hair) and the Kuśa bunches laid thereon] with the mantra :—

"That razor by which Savitr, the knowing one, shaved (the hair) of Soma the King and of Varuṇa, with that, ye Brāhmaṇas, shave now his (hair), so that he may be long-lived and reach old age.

*Sources* : For Clauses (a), (b) and (c), Prof. STENZLER refers to AV. VI. 68.3. The first three pādas of this verse are identical with our (a) to

(c) and appear to be their sources, *particularly as AV. VI. 68. 1 and 2 are responsible for the formulas cited in the preceding sūtras ĀG. I. 17. 6 and 7 as shown above.* The first three pādas are also traced to TB. 2.7.17.2 *which is interesting as revealing another sacrificial context for formulas of this type viz. the shaving of the king before mounting the chariot in the 'Coronation' ceremony.* The three pādas are also traced to ĀPŚ. 22. 28. 6 and parallel Sūtra-texts with slight variations. (d) The fourth pāda is traced in an identical form to AV. VIII. 21<sup>a</sup> occurring in a hymn directed against witchcraft. It is also found in RV. Khila X. 128. 9<sup>a</sup> and VS 34. 52<sup>a</sup> with 'yathāsam' for our 'yathāsad'. This pāda is a general prayer for long life, easily detachable from the first three pādas, to which it seems to have been tacked on here, *by our text.*

ĀG. I. 17. 12 : (a) 'Yena dhātā bṛhaspater (b) agner indrasya cāyuṣe' vapat | (c) tena ta āyuṣe vapāmi (d) suślokyāya svastaye' iti dvīṭīyam |

*Trans* : (He cuts the hair) a second time with the mantra 'That with which Dhātṛ has shaven (the head) of Bṛhaspati, Agni and Indra, (to ensure) long life, with that I shave (thy head), (to secure) for you, long life, fame and welfare.

*Sources* : The mantra is traced to VSK. III. 9. 5. (a) Yena dhātā bṛhaspater (b) indrasya cāyuṣe'vapāt, (c) tena te vapāmi brahmaṇā (d) jīvātave jīvanāya || The first two pādas are identical, save for the omission of the superfluous 'agneḥ' at the beginning of our (b) ; the general sense of the verse is the same and the variations in the last two pādas are such as occur in the different versions of the same Gṛhya-mantra in the different śākhās.

Prof. STENZLER (p. 44) thinks that in the first line *āyuṣe* is probably a later addition but I think that *āyuṣe* is wanted in both the hemistichs for the parallelism of the acts : human and divine. Probably, STENZLER thought so, because the second pāda is metrically faulty, being too long and would be improved by the omission of *some superfluous word* which according to him was *āyuṣe*. But VSK. III. 9. 5<sup>b</sup> the source of our mantra suggests that it is the word 'agneḥ' that is superfluous in our mantra and the VSK-pāda which *omits it is metrically faultless.* Nor does the sense of the verse suffer by the omission of 'agneḥ'.

ĀG. I. 17. 13 : (a) 'Yena bhūyaśca rātryān (b) jyok ca paśyāti sūryam (c) tena ta āyuṣe vapāmi (d) suślokyāya 'iti tṛtīyam |

*Trans* : (That) whereby, further, during the night and for long, he may see the sun,—with that I shave thy (head) for thine long life, fame and welfare.

*Pāda* (a) : The literal translation above, which closely follows the order of the words shows that *the first two pādas as they stand hardly make any good sense, 'he may see the sun at night' being the puzzle !*

Prof. STENZLER whose work was published in 1865, remarks (p. 44) that he reads the *pāda* (a), as given above, because all the MSS and the Prayoga-ratna agree in giving that version although it is on the face of it,

corrupt and that Pāraskara II. 1. 16 gives it in a better form. Prof. OLDENBERG also follows the above version and draws attention to Pāraskara's variant in a footnote (p. 185).

It is surprising that the reading of the Bibliotheca Indica edition, (published in 1866-69) '*Yena bhūyaś carātyayam*' of the first pāda which gives an excellent sense has not been noticed by Prof. OLDENBERG whose translation appeared in 1886. The Trivandrum edition (since published) has the same reading. The parallel passage ĀPMB 2. 1. 5<sup>a</sup> has the same pāda. MG. 1. 21. 6<sup>a</sup> is also the same pāda with only the variation, 'caratyayam' for 'carātyayam'. So the reading of STENZLER's MSS should be corrected into 'yena bhūyaś carātyayam' which could easily be corrupted into 'bhūyaś ca rātryām'. The reading of PG. II. 1. 16<sup>a</sup> 'yena bhūriś carā divam' cannot be adopted as STENZLER's reading is too remote from it to be supposed to have been a possible corruption of it.

*Pāda (b)* :—This pāda is found in ĀPMB 2. 15b, in PG. II. 1. 16a with 'paśyāsi' for 'paśyāti' and in MG. 1. 21. 6 with 'paśyati' for paśyāti, which are unimportant variations and has not suffered corruption like Pāda (a). Compare—RV. IX. 4 6<sup>b</sup> = 'Jyok paśyema sūryam'.

*Pādas (c) and (d)* :—These are the same as the last two pādas of the mantra cited in the preceding sūtra, which shows that the mantra is a perfectly legitimate makeshift composition of the sūtra period *as, besides, it is traced to no early vedic text.*

The translation of the first two pādas (adopting the reading of the Bibliotheca Indica edition for the first pāda) would be 'That whereby he may further live and see the sun long' etc.

ĀG :—I. 17. 16. *Kṣuratejo nimṛjet* : (a) "*Yat kṣureṇa marcayatā supeśasā* (b) *Vaptā vapasi keśān* (c) *śunddhi śiro* (d) *māsyāyuh pramoṣir*" *iti.*

*Trans.* He wipes off the edge of the razor (with the Mantra) :—'In that with a harmful (though) well-sharpened razor, (thou) a shaver, shavest (his) hair, clean his head but do not steal away his life.

*Sources* : Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG compare AV. VIII. 2. 17. (ĀPMB., PG., HG. and MG. also have parallel verses). This AV. verse is the same as our verse with the following variations :—

In (a) AV. reads '*sutejasā*' (which is also the reading of MG. 1. 21. 7<sup>a</sup>) for our '*supeśasā*' (found in PG. 2. 1. 19<sup>a</sup> ; HG. 1. 9. 16<sup>a</sup> and ĀPMB. 2. 1 7<sup>a</sup>). In (b) AV. has '*Keśāmaśru*' (found in ĀPMB. and HG.) for our '*Keśān*' (found in PG. and MG.). That this latter is no variation really, as our text prescribes this same mantra in ĀG. I. 18. 3 *with the AV. variant* in the Godāna ceremony has been already noted. The reading '*Vaptar*' (O Shaver !) in HG. and MG. is better (as agreeing well with '*vapasi*' the verb in the 2nd. person singular) than our '*Vaptā*' though it is also found in AV. and PG. In pāda (c) our '*śunddhi*' (also found in ĀPMB., PG. MG.) is a much better reading than the puzzling AV. reading '*śumbhaṇ*' or '*śumbham*'. The reading '*Mukham*' in AV. and HG. for our '*śiro*' does



not constitute a variation as it makes the pāda parallel to our ĀG. I. 18. 5. which is a modification of this pāda to suit the Godāna ceremony.

It may be noted that 'shaving' as the business of a professional barber is mentioned through a simile in RV. X. 142. 4<sup>a</sup>—"Vapteva śmaśru vapasi prabhūma" | addressed to Agni.

ĀG. I. 17. 17. *Nāpitaṃ śiṣyāt* : "Sitoṣṇābhīr adbhir abartham kurvāṇo' kṣaṇvan kuśalikuru" iti.

*Trans* : He instructs the barber : 'Doing whatever is done with water, with (this mixture of) hot and cold waters, arrange in order ('*Kuśalikuru*' is a euphemism for '*vapa*' = shave) the hair.

*Sources* : The mantra (technically a praiṣa), has parallels in PG. II. 1. 21 = '*Akṣaṇvan parivapa*' (pointed out by STENZLER) and in Kauś. 54. 1—'*akṣaṇvan vapa keśaśmaśruroma parivapa, nakhāni ca kuru*' which explains and amplifies our '*kuśalikuru*'.

ĀG I. 18. 5 : '*Sunddhi śiromukham māsyāyuh pramoṣir*' iti.

*Trans*. (The mantra cited in I. 17. 16 for the 'Caula' ceremony reappears in a modified form here in the Godāna—ceremony) 'Clean his head and face ; do not steal away his life'.

*Context*. I. 18. 1 lays down that the rules for the Godāna ceremony are the same as for the 'Caula' ceremony described in the Section I. 17. Now I. 18. 3 says that *the mantras employed in both the rites are also the same* with the modification that for the 'Godāna' ceremony the word 'Śmaśru' is to be substituted for the word 'Keśa' wherever it occurs in the Mantras of the 'Caula' rite. In this Sūtra, our text actually gives an illustration of this rule for the modification of mantras. The mantra cited here is, for example the modification (technically called 'Ūha') of the latter part of the mantra cited in I. 17. 16. in connection with an exactly parallel ritual act in the 'Caula' ceremony.

The significance of the use of 'Śiraḥ' as well as 'mukham' in the mantra is as follows : 'Clean the face (mukham)' is appropriate in the ceremony of 'Godāna' (shaving the beard) but the addition of 'Śiraḥ' (Clean the head and the face) is explained by the practice *prevalent among orthodox persons in India* of shaving the head along with the beard and never shaving the beard only, leaving the hair on the head untouched.

*Sources* : These have been pointed out under ĀG. I. 17. 16 where it has been shown that AV. VIII, 2. 17<sup>c</sup> with its reading 'Mukham' is parallel to this mantra.

ĀG. I. 18. 6 : "*Keśaśmaśrulomanakhūny udakṣamsthāni kuru*" iti *sampreṣyati*.

*Trans* : (In this ceremony) he instructs (the barber) 'Cut ('*kuru*' = do, is a euphemism for '*vapa*' like '*kuśalikuru*') the hair on his head (*keśa*), face (*śmaśru*) and body (*loma*) finishing (them) in the north'.

Prof. OLDENBERG states (p. 186) what according to Nārāyaṇa, is the full formula. The fact is that our text implies that the formula given in I.17.17.

for the 'Caula' ceremony is to be employed in the Godāna ceremony also with the necessary modifications which *only* are given in this sūtra, the rest being taken over from I. 17. 17.

*Sources* : Kauś 54. 1 quoted above under I. 17. 17 is a formula parallel to this one. Kauś. 53. 19 = 'Yat kṣureṇety' udakpatreṇa kṣureṇa iti [= the razor is held so that its blade points towards the north] furnishes an explanation of 'Udaksarṇsthāni kuru' in our formula. When the razor blade points towards the north, the hair on the north side only of the youth's head and face can be cut. As the youth must face the east, the hair are cut so that they end i.e. the hair cut last are those on the north or his left side.

ĀG. I. 18. 7 : *Āplutya vāgyataḥ sthivāhaḥṣeṣam ācāryasakāṣe vācam viṣṭ-jeta 'Varaṁ dadāmi' iti.*

*Trans.* After bathing and remaining silent (lit. controlled in speech) for the rest of the day, he should release speech (i.e. break the silence) with the formula 'I give a vara (i.e. a free gift)'.

*Context.* This marks the end of the godāna ceremony.

*Sources* : Not only the formula but the words ('vācam viṣṭjate') of this sūtra also, seem to be based on the passage (8.9.5.7.) of the AB. which runs "Atha yad 'varaṁ dadāmi jityā abhijityai, vijityai, sarṇjityā' iti vācam viṣṭ-jata etad vai vāco jitaṁ yad dadāmyāha" (when he breaks his silence with the words 'I give a free gift for victory etc.' that indeed is the victory of speech that he says 'I give'). The context is the placing of a kindling-stick on the Āhavanīya fire in the Punarabhiṣeka ceremony. In ŚB. 13. 4. 1. 10 also, we have : *Vareṇa vācam viṣṭjate "varaṁ dadāmi brahmaṇe"*. = He releases speech with (the announcement of) a 'Vara' or free gift etc. With these words uttered at the time of the morning oblation to the fire, the sacrificer and his wives break the silence observed during the previous night which they have spent in the sacrificial hall. This ŚB. context is very suggestive of the context in our text.

ĀG. I. 20. 4 :—... (*Devasya tvā savituh prasave' śvinor bāhubyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām*) *hastam grhṇāmyasau' iti. tasya pāṇinā pāṇim sāṅguṣṭham grhṇīyāt* |

*Trans* : with the mantra " (At the inspiration of god Savitr, with the arms of the two Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan) I grasp thy hand, O, so and so ! " the ācārya should grasp with his (own) hand, the (pupil's) hand along with the thumb.

*Context.* This is done in the Upanayana ceremony after the ācārya has emptied his joined hands full of water over the pupil's joined hands (which) also (are) full of water.

*That the bracketed part above constitutes the mantra proper and the part outside, the improvised additions suiting the 'Upanayana' context is clear from the fact that the same part occurs again in ĀG. I 24. 15 with the addition 'pratigrhṇāmi' [=I accept (thee) i.e. the Madhuparka, as the context there is the acceptance by the guest with his joined hands, of the Madhuparka offered*

to him]. A survey of the sources of this mantra reveals (as shown below) that the *Madhuparka* context is the more original context of the mantra in early texts, and it is intimately related to and follows the mantra cited in I. 24. 15 : ‘*Mitrasya tvā cakṣuṣā pratīkṣe*’ [= I observe thee (i.e. the Madhuparka while it is being brought to him by the host) with the eye of Mitra]. I therefore discuss these mantras together here in the following order : I shall take up the mantra in ĀG. I. 24. 14 : (a) ‘*Mitrasya tvā*’ etc. first ; then the Mantra in I. 24. 15 (b) “*Devasya tvā*” etc. which is the same as the bracketed part in our present Sūtra I. 20. 4 with ‘*pratigrhṇāmi*’ added as the mantra is addressed to the ‘*Madhuparka*’ and the Mantra in our present Sūtra I. 20. 4 last : ‘*Devasya tvā*’ etc. (i.e. the bracketed part) with ‘*hastam grhṇāmi*’ added, the Mantra being addressed to the boy who is being initiated.

*Sources* : (a) and (b) are found in VSK. 2. 3. and 4 respectively ; (a) is employed in VSK. 2. 3 when the *Prāśitra* (the Brahman’s portion consisting of *yava* or *pippala*) is being gazed at and (b) in VSK. 2. 4 while it is being eaten. Our text seems however to have derived these mantras from the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* which is closely related to our text as belonging to the R̥gveda. KB. 6. 14 has both the mantras in a context similar to that in VSK. as described above. TS. 2. 6. 8. 6 has mantras almost identical with our (a) and (b) [only ‘*prekṣe*’ occurs for ‘*pratīkṣe*’ in (a) in a similar (i.e. *Prāśitra*) context].

This shows that these mantras employed in early Vedic texts in connection with the eating of the ‘*Prāśitra*,’ were transferred to the *madhuparka* context in the Sūtra texts. ŚŚ. IV. 21. 6 actually makes a statement to this effect. ŚŚ. IV. 21. is a section dealing with the *madhuparka* offering (the Kaṇḍikā I. 24 in our text is modelled on this section). ŚŚ. IV. 21. 6 says, ‘*Madhuparka ityukto yathā prāśitraṁ tathā pratīkṣya*’ [i.e. when the madhuparka is announced to the guest, he looks at it in the same manner (i.e. repeating the same mantras) as when he looks at the *Prāśitra*].

The next transfer of the mantra from the *madhuparka* to the *hastagrahaṇa* context in the *Initiation* ceremony as in I. 20. 4 was an easy step for the following reasons :—(1) The words ‘*hastābhyām*’ and ‘*bāhubhyām*’ in the mantra are suggestive of ‘*hastagrahaṇa*’ (hand-clasping) ; (2) God Savitṛ whose inspiration is referred to in the mantra is the predominant deity of the Upanayana rite and its mantras as seen from the important part played by the SĀVITRĪ verse (sacred to Savitṛ) in that ceremony.

ĀG. I. 20. 5 : ‘*Savitā te hastam agraḥīd asau*’ *iti dvitīyam*.

*Trans.* With the mantra ‘*Savitṛ has grasped thy hand, O so and so !*’ (he grasps the pupil’s hand) a second time.

*Sources* : AV. XIV. 1. 51b reads ‘*Savitā te hastam agraḥīt*’ which is identical with our formula save for the more modern form ‘*agraḥīt*’ instead of our ‘*agrahīṭ*’ above. AV. XIV. 1 is a marriage-hymn and the ‘*Pāṇi-graḥaṇa*’ context in the marriage-ceremony is exactly parallel to the ‘*hastagrahaṇa*’ context in the Upanayana ceremony !

ĀG. I. 20. 6 : 'Agnirācāryastavāsāv' iti tṛtīyaṃ |

*Trans* : With the formula 'Agni is thine ācārya O, so and so !' (he grasps the boy's hand) a third time.

*Sources*. ŚB. 11. 5. 4. 2 reads 'athāsya hastam grhṇāti | Indrasya brahmacāryasi | agnir ācāryastava | aham ācāryastavāsau' iti | [He (i.e. the Ācārya) takes his (right) hand with (the formula) 'Indra's disciple art thou, Agni is thy teacher, I am thy teacher so and so]. The context is the same as in our text, namely, 'entry into Brahmacarya' (which is the description of the Upanayana ceremony in the early texts).

ĀG. I. 20. 7 Ādityam īkṣayet : (a) 'deva Savitar eṣa te brahmacārī taṃ gopāya, (b) sa mā mṛta' ityācāryaḥ |

*Trans*. He should make him look at the sun while the ācārya says : 'God Savitṛ ! this is thy Brahmacārin ; protect him ; (b) let him not die'.

*Sources* : The formulas cannot be traced to any early vedic text. (a) appears to be an echo of ŚB. 11. 5. 4. 3 'Devāya Savitre paridadāmi' (I hand thee over to god Savitṛ) said by the ācārya with reference to the pupil.

Clause (b) which looks a bit abrupt, becomes intelligible in the light of ŚB. 11.5.4.5 where the ācārya while instructing the pupil in the various vows of brahmacarya says "Mā suṣupthā iti 'Mā mṛthā' ityevainam tadāha" [When he says "Do not sleep (during the day)", 'do not die' is what he virtually says to him.]

ĀG. I. 20. 8 : (a) 'Kasya brahmacāryasi (b) prāṇasya brahmacāryasi (c) Kastvā kamuṣanayate (d) Kāya tvā paridadāmi' iti |

*Trans* : (The teacher further says) : Whose (or of ka—i.e. Prajāpati)<sup>1</sup>. brahmacārin art thou ? Thou art the brahmacārin of Prāṇa. Who initiates thee to whom<sup>2</sup> (or 'Ka' initiates thee to 'Ka'). To whom do I give thee over ? [or 'I give thee over to Ka')].

*Sources* : This same quibble on the word 'Ka' is found in ŚB. 11.5.4.1 (Upanayana context) 'Athainamāha, ko nāmāsīti, prajāpatir vai kaḥ | prajāpatyamevainam tat kṛtvoṣanayate'. [He i.e. the Ācārya says 'Ka' (or what) is thy name ? Now 'Ka' is Prajāpati. He thus initiates him after making him one belonging to Prajāpati]. ŚB. 11. 5. 4. 3 : 'athainam bhūtebhyaḥ paridadāti | prajāpataye tvā paridadāmi |' etc. will be a parallel to our (d), if 'Ka' is definitely understood (as I think it should be) in the sense of Prajāpati. The part 'Kāya tvā' only of (d) is also traced to VS. 20. 4 with the same play on the word 'Ka' the formula being addressed to the Āsandī (seat) by the sacrificer before sitting on it in the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice.

1. I think that the alternative translation given in brackets is the correct one as the quibble on 'Ka' in the double sense of 'who' and 'Prajāpati', starting as early as or very soon after the days of the RV.X. 121 had, by the time of the Sūtras, become definitely established.

2. I understand 'Kam' (accusative) as referring to the person or deity to whom the boy is initiated or introduced and not as referring to the boy who is so introduced as OLDENBERG takes it, because that unnecessarily splits up (c) into two incomplete halves.

ĀG. I. 20. 11 : *agnim parisamuhya brahmacārī tūṣṇīm samidham āda-dhyāt* ; (a) '*tūṣṇīm vai prājāpatyam*, (b) *prājāpatyo brahmacārī bhavatīti vijñāyate*.'

*Trans* : The Brahmacārīn, after wiping the ground round the fire, should put on fuel *silently*, (because) it is known (from the Śruti) : ' (What is done) silently<sup>1</sup> belongs to Prajāpati ; the Brahmacārīn belongs to Prajāpati.'

The argument here is that since the Brahmacārīn belongs to Prajāpati and ' *Silence* ' also belongs to Prajāpati, *therefore* the Brahmacārīn should observe silence while putting on the fuel.

OLDENBERG'S translation (p. 189) ' the student becomes belonging to Prajāpati ' represents a different argument viz. since the Brahmacārīn observes *silence* (and silence belongs to Prajāpati) therefore, by virtue of his observance of *silence* he becomes one belonging to Prajāpati. This, I think, is not correct as the quotation is brought in to show *why silence is observed*.

*Sources* : (a) 'Iti vijñāyate' generally introduces a quotation (or the gist of a quotation) from a Brāhmaṇa text but (a) is not traced anywhere. ŚB. 7. 3. 2. 2. praises silence in the words : ' aniruktaṁ vai tad, yat tūṣṇīm ; sarvaṁ vā aniruktaṁ ' (what is done silently is undefined and Undefined is All).

For (b), may be compared ŚB. 11. 5. 4. 1 already quoted under I. 20. 8 above 'Prājāpatyam evainaṁ kṛtvopanayate. (He initiates him after making him one belonging to Prajāpati).

ĀG. I. 21. 1 : *Mantraṇa haṁke* (a) '*agnaye samidham āhārṣam*, (b) *br̥hate jātavedase* | (c) *tayā tvam agne vardhasva* (d) *samidhā brahmaṇā vayam ; svāheti* |

*Trans* : Some (however) do so (i.e. put fuel on the fire, the reference being to I. 20. 11 the immediately preceding sūtra) with the mantra ' To Agni have I brought fuel, to the mighty Jātavedas. Through that fuel do thou increase O Agni ! and through (this) prayer (Brahman), (may) we (increase).

*Sources* : (a) and (b) : AV. 19. 64. 1<sup>ab</sup> are the same as our first two pādas except for 'agne' instead of our 'agnaye' in the first pāda. All the sūtra-texts that have parallel passages (PG. 114. 3 ; HG. 1. 7. 2 ; ĀPMB. 1. 6. 32) read as in our text 'agnaye' *which seems to be a deliberate modification of the AV.* 'agne' in order that the word might agree with 'Jātavedase' and Agni may not be distinguished from 'Jātavedas'. Kauś. 57. 26 employs the AV. verse exactly as in our text.

Pādas (c) and (d) : There is a general resemblance to the words and sense of these two pādas in AV. 19. 64. 2 'Idhmena tvā jātavedaḥ samidhā vardhayāmasi | tathā tvam asmān vardhaya prajāyā ca dhanena ca' || (With wood, O Jātavedas, with fuel, do we increase thee ; so do thou increase us, with progeny and riches). The Pādas can also be compared to VS. II. 14<sup>a</sup>

1. OLDENBERG'S rendering of 'tūṣṇīm' (an adverb), as 'silence' (a noun) is inexplicable to me !

“Eṣā te *agne* samit, *tayā vardhasva*—*vardhiṣimahi ca vayam*” etc. (where also the consecration of a *samidh* is the context). ‘This is fuel for you, O Agni; increase thou with it and may we also increase’.

ĀG. I. 21. 2 and 3 : *Samidham ādhāyāgnim upaspr̥śya mukham nimārṣti* ‘*tristejasā mā samanajmī*’ti || 2 || ‘*tejasā hyevātmānam samankṛti vijñāyate*’ || 3 ||

Trans : (2) After putting the fuel (on the fire) and touching the fire (reverently), he wipes off his face three times (with the hand warmed up at the fire while it was touched) with the formula : I anoint myself with lustre, (3) (for), it is known (from the śruti). ‘With lustre indeed, does he anoint himself.’

Sources : The nearest approach in words and sense to our mantra is ŚB. 11. 5. 4. 5 :—‘*Samidham ādhehīti samintsvātmānam tejasā brahmavarcasenetyevainam tadāha* | [When the teacher (while instructing the pupil in the vows of brahmacharya) says ‘put on fuel’, he (in effect) says ‘enkindle thyself with splendour, with holy lustre’.]

ĀG. I. 21. 4 : (a) *mayi medhām mayi prajāṃ mayyagnis tejo dhadhātu* |  
*mayi medhām mayi prajāṃ mayīndra indriyam*  
*dadhātu* |  
*mayi medhām mayi prajāṃ mayi sūryo bhrājo da-*  
*dhātu* |

(b) *yatte agne tejas tenāham tejasvī bhūyāsam* |  
*yatte agne varcas tenāham varcasvī bhūyāsam* |  
*yatte agne haras tenāham harasvī bhūyāsam* |

ityupasthāya : : ..... || 4 ||

Trans : Having waited upon (i.e. done homage to) the fire with the mantra : (a) ‘On me, intelligence, on me progeny, on me, may Agni confer lustre. On me,—(etc. as above),—on me may Indra confer power of the senses. On me etc. (as above), may Sūrya confer brilliance. (b) What thy lustre is, O Agni, may I, through that, be lustrous. What thy radiance is, O Agni, may I through that, be radiant. What thy power is, O Agni, may I through that, be powerful.

Sources : (a) is found in TS. 3.3.1.2 in an identical form, the context being the supplementary cups to Agni, Indra and Sūrya [the *three deities invoked in the three sentences of (a)*] in the Āgrayana sacrifice. The three clauses of (a) are also found in TA. 4. 42. 2 in a different context.

(b) The three clauses of (b) are found without variation in TS. 3. 5. 3. 2 where they accompany the offering of the Manthin cup in the ‘Viṣṇvatikrama’—a supplement to the Soma sacrifice. Parts of (b) are also found (though with considerable variations) in AV. II. 19. 2 and 5 (in a hymn to Agni directed against enemies) in the form (II. 19. 2=) ‘*Agne yatte haras tena tam prati-hara yo’smān dveṣṭi* etc. | (5) ‘*Agne yat te tejas*’ etc. as above [Whatever your (driving) power, O Agni, with that drive him who hates us’ etc.]

AG. I. 21. 5 : *Tasya vāsasā pāṇibhyām ca pāṇi saṃgrhya “sāvitrīm anvāha paccho’ rdharcaśaḥ sarvām.”*

*Trans* : The Ācārya grasping the (student’s) hands with the (student’s) garment and his own hands, recites the sāvitrī, pāda by pāda, hemistich by hemistich (and finally) the whole verse.

*Sources* : The part within inverted commas is not a mantra but is so closely allied to ŚB. 11. 5. 4. 6 that it is quite clear that the sections in our text dealing with the Upanayana are modelled on these corresponding sections in ŚB. Our text like other Gr̥hyasūtras in fact is a compilation rather than a composition, which draws not only its mantras from the RV. and other earlier texts but also a number of its rules from earlier sources. ŚB. 11. 5. 4. 6 reads ‘Athāsmāi sāvitrīm anvāha ||6||... tām vai paccho’ nvāha | trayo vai Prāṇā .... | athārdharcaśo, dvau vā imau prāṇau... | atha kṛtsnām |’ where the same rule regarding the three modes of recitation of the sāvitrī verse is found interwoven with fanciful explanation in the familiar Brāhmaṇa style.

ĀG. I. 21. 7 : *Hṛdayadeśe’syordhvāṅgulim pāṇim upadadhāti* : (a) “Mama vrata hṛdayam te dadhāmi, (b) mama cittam anu cittam te astu | (c) Mama vācam ekavratato juṣasva (d) bṛhaspatiṣṭvā niyunaktu mahyam” iti.

*Trans* : The Ācārya places his hand with the fingers upwards on the region of his (i.e. the student’s) heart with the mantra : (a) ‘Into my vow (or service) I hold thy heart ; (b) after my mind, let thy mind be ; (c) my words thou shalt welcome single-minded (lit. single-vowed). (d) May Bṛhaspati ordain thee for me.

*Context* : This follows the teaching of the Sāvitrī verse.

*Sources* : The mantra is traced to a Khila-hymn of the RV. mentioned in the Bṛhad-devatā and given by SCHEFTELOWITZ<sup>1</sup> but not found in the editions of AUFRECHT or MÜLLER.

BrhD. VIII. 117<sup>bed</sup> read :—

(b) param yattu ‘mama vrata’ | (c) tadāśīrvādabahulaṃ (d) Stauti viśvān divaukaśaḥ ||

Prof. MACDONELL’s note to his translation of the verse (H. O. S. vol. 6 p. 281) is as follows : ‘this (i.e. the Khila-sūkta beginning with the words ‘Mama vrata’) is the first of the two Khilas which, in the Kashmir collection, come between RV. X. 84 and 85. It consists of thirty-two stanzas chiefly in the Anuṣṭubh metre’. The Anukramaṇī accompanying the hymn quoted in the same note describes it as made up of marriage-formulas. This context of our mantra in the RV. Khila as well as its occurrence in SMB, 1. 2. 15 among marriage-formulas are further evidence of a *parallelism between marriage and Upanayana* ceremonies in the intimate relationship newly established between husband and wife in the one case and between preceptor and pupil in the other. In SCHEFTELOWITZ, the first verse of the Khila hymn agrees almost entirely with our Mantra, the only variation being ‘Ekavratā’

1. *Die Apokryphen des Rg-Veda* (Breslau. 1906) p. 100.

for our 'Ekavrato' in Pāda c—a variation explained by the marriage context in the former place—'Ekavratā' being addressed to a bride, our 'Ekavrato' to the pupil.

ĀG. I. 22. 2 : (a) Brahmacāryasi, (b) apo'sāna ; (c) Karma kuru ; (d) divā mā svāpsīḥ ; (e) ācāryādhīno vedamadhīṣveti' |

*Trans* : With the words : (a) 'Thou art a Brahmacārin ; (b) sip (lit. eat) water ; (c) do the service ; (d) do not sleep by day ; (e) dependent on the teacher, study the Veda.

*Context* : These are the vows inculcated on the pupil as part of his Brahmacarya by the teacher after having tied a girdle round him and given him a staff (I. 22. 1).

*Sources* : ŚB. 11. 5. 4 (a section dealing with Initiation) has exactly these rules ! ŚB. 11. 5. 4. 5 reads :—'Brahmacāryasītyāha [parallel to our (a)]. A fanciful explanation of why this is said, then follows in the Brāhmaṇa manner and then comes 'apo'sāna' [identical with our (b)] 'Karma kuru' [identical with our (c)] and 'Mā suṣupthā' iti [do not sleep (during the day)—which is similar, if not identical with our (d)]. The rule in our clause (e) is found in different words in ŚB. 11. 3. 3. 6 = "Atha yad ācārya-vacasāṁ karoti | yad ācāryāya karma karoti."

ĀG. I. 22. 4-8 : *Sāyam prātar bhikṣeta* | 4 | *Sāyam prātaḥ samidham ādadhyaṭ* | 5 | *Apratyākhyāyinam agre bhikṣeta* | 6 | *Apratyākhyāyinam vā* | 7 | "*Bhavān bhikṣāṁ datātva*" iti | 8 |

*Trans* : 4. In the evening and in the morning let him beg (food) 5. In the evening and in the morning, let him put fuel-sticks (on the fire). 6. First, he should beg of a man who will not turn him away. 7. Or of a woman who will not turn him away. 8. (Let him beg with the words), "Your honour may (please) give food."

*Sources* : For these rules regarding 'bhikṣā-carana' or the daily begging of food by the student more as a spiritual discipline in 'plain living and high thinking' than as a material necessity may be compared ŚB. 11. 3. 3. 4 to 7 :—*Sa yadagnaye samidham āharati* | ..... | 4 | *Atha yad ātmānaṁ daridrīkṛtyeva ahrīr bhūtvā bhikṣate* ..... | 5 | ..... *yasyā eva bhūyiṣṭhāṁ ślāgheta tāṁ bhikṣeta* ..... *sa yadyanyām bhikṣitavyām na vindedapi svām eva ācāryajāyām* ..... | 7 |

The purport of the passage is : Let him beg unashamed imagining himself to be poverty-stricken as it were. He should beg food of a woman whom he holds in the highest esteem. If he finds none such, let him beg of the wife of his Ācārya and even of his own mother.

The passage reads like an extract from a Grhya text !



## A NOTE ON TWO HOARDS OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS FOUND AT TAXILA

*By*

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Memoir no. 59 of the Memoirs of The Archaeological Survey of India, by Mr. E. H. C. WALSH, C.S.I., M.A. [Retd. I.C.S.], [1939, pp. iv + 164, with XLVIII Plates] deals with punch-marked coins found at Taxila. I approached this work with a view to seeing what systems of coinage-weights existed in ancient India, and of determining them by statistical analysis in case no such determination had been given in the memoir cited. In fact, I had made a certain amount of progress in the statistical work when it became evident that the report written by Mr. WALSH contained an astounding number of oversights and mis-statements which might completely invalidate the work I had undertaken. I publish this criticism (by no means comprehensive) of the Archaeological Survey Memoir No. 59 because others might take all its statements—backed as they are by official sanction and by Mr. WALSH'S reputation as a numismatist—as consistent and authoritative.

The frontispiece reads "An Examination of a Hoard of 1171 Silver Punch-marked Coins of the Older Class, Long-Bar Coins and Minute Coins found in the Bhir-Mound at Taxila in 1924 and a Hoard of 167 Debased Silver Punch-marked Coins of the Later Class found in the Bhir-Mound at Taxila in 1912." The description is repeated on p. i of the preface, but on p. ii, the second and smaller hoard becomes 176. On the first page of the text proper, the first hoard is reduced to 1167, and the second continues as 176. Turning to the tables themselves, we find Appendix XI headed on every page [pp. 100-153] as "List of 1,167 Coins...". But on p. 153, the final number actually tabulated is, after all, 1171. This is the same number that appears in the plates. App. XII, the list of the later coins, has a sub-heading "The Hoard of 176 Silver Punch-Marked Coins...", but the actual number tabulated as well as represented in the plates is 167.

This sovereign contempt for mere arithmetic characterises the entire work. We read on p. 15 : "Class C, 'Bull-Hill Area contains 101 coins...', but the table on p. 46 gives a total of 102 in that class. On p. 32, we again find 167 coins in the later hoard, of which, omitting five of a separate coinage, weights of 162 are given for various ranges. But the coins so given add up to 163 ; and on my own tabulation from App. XII, the 52-53 grain range contains one coin less, 53-54 two coins less, 54-55 two coins more than given by the memoir.

Either the proof-reading has been faulty, or there is an unexplained notation. P. 141, the weight of coin 935 is entered in Clarendon type ;

weights of 936, 944-5, 948, 956 are entered in italics. Serial number 1098 [p. 146] is itself entered in italics; weights of 1110, 1114 [p. 147] have just one of the three figures for the weights in Clarendon. Coin 1167, which seems a Double Obverse coin from the plates and is labelled as such in Table A [p. 39] is boldly labelled Double Reverse in App. XI, [p. 153]. Now for my purpose, the typography of the description of the coins is quite insignificant, if only the weights have been accurately found and entered. But I have grave doubts even about this. Coin 839 weighs 52.2 gr. in Table A [p. 37]. But it has lost a grain to become 51.2 gr. in App. XI, [p. 127]. The weights of most of the coins have been given to 1/10 gr. only; which is not at all objectionable, were it not for the fact that the weights of some have been given to 1/100 gr. Of the 33 Long-bar coins [p. 100], just one, i.e. no. 12, has a weight in the hundredths; it would seem unlikely that all the remaining 32 came out exactly to 1/10 gr. Of the 1059 coins tabulated on pp. 102-153 only 268 have weights given to 1/100 gr. Of these again, as many as 229 have the last figure 6; 32 have weights that end in 3; three have weights ending in 9; one each has a weight ending in 1, 5, 8, 2. No coin that has the hundredth grain given in the column of weights has the figure 4 or 7 there. I obtain these on a quick count, and a coin or two might have been miscounted, but the classification is substantially correct, and the overwhelming preponderance of the figure 6 in the last place inexplicable. One would like to know the system of weights used, the approximate errors of the experiment, and the methods used for checking. At least, this is the procedure demanded from the average science student in the laboratory, and there seems to be no reason why the Archaeological Survey should not adopt that standard.

There are some other discrepancies in the tables that add to the reasonable doubt that—I hope—has been cast upon the reliability of the memoir. I fail to see that Appendix VII, Table G [p. 90] is a table at all in any sense of the word; perhaps, a similar remark might be made, with less force, of Appendix VIII, Table H [p. 91]. App. X, Table J, coin 302 has not been mentioned at all [p. 99]. But it is shown on Plates X, XI, and Table J is supposed to contain only reference to Plates. In Table C [p. 47], we find two classes E, F, with the extraordinary statement, "There is no Class E. or F. The coins at first entered under those classes, were found to belong to other classes, under which they have been entered." To one who does not claim to be a numismatist, it would have seemed obvious that these classes, having no existence, should have been omitted altogether, and the later classes re-lettered accordingly. Coin 320 [p. 108] is described as having a blank reverse, with 1 indistinct mark, which seems a contradiction in terms. Coin 1149 [p. 150] shows an extra, unmatched entry in the column headed "Number of Marks". The descriptions of reverse marks on coin 831 [p. 126] and 675 [p. 120] seem highly questionable to me. I should, however, again like to remind the reader that I am not a numismatist, and that this is just a cursory examination.

Apart from the fact that one does not expect such discrepancies in a work so sumptuously printed, priced at Rs. 24-10 [or 38 s.], it is curious that the amount of time spent on the work should not have sufficed for a thorough checking. The preface, dated 10th February 1938 says [p. i] that the work was begun in 1928.

I have a few remarks to offer about the theoretical conclusions of the paper. We find [p. 32] about the later coins :

"The coins are an alloy of silver and copper. The metallic composition of two of the coins, taken as example have been determined by the Archæological Chemist in India, who 'is of the opinion that they are composed of an alloy of silver and copper and contain 40.3 and 75.3 per cent of silver and copper respectively. It is obvious that their composition is very irregular'. It may be due to this fact that the weights of some of these coins vary so much from the usual weight of the Punch-Marked coins". It is difficult to understand how the extreme variability of 162 coins was determined by assaying just two of them; in addition, the quotation about percentages of silver and copper is very difficult to interpret, showing that whatever the composition of the coins, the English composition of the source of the quotation has been even more irregular.

On p. 16, Mr. WALSH comes to the conclusion that inasmuch as the heaviest seeds of the *Abrus precatorius* [*rati* or *guñjā*] average 1.86 grains the *kārṣāpaṇa* [he calls it *karshāpaṇa* p. 15] of 32 *raktikā's* would have been much heavier than the coins actually found. This statement has an air of verisimilitude, as the weights of coins 113-1171 average about 52.4 grains on my calculation. But the average of the *guñjā* seeds of 1.86 grains comes from CUNNINGHAM'S experimental determination, checked by the current Indian goldsmiths' *guñjā's*, as well as by picking out the largest seeds of the sample obtained by our author [p. 16]. But we find on the same page that the author obtained an average weight of 1.68 gr. for the *rati* "after excluding all small seeds". On the basis of his own experiments, he would have obtained the weight of the coin of 32 *rati's* as 53.76 grains, and had the small seeds not been excluded, it is a safe guess that 32 times that average *rati* would have tallied very closely with the average weight of the Taxila coins, allowing for loss of weight by circulation; in fact, even now, the two are quite close. Nevertheless, we find at the end of the third paragraph on p. 16. "It is, therefore, clear, that at the present time only the largest seeds are used as weights, and CUNNINGHAM'S 'full weight' is correct, and, on present practice the theoretical and actual weights of these coins cannot be reconciled". The statement is quite true, but hardly to the point. It is well-known [cf. Report of the Weights and Measures Committee 1913-14, Simla, 1914] that at present, the weight most commonly used for the *tolā* is the current British-Indian rupee of 180 grains. But inasmuch as the *tolā* is to be 96 *guñjā* in weight, the largest seeds would have to be used by a goldsmith or jeweller to give anything like a 180 [or 183.75] grain *tolā*.

I take it that the weight of the *Abrus precatorius* seeds, as well as the weight of any group of coins struck at any one place under the same system, would tend to vary according to the normal [Gaussian] law, about a given mean value. The average is the only quantity we ever find in general reports, but what is of the utmost importance is the variance, though no numismatist seems to have heard of the term. It was my intention to test the variance of the *Abrus precatorius* seeds by experiment, calculate the variances for the groups of coins given in this and other memoirs and to see whether any evidence exists for non-homogeneity. This can be done by modern methods developed by statisticians, particularly R. A. FISHER, in connection with the theory of small samples. The *t* test and the *z* test would be immediately applicable; and I hope to publish, in another paper, my results on the system of weights used in our ancient coinage. Inasmuch as the work would be highly technical, I publish as a separate note this criticism of one of my main sources. The errors pointed out here need not affect the statistical work provided the weights as entered are substantially correct. But the classification is sure to cause difficulties, if I have to rely on the authority of such numismatists for the actual classes, without any confidence in their data.

## NOTES OF THE MONTH

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, celebrated its 23rd Foundation day on 6th July 1940. On this occasion Dewan Bahadur K. M. JHAVERI M.A., LL.B. ex-Judge, High Court of Judicature, Bombay, presided and addressed the gathering, consisting of distinguished scholars from Poona, on "*The Ethic Discourses of Bhīṣma*." The chief item in the programme of this function was the announcement by the Institute of its publication of the *Udyogaparvan* of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* and its presentation to Shrimant Balasaheb PANT Pratinidhi, B.A., the Raja of Aundh and the patron of the Mahābhārata project, work on which is being carried on by the B. O. R. Institute since 1919. Before the volume of the *Udyogaparvan* was presented to the Rajasaheb, Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., Ph.D. the General Editor of the Mahābhārata Edition acquainted the audience with the progress of the Edition in a brief but lucid statement which dealt with such points as (1) the special features of the Edition, (2) the history of the project, (3) the methods followed in the preparation of the several volumes, (4) appreciation of the work by competent scholars and learned bodies of status and standing like the British Academy, London and others and (5) the stimulus given by the Edition to the study of Epic linguistics by scholars like by Dr. Jose CANEDO, a Spanish professor and by some students at the Dacca University and by professors and students of the Linguistics Department of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. Towards the conclusion of his statement Dr. SUKTHANKAR briefly outlined the financial side of the whole project with special reference to the present difficulties but expressed the hope that when the war clouds have passed away better days will dawn for this monumental work of international cultural value. The appeal made by Dr. SUKTHANKAR for more financial help to complete this gigantic project had a good augury in view of the announcement made on this occasion by Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR, M.A., Ph.D. the secretary of the Institute to the effect that the Trustees of Sir Dorabji Tata Charities have sanctioned a grant of Rs. 5,000 for the Mahābhārata and that the chief Saheb of Ichalkaranji and the Rajasaheb of PHALTAN have been pleased to continue their patronage to the work. We feel confident that the Indian public, the Government of India, the Provincial Governments and the Rulers of Indian States will readily come forward to render liberal help to this important undertaking and thus save it from a financial crisis consequent upon the present international situation.

# ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND RESEARCH WORK\*

By

P. C. DIVANJI, Bombay.

## VIII. Immediate Objective Requiring Concentration.

14. A word of caution is also necessary against pitching our aim too high at once. Our starting-point at present is the commencement of the 7th century B.C., when a few years before the births of Buddha and Mahāvīra the adventurer Śiśunāga coming from Kāśī founded a small kingdom at Girivraja in Magadha, which in the times of his successors Bimbisara and Ajātasatru grew into an empire. The materials for a progress upwards from that stage, which are easily available and afford ample scope for the application of the above comparative method, are those relating to the *Age of the Mahābhārata War* and some years before it. Our immediate objective must, therefore, be to trace the history of Magadha as far back as we can. We can do that easily because the *Mahābhārata* has recorded that 13 to 15 years prior to the Kuru-Pāṇḍu war Yudhiṣṭhira had commenced to perform a Rājasūya sacrifice, that he desired that all the known contemporary ruling sovereigns should come to his capital Indraprastha and take part in it, that whereas all the others could be persuaded to do that, Jarāsandha of Girivraja, who had commenced to perform a Rudra Yajña, in which he intended to sacrifice 100 crowned human heads and had towards that end already kept in confinement 86 sovereigns, could not be persuaded by the Pāṇḍavas to give up that intention, that Yudhiṣṭhira, therefore sent a message to Śrī Kṛṣṇa at Dwārakā in Saurāṣṭra, where he had settled down with other Yādava families to come to his succour, that the latter thereupon went to Indraprastha, held a consultation with those whose counsel be valued and went to Girivraja with Bhīma and Arjuna in the garb of a mendicant to beg for a duel with Jarāsandha, that a duel took place near that city between Bhīma and that sovereign and the latter was ultimately killed, that thereafter his son Sahadeva surrendered himself to Kṛṣṇa and agreed to take part in that sacrifice and that thereupon Kṛṣṇa took him under his protection and installed him on his father's throne.<sup>21</sup> The Jaina account agrees with this in the main particulars.<sup>22</sup> The *Mahābhārata* further records

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\* Continued from p. 143 of Vol. III.

21. *Mahābhārata*, II. 17 to 24.

22. The Jaina Purāṇas in which both Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha figure as Ardha-cakravartins and as therefore 2 of 63 Śalākāpuruṣas give a different version of the way in which Jarāsandha had met his death. According to them a pitched battle had taken place between his force and those of the Yādavas and the Vidyādhara (mountain chiefs) on a plain in Saurāṣṭra near the village Sinapalli where later on a new city named Ānandapura was founded and Kṛṣṇa himself had killed Jarāsandha with the latter's own Cakra. The two sources, however, agree so far that Jarāsandha

that this Sahadeva had joined the Pāṇḍavas in fighting against the Kurus on the field of Kurukṣetra. Our first step towards the desired goal should, therefore, be to fill up the gaps between the two teminii, one the age in which Girivraja was the capital of Jarāsandha and Sahadeva and the other in which Śiśunāga settled and founded a small kingdom there. The works of PAR-GITER and PRADHAN above referred to would be very helpful in doing so, though for filling up the details of the events between those dates patient work has to be undertaken.

IX. *Necessity of Active Co-operation between the Oriental Scholars and the Archæologists.*

15. This can be done satisfactorily if the workers in the literary and archæological fields put their heads together and draw out a scheme of mutual co-operation towards the end in view.<sup>23</sup> There are enough materials in the orthodox Itihāsas and Purāṇas and even in the Brāhmaṇas and in the Jain and Buddhist story—literature from which the necessary facts for bridging the gulf between the two outposts can be gathered and they can therefore be chronologically arranged. R. B. DIKSHIT, the present Director-General of Archæology in India had, while lecturing at the annual meeting of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in August 1939, already suggested a more extensive and intensive study of the Paurāṇic literature. In order that the results of this kind of study on the part of individual scholars may not be the subject of controversy but may become co-ordinated with a view to yield results acceptable to the majority of scholars and the educational authorities here and abroad, I venture to suggest that the Oriental Conference should appoint a Committee of both research scholars and archæologists, select scholars for such study, allot them definite works for study and after they have

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was a contemporary and an inveterate foe of Kṛṣṇa, that the enmity between them was due to Kṛṣṇa having killed Kaiśa, son-in-law of Jarāsandha, that the latter had attacked Mathurā 17 times without success but that when he attacked it for the 18th time with the help of Kālayavana and his non-Āryan followers Kṛṣṇa and the other Yādavas consisting of 18 families had migrated to Saurāṣṭra and settled there, that on the expiry of some years after they had done so, the enmity was again revived, that Jarāsandha was killed and his son Sahadeva was placed by Kṛṣṇa on the throne of Magadha but his powers were considerably curtailed (*Triṣaṣṭhisalākāpuruṣacarita*, by Hemacandra, VIII, 8, Bhavnagar edition, p. 126, *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* by Jinasenācārya, Calcutta edition, p. 537).

23. I happened to read in the "*Times of India*" of October 9th, that the Allahabad Session of the Indian Historical Congress had already taken a step in that direction and that its session at Calcutta was likely to consider a scheme submitted by Dr. S. K. AYANGAR of Madras and to appoint an editorial board for the re-construction and publication of a History of India on scientific lines. That is gratifying news indeed. But I am of opinion that the work of the historians as such will begin after useful results have been arrived at by the co-operation of the archæologists and the research scholars. The above attempt must therefore be held to be premature. The said Congress can get an authoritative history written from the existing materials only but that would not mean any progress.

collected valuable historical facts, discuss them and fix upon those which in their view should find a place in the history of our country. These works would also supply definite information for the selection of ancient sites suitable for excavation by the archæologists. If excavations are made at depths more than at least 25 feet below the surface of the adjoining grounds, I feel sure that sufficient evidence tending to confirm most of the facts gathered from the literary records would be forthcoming. The formation of field clubs suggested by R. B. DIKSHIT is no doubt necessary as the Government of India cannot be expected to allot from year to year such large grants as would be required to carry out the necessary programme. But I fear that the efforts to be made by such clubs would not be productive of satisfactory results unless they are backed up by the Archæological Departments of the Government of India and the Indian States in whose territories the sites may have been situated and unless they are made under the guidance of the Director-General of Archæological Survey of the Government of India.

#### X. *Suggestions for their Lines of Action.*

16. It is not necessary however for either the scholars or the archæologists to wait till concerted action has been decided upon and planned by an authoritative body. The Purāṇas, distinctly so named, have as yet been explored by scholars like PARGITER only with a view to make out the dynasties of kings. No attempt has yet been made to ascertain the principal events in the reigns of any particular line of kings of a particular dynasty and to arrange them chronologically. Nor has any been made systematically to study the different stages in the cultural history of India. This inactivity is due not to the total absence of any evidence of historical value concerning such events and stages but to the dreaded difficulty of separating the secular from the religious elements in the sources of our information. The *Mahābhārata* is again a mine of information as to the political, economic, social and religious conditions of India in the age in which the principal characters of the epic lived and in a few years before and after it. Those who like ALLEN, HAIG and DODWELL see in it nothing of value for a political history must be held to be ignorant of its contents or not to possess that open mind which is required for the evaluation of a past record. There is also evidence in that work of the conditions of things in the age in which the work was expanded and transformed into a fifth Veda, a treatise on Dharma for the benefit of the masses who had no access to the old Vedic literature. It may be that between that event and the recitation of the work by Sauti before Śunaka and others some accretions may have been made therein. We might also concede that even after the work received its present form i.e. its division into 18 Parvas with the Harivaṁśa as a Khila Parva, which could not have been later than the 4th century A.D.<sup>24</sup> some interpolations had been made therein. Still

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24. *History of Indian Literature* by WINTERNITZ, Vol. I, (Cal. Edition), pp. 321, 462-67.



I believe that with some patient effort it is possible to gather sufficient materials for the purpose of history of the *Age of Kṛṣṇa*. For doing that we need not and cannot afford to wait till the Bhandarkar Research Institute has critically edited all its Parvas as suggested by Dr. WINTERNITZ. Moreover we can check the information so collected by references to other works speaking of the personages and events of the same period such as the Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras, &c. The Jain Purāṇas too might prove to be of considerable assistance in this attempt because many of their Tirthaṅkaras, Cakravartins, Ardhacakravartins, Pratyardhacakravartins and Baladevas were men whom the orthodox sects also held in reverence and who were contemporaneous with the principal characters in the *Mahābhārata*. It would therefore be a right application of energy for the research scholars to study those Purāṇas from a historian's point of view and gather materials for comparison with those found in the orthodox Paurāṇic works in which I include the *Mahābhārata*. Such spade-work done by individual scholars would much facilitate the work of the authoritative committee above suggested. The archæologist too need not wait till such a committee is set up. From the investigations made by the previous generations of scholars and archæologists they can very easily select several sites for making similar spade-work by digging trial-pits at the necessary depths. Such for instance are those of *Rājagṛha*,<sup>25</sup> where an old fort-wall has already been partly opened out, *Jarāsandha's akhāḍā*, where a duel between him and Bhīma is believed to have taken place, *Taxila*<sup>26</sup> which was a flourishing city at the time of Alexander's invasion and which had a big university where even men like Pāṇini and Cāṇakya are believed to have been educated, *Mathurā of the Yādava period*, which must be very near the northern bank of Yamunā on the road from modern Mathurā to Gokul, *Old Gokul* on the opposite bank of the said river, *old Vṛndāvan* which must be very near the old ghats and temples to the south or to the west where there are several mounds and growths of wild plants, *Śauryapur*, which according to the Jain traditions was within a short distance of Mathurā and was the capital of Samudravijaya, uncle of Kṛṣṇa and father of Ariṣṭanemi, the 22nd Tirthaṅkara and a feudatory of Jarāsandha, *Prāgjyotiṣa*, most probably in Assam<sup>27</sup> where Bhauma or Narakāśura, whom Kṛṣṇa is believed to have killed some years before the Mahābhārata war and after whom Bhagadatta, a powerful warrior who had fought in that war on the side of the Kurus, had been ruling, *Śoṇitapur* in the Gadhwal district, where Bāṇāsura, father of Uśā, whom Aniruddha had secretly married and whose superfluous hands (i.e. I believe, powers in excess of those of a feudatory) were curtailed by Kṛṣṇa after

25. It is gratifying to note that the site of *Maniyar Math* has been excavated at Rājgir (*Poona Orientalist*, IV, 1 & 2, p. 91), but what I suggest is the digging of pits below the Buddhistic level.

26. This site though excavated extensively has not been excavated at sufficient depths to yield results useful for a re-construction of the history of the pre-Buddhistic age.

27. Vide, "The Kalitas of Assam" by B. KAKATI, in *NIA*, II, 5 (Aug. 1939), pp. 332-39.

defeating him in a pitched battle, *Dwārāvātī*<sup>28</sup> the pleasure-resort (Vihāra-bhūmi) of King Revata, who subsequently became the father-in-law of Balarāma, elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, a place in the littoral along the sea-coast at a short distance from Mount Raivataka (modern Girnar) where Kṛṣṇa with 18 Yādava families had, according to the *Harivaṁśa* encamped before *Dwārakā* was built on an island, *Kuṇḍinapur*, the capital of Bhīṣmaka, father of Rukmiṇi, the pet queen of Kṛṣṇa, that of *Bhojakaṭa* in the Berars which Rukmi had built after he was defeated and dishonoured by Kṛṣṇa when he was pursued while eloping with his sister Rukmiṇi,<sup>29</sup> *the capital of the Cedi province* where Śiśupāla, an ally of Jarā-sandha, who was killed by Kṛṣṇa at the Rājasūya sacrifice of the Pāṇḍavas, *Karavīrapur* in the Southern Maharastra country where Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva had, according to the *Harivaṁśa*, an encounter with Śṛgāla Vāsudeva and *Krauñcapur*, which must be at a short distance from the last town and somewhere near Bādami in the Bijapur district. If trial-pits at the necessary depths, determined in each case according to scientific calculations are made, I feel confident that relics leading to a definite conclusion as to a particular outstanding event of the *Age of Kṛṣṇa* will be found at some of those places. And once that *terminus ad quem* is fixed it would not be difficult to fill up the gap between it and the *terminus a quo*, the probable date of the foundation of the Śaiśunāga dynasty in Magadha, for the *Mahābhārata* itself, some of the old Purāṇas such as the *Bhaviṣya*, *Matsya* and *Vāyu* and the Jain Purāṇas contain ample materials for that purpose. It is true that in the matter of chronology we cannot rely much on the Purāṇas but the *Mahābhārata* is quite free from the fault of making such hyperbolical statements with regard thereto as the Purāṇas.<sup>30</sup> After these details are collected it will be the task of the proposed committee of the Oriental Conference to examine them critically and sanction such of them as satisfy an agreed test for incorporation in the political history of the period between the above two termini. It would be then only that the necessity to revise the whole history of our country would arise. The cry for doing so raised on the discovery of the Mohenjodaro relics was premature.

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28. *Harivaṁśa Parva*, I. 56.

29. *Op. cit.*, I. 60.

30. For instance it is not open to suspicion that 12 years had elapsed during the peregrinations of the Pāṇḍavas after the second dice-game at Hastināpur, that one year had elapsed between the termination of that period and that of the reclamation of the herds of cows of Virāṭnagar by Arjuna on defeating the Kauravas, that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had lived with the Pāṇḍavas peacefully for 15 years after the war and the performance of the obsequial ceremonies of the dead relatives (*Mbh.* XV. I. 6), that the cataclysm at Dwārakā and the fratricidal conflict at Prabhāsa between the young Yādavas and the death of Kṛṣṇa had taken place after the lapse of 36 years from the date of accession by Yudhiṣṭhira on the throne of Hastināpur (*Mbh.* XVI. 2. 20-21). Even some of the Purāṇas are likely to furnish some reliable clues such as that according to the *Bhāgawata* XI. 25 Kṛṣṇa was 125 years old at the time of the fratricidal conflict.

# XI. *Their Effect on the History of Indian Culture.*

17. This kind of re-construction work, if assiduously carried out, can also be hoped to provide a satisfactory solution of the riddle of the Indus and Gangetic Valley civilizations for various reasons. Thus some of the relics found at Mohenjo-dāro point to the buried cities there having been inhabited by a non-Āryan race most probably of the Dravidian stock whose principal tribal deity was Rudra. During the Mahābhārata period, Jayadratha, a Kṣatriya son-in-law of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, was ruling over some portion of Sindh.<sup>31</sup> One of the notable feats of Kṛṣṇa for which he was identified with Viṣṇu was the freeing of Bhāratavarṣa from the pest of several impious and tyrannical kings like Kaṁsa, Jarāsandha, Śiśupāla, Bhauma, Bāṇāsura, Kālayavana, Śālva and Śṛgāla-Vāsudeva, some of whom were Kṣatriyas and others non-Aryans and most of whom were the worshippers of Rudra. This does not however mean that there was no social intercourse between the Āryans and the Anāryans. On the contrary there are numerous instances of inter-marriages between them, in each of which the male was an Āryan and the female Anāryan. Thus Arjuna, Bhīma and Kṛṣṇa himself had married the daughters of several Anāryan chiefs, called Nāgas, Rākṣasas, &c. Some of the well-known sages like Dvaipāyana owed their birth to a sexual intercourse between Brahmans and low-caste girls, Śantanu, grand-father of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas had married the very girl Satyawatī or Matsyagandhā, who had given birth to Dvaipāyana during her maidenhood. The Droṇa Parva of the *Mbh.* contains a very detailed account of a fierce battle that had taken place after mid-night between the Rākṣasas headed by Ghaṭotkaca, son of Bhīma and Hecubā, and Alambūṣa and Alāyudha, other Rākṣasas, who had come to assist the Kauravas with contingents of several Anāryan tribes such as the Kāmbojas, Kirātas, Daradas, Barbaras, Yavanas, Śabaras, Bhīlas and others. This account also makes it crystal clear that whereas Āryan warriors depended upon weapons made of iron, and bows and arrows, the use whereof presupposed a knowledge of some science, some of the Anāryan warriors fought with stone-weapons (Śilāyuddha) while others made use of their knowledge of some sciences stigmatised by the Āryans as Rākṣasī and Āsurī Māyās, which enabled them to rise up in the air, become invisible and fight unseen by the adversary, to put the latter on a wrong track and weakening the morale of his army by spreading false rumours and creating false evidence in support of them &c.<sup>32</sup> The Āryans had their own code of honour to be observed even in war-times just as the European nations now have their international law relating to war-times. Thus for instance, we find it discussed in the *Mahābhārata* at several places whether a particular act of the one party or other was or was not in accordance

31. It has been discovered that the descendants of this Jayadratha had migrated to Kāṭhiawād at the time of the invasion of Sindh by Mahomed Kasim and were ruling over parts of it in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries (*Rājasthana* for July 1939, pp. 2-9).

32. *Mbh.* VII. 108 to 192.

with Dharma, which both being Āryans were bound to observe. The Rākṣasas and Asuras did not feel themselves bound by any such code and "everything is fair in love and war" was their motto. All this goes to establish that the Āryans, who had made considerable progress on the spiritual side of life and the Anāryans, who had made such on its material side, had been living side by side in the age in which Śrī Kṛṣṇa, his relatives like Vasudeva, Balarāma, Ariṣṭanemi, Akrūra, and Ugrasena, and adversaries like Jarāsandha of Magadha, Śiśupāla of Cedi, Kaṁsa of Śūrasena and Bhauma of Prāgjyotiṣa and the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu and others lived and had been mixing socially with each other and influencing each other's thoughts and actions to a considerable extent.

18. It further seems to me highly probable that if we get a success in solving the above tangle we shall also be able to ascertain the exact relations between the Vedic and the Bhāgawata or Pāñcarātra religions, the Vedic and the Pāśupata religions, the Vedic and the Śākta religions, the Vedic and the Buddhist and Jaina religions and also those between the non-Vedic religions *inter se* because all those religions whether orthodox or heterodox, have some beliefs and mythologies in common and some of them e.g. the Bhāgavatas and the Jains share some common traditions also.<sup>33</sup>

## XII. *The Line of Further Progress and Appeal to the Research Scholars.*

19. The above are only the immediate results of the proposed line of research. It has its remote results as well. Once we are on stable ground as to the history of about a century before the Mahābhārata war we can make further progress also along this purely Indian line because our literatures also have the potentiality of affording clues to the re-construction of our history, in the age next prior to the above namely, the age in which Rāmacandra, son of Daśaratha was the predominant personality and the most notable event wherein was a war between Rāmacandra and Laxmaṇa sons of Daśaratha on the one hand and Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarna, grandsons of the sage Pulastya on the other at Laṅkā, a city on an island in the midst of the southern ocean whose northern shore appears to have been situated far to the north of Dhanuṣkoṭi and Kanyā Kumārī. The sons of Daśaratha were assisted in their invasion of Laṅkā by the chiefs of Anāryan tribes, which though described as Vānaras (apes) and Rkṣas (bears) and though living in subterranean or mountain caves and fighting with stones and trees had some sort of social and political organizations of their own, which by the time of Kṛṣṇa had become almost extinct. The grandsons of Pulastya had also their own army of mighty warriors who were experts in the science of archery and had amassed immense wealth collected from all the quarters and particularly from the region north of the Himālayas. Since however they were epicureans in their outlook on life and as such knew no Dharma and were cannibalistic in habit they were stigmatised as Rākṣasas. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, the

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33. WINTERNITZ, *HIL.* I. pp. 320, 407 et III, seq. pp. 113-14, 484 et seq.

*Rāmopākhyāna* in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Paūmacarīya* of Vimala Suri and some of the Buddhist tales now obtainable only in Chinese and Tibetan translations,<sup>34</sup> can serve as the sources from which the history of this age can be re-constructed. *Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa* also contains in the subsequently added 1st and 7th Kāṇḍas a description of the dynasties of the kings of the Solar race prior to Daśaratha and some important events in the lives of some of them and references to the foundation of several cities, whose sites can, after some research, be located with some amount of certainty. If excavations are made at those sites at appropriate depths, archæology can be helpful to purely literary research with regard to this period also.

20. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* contain evidence of an age earlier even than that of *Rāmaccandra*, in which the predominant personality was Paraśurāma, son of Jamadagni and the most outstanding event wherein was a long-continued bitter struggle for supremacy between the Brahmans headed by him and the Kṣatriyas headed by Sahasrārjuna of Māhiṣmati. The *Purāṇas* too, if critically examined, might be helpful in ascertaining the dates of some of the important events of that age.

21. The age of the *Vedic Ṛṣis* was still earlier than that. The most outstanding event in that age was the struggle for supremacy between the Brahmans headed by Vasiṣṭha and the Kṣatriyas headed by Viśvāmitra, which is described in details in both the said Epics. Although in this respect this age resembles the previous one it differs from it also in that Vasiṣṭha did not fight with weapons but with his spiritual powers and Viśvāmitra was the Ṛṣi to whom is ascribed the origin of the first-known work on *Dhanurveda*.<sup>35</sup> We read also of his having taken the assistance of several Anāryan tribes while trying to suppress the power of Vasiṣṭha.

22. The history of the human races in India having two different kinds of ideals of life and therefore two different kinds of civilization, one spiritual, and the other material, struggling for supremacy over each other, thus seems to go back to very remote times. The early beginning of that struggle is found recorded in the Indra-Virocana story in the *Chāndogya Upanishat*<sup>36</sup> wherein Indra is the king of the gods and Virocana that of the demons and according to which whereas the latter was satisfied with the knowledge that the self was identical with the physical body and spread the materialistic doctrine amongst his followers that happiness in this world and the next could be attained by adoring that body with clothes, ornaments, food, etc., which was very similar to that of the ancient Egyptians, Indra persisted in his inquiry assiduously and learnt the doctrine, that the real self was neither identical with the body nor with the mind, was not affected by pleasures and pains and was not subject to changes of states but was identical with the one immutable essence which pervaded the whole universe and became re-joined to it and merged in it

34. *Op. cit.* I. 513.

35. Vide Madhusūdana's remarks on 'Dhanurveda' in the *Prasthānabheda*.

36. *Chā. Upa.* VIII. 1 *et seq.*

when divested of the body.<sup>37</sup> If thus the Indian records are approached and studied in the right spirit they will lead to the solution of many other riddles which the European anthropologists have been striving to solve without their assistance. Their potentiality lies deeper still and extends to the solution of even the riddle of the evolution of the universe in different cycles, *i.e. to say*, the gradual formation of the planets, the constellations, the signs of the zodiac, etc. In fact they would acquaint man with everything which he wants to know and strives to know.

23. That is, however, a far far distant cry. It would not be a small achievement even if the history of the Indian races, their civilizations and their action and re-action on each other are investigated and placed on a stable footing. The first step towards that objective, as I have said, is to trace the history of India upto the *Age of Kṛṣṇa*, for doing which there are, as stated above, very ample materials on the surface of this land and very probably below it also. If it is to be taken seriously, we can no longer afford to wait till some western institution leads the way to it. It is high time we learnt to stand on our own legs and go our own way. It cannot be denied that there is the danger of our faltering and even losing our way at times. That danger should not, however, deter us from taking courage in both hands and making a beginning. It is well-known that those only succeed in all walks of life who are enterprising, self-reliant, frank-hearted enough to acknowledge mistakes, sincere enough to correct them whenever pointed out by others and resolute enough to overcome all the difficulties as they arise during the pursuit of their high ideals and to rest only after the settled objective is reached. This land which has produced a poet like Dr. Rabindranath TAGORE, a plant-physiologist like the late Sir J. C. BOSE, Chemists like Dr. P. C. RAY and Sir C. V. RAMAN, a philosopher like Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN and a historian of the Moghul and Maratha periods like Sir Jadunath SARKAR, is not wanting in research scholars with the above qualifications. Already some individual scholars have put forth their best efforts in the field of ancient history. But in that subject there is too much room for differences of opinion. What is, therefore, wanted is a joint action commenced under the auspices of an authoritative body like the All-India Oriental Conference in collaboration with the authorities of the archæological department of the Government of India. R. B. DIKSHIT, who at present leads them, is not only highly sympathetic towards the movement for a substantial progress in the ancient Indian history of our country and has not only been doing all that he can do from his high position to push on that movement but has also as above-stated taken several opportunities to throw out suggestions for the line of future work on the part of societies of research scholars and archæological investigators, which in his view is likely to lead to the attainment of the desired goal. The Indian Historical Congress too has been taking steps towards the same end. But historians as such are in the position of judges whose proper function is to weigh the evidence placed before them and

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37. *Op. cit.* VIII. 12-14.

pass a judgment as to whether that evidence does or does not satisfy a recognized test. Those whose views cannot be ignored have already weighed the evidence till now collected and passed their judgment which points out several lacuna in the evidence. It therefore now behoves the advocates first to bestir themselves to search for materials which would enable them to fill in those lacuna and if any satisfactory ones are found out to apply for a review of that judgment on the ground of the discovery of new and important matter or evidence. Out of the advocates the archæologists have already been doing their bit. Will the group of research scholars, organised as the All-India Oriental Conference realize their responsibility in the matter, settle their differences, take concerted action for doing their part and place before the judges such fresh evidence as they would consider satisfactory for justifying them in reviewing their previous judgment and passing a re-considered one allowing their claim on behalf of the Indian civilization? Let us hope and pray that they will.<sup>38</sup>

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38. The Council of the Oriental Conference at its meeting held at the same place after the sectional meeting was over, passed, at the instance of the President of the Archæology section, a resolution drawing the attention of the Executive Committee to the scheme set forth in this paper and recommending the consideration thereof with a view to determine whether it was possible to give effect to the said or any other modified scheme for the attainment of the object the writer of the paper had in view and if so, what steps should be taken towards that end. It also brought to the notice of the said Committee that Mr. DIVANJI had offered to subscribe Rs. 1,000 to any fund that may be started in order to meet the expenses that may be incurred in taking such steps.

# NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA : THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION\*

By

V. M. APTE, Poona.

ĀG. I. 22. 21 ; *Aninditāyām diśyekamūlam palāśam kuśastambham vā palāśāpacāre pradakṣiṇam udakumbhena triḥ pariśiṅcantam vācayati* : (a) *Suśravah suśravā asi* ; (b) *Yathā tvam suśravah suśravā asyevam mām suśravah sauśravasam kuru* ; (c) *Yathā tvam devānām yajñasya nidhipo'sy*, (d) *evamaham manuṣyānām vedasya nidhipo bhūyāsam' iti* |

*Trans* : While the student is sprinkling<sup>1</sup> a Palāśa tree with a single root (or a Kuśa bunch in the absence of a Palāśa) in an unobjectionable direction (i.e. neither south nor south-east nor south-west) from the left to the right, with a water-pot, the ācārya makes him repeat the following mantra : (a) Suśravas (good listener)<sup>2</sup> thou art famous (a play on the word 'suśravas' meaning 'hearing well' as well as 'well heard of' is intended). (b) As thou, O Suśravas, art famous, so do thou, O Suśravas, make me endowed with fame. (c) As thou art the guardian of the treasures of sacrifices for the gods, (d) so may I become the guardian of Vedic learning for men.

*Context* : This is the medhājanana ceremony (for the production of 'Intelligence') which is performed for the student when he has completed his vows.

*Sources* : The mantra is an address to the Palāśa tree and though it cannot be traced as a whole, the story alluded to in it (which explains the epithet 'Suśravas' as applied to the Palāśa) is found in TS. 3. 5. 7. 2—*'Devā vai brahmann avadanta | tat parṇa upāśṛṇot | suśravā vai nāma, yasya parṇamayī juhur bhavati, na sa pāpaṁ ślokaṁ śṛṇoti |* [The gods discussed regarding holy power (brahman) and the Parṇa (a name of the Palāśa tree) overheard it ; he whose ladle is made of Parṇa (wood) is called Suśravas (famous); he hears no scandal]. TBR. 1. 2. 1. 6 is even more explicit—*"Brahmavādāṁ vadatāṁ yad upāśṛṇoḥ suśravā vai śruto'si, [Since thou didst overhear the (gods) discussing Brahma, thou art known as Suśravas] tato māmāviśatu brahma-varcasam"* (May holy lustre therefore enter into me). This last clause is very suggestive of our Medhājanana rite.

\* Continued from p. 155 of Vol. III.

1. Prof. OLDENBERG's translation suggests (p. 192) that water is being sprinkled round the tree. It is, however the tree that is being sprinkled.

2. This address to the Palāśa tree implies an allusion to the story of the part played by the Palāśa tree in over-hearing the conversation of the gods, mentioned in the next paragraph. The epithet 'Suśravas' which I have translated above in the light of this allusion, is translated by OLDENBERG as "O glorious one."



Among Sūtra texts only ĀPMB. 2. 5. 1 has all the clauses (a) to (d) with unimportant variations. MG. 1. 22. 17 has (a) and (b) without variations; PG. 2. 4. 2 has the same two with some variations.

ĀG. I. 23. 5 : ‘*Sadasyaṃ sapṭadaśaṃ kauṣītakinaḥ samāmananti, sa karmanām upadraṣṭā bhavati.*’

*Trans* : The Kauṣītakins prescribe the ‘sadasya’ as the seventeenth so that he may play the part of the overseer of (all) rites.

*Context* : This view is mentioned in connection with the rule that either the four chief priests or all the sixteen (who officiate at Ahīna and Ekāha sacrifices) may be chosen to officiate at a sacrifice.

*Sources* : Our sūtra occurs word for word in ĀPŚ. X. I. 10. 10-11 and this whole Kaṇḍikā (I. 23) has been modelled on ĀPŚ. X. 1. 10 where are found many of its sūtras and quotations. Our text correctly represents this view as the *peculiar* view of the Kauṣītakins, because ŚB. X. 4. 1. 19 denounces the employment of the ‘Sadasya’ priest whereas KB. 17.7 and 26.4 and 5 mention along with other priests the ‘Sadasya’ priest, whose duty it was to supervise the whole offering and call attention to any lapse, never leaving his post (the ‘Sadas’ enclosure)—which explains ‘Sa karmanām upadraṣṭā bhavati’ in our Sūtra.

ĀG. I. 23. 8-14 : *Agnir me hotā, sa me hota, hortāraṃ tvāmum vṛṇa iti, hotāraṃ |8| Candramā me brahmā, sa me brahmā, brahmāṇam tvāmum vṛṇa iti brahmāṇam |9| Ādityo me’dhvaryur ityadhvaryum |10| parjanya ma udgātetyudgātāraṃ |11| Āpo me hotrā-saṃsinya iti hotrakān |12| raśmayo me camasādhvaryava iti camasādhvaryūn |13| Ākāśo me sadasya iti sadasyam |14|*

*Trans.* (8) “Agni is my Hotṛ; he is my Hotṛ, I choose thee So and So! as my Hotṛ;” (with this formula he chooses) the Hotṛ. (9) ‘Candramas is my Brahman’ etc. as above. (With this formula he chooses) the Brahman. (10) ‘Āditya is my adhvaryu’ etc.; (thus) the adhvaryu (11) ‘Parjanya is my Udgātṛ etc.’; thus the Udgātṛ (12) ‘The waters are my reciters of what belongs to the Hotrakas etc.’—(thus) the Hotrakas. (13) ‘The rays are my Camasādhvaryus etc.’—(thus) the Camasādhvaryus (14). “The ākāśa is my Sadasya etc.” (thus) the Sadasya.

*Sources* : Each Mantra consists of two parts :—in the first deity Agni (Candramas etc. is) declared to be the *Divine* ‘hotā’ (‘Brahmā’ etc. respectively) and then in the second part, the priest is declared to have been chosen as the *Human* hotā etc. This double address is explained by ŚB. II. 10 (a section dealing with the same topic) where we find mantras identical with or similar to those in our sūtras above.

ŚB. II. 10. 1-3 : *Daivā anye ṛtviḥ, mānuṣā anye | sa etān daivān ṛtviḥ vṛṇta “agnir me hotā” etc. | sa etān daivān ṛtviḥ vṛtvā athaitān mānuṣān vṛṇta |* (Here the commentator gives the required formulas “*etamādakena yajñenāhaṃ yakṣye tatra me tvam hotā etc.*”). “The divine priests are different and the human priests are different. He chooses the divine priests with the

formulas 'Agnir me hotā' etc. (*these formulas are identical with the first parts of our mantras in order*). Having chosen the divine priests, he should then proceed to choose (*the corresponding*) *human priests* " [with formulas given by the commentator (meaning : I propose to offer such and such sacrifice ; be thou my 'hotā' there etc.) the last parts of which are similar to the second parts of our mantras] ĀPŚ. X. 1. 14 also, has similar mantras with the same double address.

ĀG. I. 23. 15 : *Sa vṛto japeṇ " mahān me'voco, bhargo me'voco, bhago me'voco, yaśo me'vocaḥ, stomam me'vocaḥ kṛptam me'voco, bhuktim me'vocas, tṛptim me'vocaḥ, sarvaṃ me'voca " iti |*

*Trans* : The priest chosen (as above) should mutter " A great thing hast thou told me ; lustre hast thou told me, 'fortune', 'fame', 'praise', 'success', 'enjoyment', 'satisfaction', hast thou told me (this last clause being repeated with each of these words) ; 'all' hast thou told me."

*Sources* : PB. I. 1. 1 gives a formula similar to ours as the formula to be muttered by the Udgātṛ when chosen ('Vṛtasya udgātṛ japa-mantrāḥ') because as a Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda, it was only concerned with the functions of the Udgātṛ. PB. I. 1. 1. omits some words like 'bhagaḥ, kṛptim' etc. but is substantially the same mantra as ours. ĀPŚ. X. 1. 4. gives a formula identical with ours except for the omission of 'bhagaḥ'. Somewhat similar formulas are also found in MŚ. 5. 2. 15. 2 ; LŚ. 1. 1. 10-14 and ŚŚ. 5. 1. 10.

ĀG. I. 23. 16-18 : *Japitvā " agniṣṭe Hotā, sa te hotā hotāhaṃ te mānuṣa " iti hotā pratijānūte | 16 | Candramāste brahmā sa te brahmā brahmā | 17 | Evam itare yathādeśam | 18 |*

*Trans* : (16) Having muttered (the formula given above) the hotṛ (loudly) declares his acceptance with the formula "Agni is thy Hotṛ ; he is the Hotṛ ; thy human Hotṛ am I."

(17) "Candramas is thy Brahman ; he is thy Brahman"—(with this formula) the Brahman. (18) In the same way, the other priests according to the (individual) specifications (given above such as 'Āditya' for the 'adhvaryu' etc.).

*Sources* : These mantras are of the nature of responses by the priests to the mantras cited in sūtras 8 to 14, with just the necessary modifications e.g., 'te' for 'me' and 'hotāhaṃ te' for 'hotāraṃ tvā.' They are hardly independent mantras therefore and are not traced to any other text in this particular form.

ĀG. I. 23. 19 : *'Tan māmavatu, tanmāviśatu, tena bhukṣīyeti' ca yā-jayīṣyan |*

*Trans* : When he (the invitee) intends to perform the sacrifice (for the inviter), he should repeat the following formula (*in addition to the one given in the preceding sūtras* :) "May that protect me ; may it enter into me ; may I thereby enjoy (bliss)!"

The alternative (to 'yājayīṣyan', even after accepting the invitation) implied in this sūtra according to Nārāyaṇa is that *the priests may simply be*

performing the Agnyādheya for him, in which case they do not recite this formula.

Sources : PB. I. 1. 1. gives an identical formula in the same context, with only 'mām' for 'mā'. ĀPS. X. 1. 4 also gives an identical formula in an identical context.

ĀG. I. 23. 21 : *Somapravākam pari-prcchet* (a) "Ko yajñah, (b) Ka ṛtvijaḥ, (c) Kā dakṣiṇā" iti.

Trans : (The Ṛtvij chosen) should ask the Somapravāka (the representative of the Soma-sacrificer who gives the invitations on his behalf) "What sacrifice is it? Who are the (other) officiating priests? What is the fee?"

Sources : ĀPS X. 1. 3 in exactly the same context, has "Tam (the commentator supplies 'Soma-pravākam' as in our text) prcchanti ṛtvijaḥ "Ke yājayanti, kaccinnāhinaḥ, kaccit kalyāṇyo dakṣiṇāḥ"—iti chāndogabrāhmaṇam bhavati | Trans : The priests ask him 'Who are going to perform the sacrifice? [This is parallel to our (b)]. Is it an Ahīna sacrifice? [This is parallel to our (a)]. Are the fees decent?" [This is parallel to our (c)]—So runs a Brāhmaṇa of the Chandogas.

I do not understand why Prof. OLDENBERG refers us to the commentary on the *Pañca-vimśa Brāhmaṇa* for this passage when it is found in the ĀPS. itself, as shown above.

ĀG. I. 24. 8 : (a) 'Ahaṁ varṣma sajātānām (b) vidyutām iva sūryaḥ, (c) idam tam adhitiṣṭhāmi (d) yo mā kaścābhidāsati 'ityudagagre viṣṭara upaviśet |

Trans : He (the guest) should sit down on the seat (of darbha grass) so that the (grass-)ends point to the north (the superstition that the fringes or loose ends of a carpet or mat should not point to the south prevails even to-day in India) with the mantra "I am the summit (varṣman) of my kinsmen, as the Sun is of Lightning (flashes). Here I sit on him who harasses me."

Context : The guest does so when the seat, madhuparka etc. have each been announced to him thrice, by the host.

Sources : This same verse is found in ŚŚ. IV. 21. 2 in an identical context (our kaṇḍikā in fact is indebted to the section ŚŚ. IV. 21 dealing with the *guest-reception with the madhuparka* for some of the mantras quoted as well as the wording of some of its Sūtras such as ĀG. I. 24. 1 to 7).

The variations are 'sādrśānām' a synonym of our 'sajātānām' in (a), and 'asmāñ abhidāsati' for our 'mā kaścābhidāsati' in (d). The mantra occurs with slight variations in PG. 1. 3. 8 and MG. 1. 9. 8.

ĀG. I. 24. 13 : *Prakṣālita-pādo'rghyam añjalīnā pratigṛhyāthācamānīyācāmati* : (a) 'Amṛtopastaraṇam asi' iti.

Trans : His feet having been washed, he takes the Arghya water in the hollow of his joined hands (and after thus signifying its acceptance, pours it

out<sup>1</sup>) and then sips the ācamanīya water (intended for sipping) with the mantra. "Thou art the '*underspread*' (or foundation-layer) of Amṛta."

It would be convenient to consider another formula of the same type in sūtra 28, along with this.

ĀG. I. 24. 28 : (b) *Athācamanīyenāvācāmati 'Amṛtāpidhānam asi' iti |*

*Trans* : He then (i.e. after eating the Madhuparka) follows it (i.e. the eating) up by sipping the ācamanīya water with the formula. "Thou art the '*covering-lid*' of Amṛta."

Sources of (a) i.e. the formula in I. 24. 13 and (b) the one in I. 24. 28 : The two formulas are traced to TA. 10. 32. 1 and 10. 35. 1 respectively where the commentator explains that they are to be employed before and after a meal respectively.

The practice of sipping water before and after a meal, with exactly these two formulas which stand, as it were, for the prologue and epilogue of the ritual drama of a dinner is in force even to this day in India !

ĀG. I. 24. 14-15. The mantras '*mitrasya tvā etc.*' in I. 24. 14 and '*Devasya tvā etc.*' the first mantra quoted in I. 24. 15 have already been discussed under I. 20. 4.

ĀG. I. 24. 15-18 : (a) '*Vasavastvā gāyatṛeṇa chandasā bhakṣayantu' iti purastān nimārṣti | 15 |* (b) '*Rudrāstvā trīṣṭubhena chandasā bhakṣayantu' iti dakṣiṇataḥ | 16 |* (c) '*Ādityāstvā jāgatenā chandasā bhakṣayantu' iti paścāt | 17 |* (d) '*Viśve tvā devā ānuṣṭubhena chandasā bhakṣayantu' ity-uttarataḥ | 18 |*

*Trans* : [(Sūtra 14) : After having looked at the Madhuparka ; (sūtra 15) : accepted it with his joined hands, transferred it to his left hand, looked at it again with appropriate mantras for every stage, he stirs the madhuparka thrice from left to right and then] wipes (what sticks to his fingers of the madhuparka) on the eastern (side)<sup>2</sup> with the mantra (a) 'May the Vasus eat thee with the Gāyatrī metre' ; Sūtra 16 : (b) 'May the Rudras eat thee with the Trīṣṭubh metre'—with this formula, on the south ; Sūtra 17 : (c) 'May the Ādityas eat thee with the Jagatī metre'—with this formula on the west ; sūtra 18 : (d) 'May the Viśvedevas eat thee with the Anuṣṭubh metre'—with this formula on the north.

*Sources* : The first three mantras (a), (b) and (c) cited in sūtras 15 to 17 are found in a number of texts with various verbs (other than our 'bhakṣayantu') ending the sentences : e.g. (1) the three mantras with the variation '*parighṇantu*' for '*bhakṣayantu*' are found in TS. 1. 1. 9. 3, the context being the tracing of the 'Vedi' by means of the 'sphyā' (=the wooden sword). (2) They are found with the variation '*pravṛṇantu*' for '*bhakṣa-*

1. This must be done before he takes up the water for sipping in his hands—a small detail not noticed either by STENZLER or by OLDENBERG and ignored in the two commentaries of Nārāyaṇa and Haradatta, as too well-known probably !

2. ŚŚ. IV. 21. 8 makes it clear that this wiping is done on the eastern, southern, western and northern sides of the Madhuparka vessel.

yantu' in TS. 3.3.3.1, the context being the offerings of 'Amśu' and 'Adābhya' cups in a Soma sacrifice. (3) They are found with the change 'Kṛṇvantu āṅgirasvat' for 'Bhakṣyantu' in TS. 4.1.5.3. VS. 11.58 and ŚB. 6.5.2.3 the context being the making of the fire-pan while the adhvaryu or the sacrificer repeats the mantras. (4) They are found with 'dhūpayantu' for our 'bhakṣayantu' in TS. 4. 1. 6. 1 and VS. 11. 60 the context being the fumigating of the fire-pan. (5) 'Samañjantu' appears instead of 'bhakṣayantu' in TS. 4.1.6.3 and VS. 11. 60, the context being the filling of the fire-pan with goat's milk and (6) Añjantu is the variant for 'bhakṣayantu' in TS. 7. 4. 20. 1., the context being the anointing of the aśvamedha horse.

Our text, then, has derived (1) the ending 'bhakṣayantu' (2) a suggestion of the context and (3) the addition of the fourth category in (d) of the 'Viśvedevas' from ŚŚ. IV. 21. 8-12 where the Vasus, Pitṛs, Ādityas, Rudras and Viśvedevas are associated with the wipings on the eastern, southern, western, northern and central sides (respectively) of the vessel. LŚ. 1. 10. 17 also has four similar mantras for wiping the four sides of the 'droṇakalaśa'. *There is a certain propriety in the association of the metres with the deities* e.g. the Gāyatrī metre with 8 syllables in a pāda goes with the eight Vasus, the Triṣṭubh metre with eleven syllables in a pāda goes with eleven Rudras and the jagatī metre with 12 syllables, with the 12 Ādityas. Perhaps the Anuṣṭubh metre as the common Śloka metre was associated with Viśvedevas.

AG. I. 24. 19 : 'Bhūtebhyastvā' iti madhyāt trirudgṛhya |

*Trans* : With the formula 'To the beings (I offer) thee', he three times takes some (of the madhuparka) out of the middle of it.

*Sources* : In TS. 1. 2. 12. 3, the Sruca (ladle) is picked up with this formula in the marking out of the high altar (Uttara-vedi) and in VS. 5. 12. the centre of the altar is anointed with butter with this formula after the four corners have been anointed with suitable mantras. In both these (TS. and VS) passages, *the guest offering to Soma (the early model for the 'Madhuparka offering')* precedes the formulas. The idea of 'taking up a little of the madhuparka from the middle' may have been suggested by ŚŚ. IV. 21. 12—where we read : 'Viśe tvā devā bhakṣayantu iti madhyādūrdhvam.'

AG. I. 24. 20-22 : (a) 'Virājo doho'si' iti prathamam prāśnīyāt | 20 | (b) 'Virājo doham aśīya' iti dvitīyam | 2 | (c) 'Mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājah' iti tṛtīyam | 22 |

*Trans* : (20) = (a) : 'Thou art the milking of the Shining One (Virājo)'—with this formula, he eats of it, for the first time. (21) = (b) : 'The milking of the Shining One, may I attain' with this formula (he eats) a second time (22) = (c) : 'In me, may the milking of the Shining One (the Earth-Cow) endowed with feet<sup>1</sup>, dwell'—with this formula a third time.

*Sources* : The formulas are found without variation in ŚŚ. IV. 21. 3, the context being that the guest accepts the water for washing the feet, with these

1. Reasons for this translation of 'padyā Virāj' which according to OLDENBERG (p. 97 on ŚG.III.7.5) is the Virāj metre, are given below.

formulas—a context which brings out more clearly the play on ‘padyāyai’ (endowed with feet). But an explanation of the puzzling phrase ‘Virājo dohaḥ’ is found in ŚB. 1. 5. 2. 20 “Iyaṁ vai virāḍ | asyai vā eṣa doha, evaṁ ha vā asmā iyaṁ virāḍ sarvān kāmān duhe | ya evam etām virājo dohaṁ veda” (Trans) :—This (i.e. the earth represented by the altar) is verily the ‘Shining One’ and of her, is this milking ; in this way does this Shining one (the Earth-Cow) milk forth all his desires *for him* who knows this milking of the Shining One.’ My translation of ‘Virājo dohaḥ’ as ‘the Milking of the Shining One’ (the earth-cow) is based on this ŚB.-passage and the appropriateness of this phrase as applied to the madhuparka of which dadhi (curds)—a product of cow’s milk—was an important ingredient is evident. The epithet ‘padyāyai’ also becomes significant as referring to the feet of the earth-cow. Prof. OLDENBERG’s *view* (p. 97) that ‘padyā virāj’ is the virāj metre in so far as it consists of feet does not explain the association of ‘doha’ (or milking) with ‘virāj’ in the formulas ; besides, that meaning also may be just *suggested* here as part of a play on the various meanings of the words ‘padyā virāj’ (which is not uncommon) but it cannot be the principal or primary meaning of the phrase.

ĀG. I. 24. 29. (a) ‘*Satyam yaśaḥ śrīr, (b) mayi śrīḥ śrayatām*’ *iti dvitīyam* |

*Trans* : With the formula : “Truth ! Fame ! Fortune ! May Fortune rest on me !” (he sips water) a second time (It has been sipped first with the formula in the preceding sūtra discussed already under ĀG. I. 24. 13, after the eating of the Madhuparka is finished).

*Sources* : RV.Kh. V. 87.10 reads “Manasaḥ kāmam ākūṭim vācaḥ satyam aśimahi | paśūnāṁ rūpam annasya, *mayi śrīḥ śrayatām yaśaḥ* ||

The last pāda along with the word ‘satyam’ in the second pāda, seems to have suggested our formulas. VS. 39. 4 is just this (RVKh.) verse with the last pāda reading as ‘Yaśaḥ śrīḥ śrayatām mayi’ and employed as a formula to atone for defects in the Pravargya ceremony. *Our text seems to have rearranged some of the words in these verses, to make up the prose formula that we have above !*

ĀG. I. 24. 31-32 : (a) ‘*Hato me pāpmā, pāpmā me kata*’ *iti japtivā* (b) ‘*Om kuruta*’ *iti kārayiṣyan* | 31 | ‘*Mātā*’ *etc.* (= RV. VIII, 101.15) *iti japtivā*, (c) ‘*Om utsrjata*’ *ityutsrakṣyan* | 32 |

*Trans* : (31) (a) . ‘Destroyed is my sin ; my sin is destroyed’—having muttered (this formula), he adds (b)=‘Om ; make (her i.e. kill her and dress her flesh as food for me)’, if he desires (the host) to make her for himself (32) : If he desires to set her free, he should add (c) ‘Om ! release her !’ after muttering the (RV.) verse ‘Mātā’ etc.

*Context* : The guest gives these instructions when the cow has been announced to him after he has sipped water.

*Sources* : (a) The formula identical in part with (a), is VS. 6. 35 ‘*Pāpmā hato, na somaḥ*’, where the formula is supposed to exculpate the sin of beating (and pressing) the soma (into juice) just as our formula exculpates the sin of killing the cow.

*Formulas (b) and (c) :* ŚŚ. IV. 21. 23. 24 contains both these formulas along with the same RV. verse (VIII. 101. 15) that is quoted in our sūtra I. 24. 32 in exactly the same context with only the addition 'tṛṇānyattu iti vā' (Let her eat grass) which is recommended as an optional formula for 'Om Utsṛjata'.

Similar formulas, in exactly the same context, are found in LŚ. 1.2.12 seqq. TA. 6. 12. 1 uses (c), along with the same RV. verse, for letting loose the cow that accompanies a funeral procession, if it is decided not to kill her for being laid limb by limb on the corpse.

ĀG. II. 1. 9 : *Kalaśāt saktūnām, darvīm pūrayitvā prāgupaṇiṣkramya śuccau deśe'povaninūya :* " (a) *śarpadevajanebhyaḥ svāhā*" iti hutvā namaskaroti ; (b) 'ye śarpāḥ pṛthivā, ye antarikṣyā, ye divyā, ye diśyās, tebhya imam balim āhārṣaṁ, tebhya imam balim upākaroṁi' iti |

*Trans :* He fills a ladle with (barley-)flour out of the jug (set apart at the beginning of the ceremony) ; goes out (of the house) eastward ; pours water on a clean spot and sacrifices (i.e. *deposits the barely-flour on it as a bali offering*) with the formula : (a) 'To the divine host of Serpents ! Svāhā !' and makes a (reverential) bow with the formula : 'The serpents who are terrestrial, who belong to the antarikṣa, who belong to heaven and who dwell in the quarters—to them, do I bring this Bali'.

*Context :* This takes place in the Śravaṇākarma (a rite to the serpents) after the sacrifice of the sthālīpāka, puroḍāśa and besmeared fried grains.

*Sources.* (a) This same formula is employed 'again in our text in II. 1.14 at the daily (morning and evening) offerings of Balis till the ceremony of 'pratyavarohaṇa' (or 'redescent'). VS. 30 : 8 has 'Sarpadeva-janebhyo' pratipadam | [To the divine hosts of serpents, an untrustworthy man (is offered as a victim at the Puruṣamedha sacrifice)]. The same expression (as in VS.) is found in TB. 3.4.1.5. (b) The formulas nearest to (though not identical with) those in (b), are TS. 4.2.8.3 and VS. 13.6. 'Namostu sarpebhyo, ye ke ca pṛthivīm anu | ye'ntarikṣe, ye divi, tebhyaḥ sarpebhyo namaḥ |'

The context is as follows :—In the Aśvamedha, the ground for the fire is being prepared. The horse advances to the Darbha-bunch spread on the ground ; then a lotus-leaf is put on the horse's foot-print, and the golden image of a man put on top of the lotus-leaf, is addressed with this mantra. In the VS., the employment is similar ; only it is in connection with the construction of the Āhavanīya fire-altar. These VS.-Mantras are commented on in the ŚB. 7.4.1.28 and are quoted by pratikas, in PG. II. 14. 18, in exactly the same context as in our text, as both these works belong to the VS. A comparison of our formulas with those in TS. VS. etc. shows that our 'Pārthivā' etc. is a mere paraphrase of 'ye ke ca Pṛthivīm anu' etc. Our version is also found in ĀPMB. 2. 17.8<sup>b</sup>.

ĀG. II. 1. 10 : *Pradaḥṣiṇam parītya paścād baler upaviśya :* (a) 'Sarpo'si, (b) *śarpatām śarpāṇām adhipatir asi*, (c) *armena manuṣyāṁs trāyase' pūpena*

*sarpān, yajñena devāms, (d) tvayi mā santam, tvayi santah sarpā mā himsiṣur, (e) dhruvām<sup>1</sup> te paridadāmi' iti.*

*Trans :* Having gone round (the Bali), keeping his right side towards it, he sits down to the west of the Bali (and recites the mantra) : (a) 'Thou art the Sarpa ; (b) the lord of creeping serpents art thou ; (c) thou nourishest *men* with food, *serpents* with cake and the *gods* by sacrifice. (d) May not the serpents living in thee, harm me who am also living in thee. (e) I give thee the ladle (dhruvā :—the same as the 'Darvī' mentioned in sūtra 9).

The meaning of (a) to (d) :—The passage in the SB. 7.4.1.25 in which Agni is invoked by 'sarpa'-names and in which the epithet 'sarpa' is applied to the fire-god as well as to all the worlds of which he is the lord (with an implied reference to the etymology of the word 'Sarpa' from √Srp = to creep) throws considerable light on the meaning of this mantra. *I think that there is a play here on the word 'Sarpa' meaning 'serpent' as well as 'fire' (the Grhya-fire was always near at hand in all Grhya rites) and only then can (c) be properly understood as it is the fire that supports the gods by carrying oblations and human beings and serpents by means of food and cake which it helps to cook (as is mentioned in the Mantra).*

*The meaning of (e).* Prof. STENZLER's emendation is unnecessary as 'Dhruvām te' yields excellent sense. The 'Darvī' (ladle) of sūtras 2 and 9 is deliberately referred to here by the synonym 'Dhruvā' because of its nearness in sound to 'Dhruva' the lord of serpents, referred to in the following sūtras ; besides it is a pointed reference to the ladleful of barley-flour offered as Bali on the clean spot (sūtra 9th) to the west of which the performer who repeats this mantra is sitting.

*Sources.* The formulas—(a) to (d), are only found in sūtra-texts and are not traced to earlier literature. MG. 2. 126. 3 has them with the following variations ; it omits 'Sarpatām' in (b), 'yajñena devān' in (c), and for (d) has 'tvayi santam mayi santam māksīsur, mā rīṣur, mā himsiṣur, mā dānksuḥ sarpāh' which is an expansion of our (d) ; ĀPMB. II. 17. 3 has (c) with the addition 'tṛṇaiḥ paśūn. . . svadhayā piṭṇ, svāhā' and to our (d) corresponds ĀPMB. II. 17. 4<sup>a</sup> "tvayi naḥ santah, tvayi sadbhyo varṣābhyo naḥ paridehi" which as a prayer for protection from the rains, indicates the danger of snakes in the rainy season.

ĀG. II. 1. 11-12 :—'Dhruvāmum te dhruvāmum te' ityamātyān anupūrvam | 11 | "dhruva mām te paridadāmi" ātmānam antataḥ | 12 |

*Trans :* "Dhruva ! I give so and so, over to thee ! Dhruva ! I give so and so over to thee !" With these words (repeated for each member) he gives over his family members in charge to the Serpent-god, one by one and finally himself (saying) "Dhruva ! Me I give over to thee !"

*Meaning of 'Dhruva'.* TA. 10. 67. 1 mentions a deity called 'Dhruva'

1. I adopt the reading of Prof. STENZLER's MSS (see his note on p. 66) ; his emendation 'dhruvāmum' for 'dhruvām' is quite unnecessary as shown hereafter.



along with Agni "Agnaye svāhā !—dhruvāya bhūmāya svāhā !" The character of this deity is made clear by the comment of Haradatta on the above Sūtras in our text : 'Dhruvo nāma sarpaṇām adhipatiḥ'—Dhruva is the Lord of the Serpents.

*Sources* : These formulas are mere improvisations dictated by the particular context and are not traced to any other text.

ĀG. II. 2. 3. *Prṣātakam añjalinā juhuyād* : (a) 'Īnam me pūryatām, (b) *pūṇam me mopasadat*, (c) *prṣātakāya svāhā* ' iti.

*Trans.* With his joined hands, he should sacrifice the 'Prṣātaka', (repeating the mantra) : 'May whatever is deficient in me be made good ; may what is full, not fall off from me. To Prṣātaka svāhā !' [There is a difference of opinion as to the exact ingredients of this Prṣātaka which is admitted to be a mixture. Prof. STENZLER quotes the Gṛhya-saṁgraha (p. 70) according to which it is a mixture of 'dadhi' (curds) and 'sarpiḥ' (butter), but Nārāyaṇa says that it is a mixture of milk and Ājya and Haradatta in support of the same view, quotes the Chandogas as saying "payasyavanayedājyaṁ tat prṣātakam iti Chandogāḥ"].

*Context* : This follows the sacrifice of a Sthālīpāka to Paśupati in the 'Āśvayujī' ceremony (in celebration of the Āśvina full-moon).

*Sources.* Only in one Sūtra-text viz. PG. 2.16.3 are formulas (a) and (b) traced : (a) without variation and (b) with 'mā vigāt' (which means the same thing) for our 'mopasadat'. (c) is not traced anywhere ; in fact 'Prṣātaka' as a deity appears only here and in II. 2. 2. above !

ĀG. II. 2.4 : (a) "*Sajūr ṛtubhiḥ, sajūr vidhābhiḥ, sajūr indrāgnibhyām svāhā* | (b) *sajūrṛtubhiḥ, sajūr vidhābhiḥ, sajūr viśvebhyo devebhyah svāhā* | (c) *sajūr ṛtubhiḥ, sajūr vidhābhiḥ, sajūr dyāvā-pṛthivībhyām svāhā*" ityāhitāgner āgrayanasthālīpākah |

*Trans* : The Āhitāgni (one who has set up the three Śrauta fires) offers a sthālīpāka (a mess of cooked food) at the Āgrayaṇa sacrifice [in the Āhavanīya fire—this follows from the next Sūtra which prescribes that the 'anāhitāgni' offers it in the domestic fire] with the mantra : (a) 'Harmonious with the seasons, harmonious with the Modes, harmonious with Indra and Agni ! Svāhā ! (b) Harmonious. . . . (etc. as above up to 'modes', and then) harmonious with the Viśvedevas ! svāhā ! (c) Harmonious etc. (as above, and then) harmonious with Heaven and Earth ! svāhā !

*Context* : This is the ceremony of Āgrayaṇa in which the first fruits of the harvest are consecrated before being partaken of. *This is a Śrauta, rite also and is described as such in the ĀŚ. II. 9.* I agree with Nārāyaṇa's view (p. 203, OLDENBERG) that it is described here i.e. in a Gṛhya Sūtra for an Āhitāgni who is unable to perform it in its fuller form in the ĀŚ., where it is prescribed at the time of the new harvest of every season.

*Sources* : The formulas are found in TS. 4.3.4.3 where they accompany the depositing of the 'ṛtavyā' bricks (a name derived from the formulas themselves beginning as they do with 'Sajūr ṛtubhiḥ) in the Agnicayana cere-

mony. VS. 14. 7 seqq. has the same formulas in the same context ; only the bricks here are called the 'Vaiśvadevī' bricks [a name derived from 'Viśvebhya devebhyaḥ' the words of the mantra part (b)]. ŚB. 8.2.2.8 comments on this VS.-passage. They are also found in ĀPŚ. 17.1.3 and KŚ. 17.8.18 etc.

ĀG. II. 3.3 : *Niveśanam punar navīkṛtya lepaṇā-staraṇopastaraṇair, astamite pāyasasya juhuyur* : (a) " *Apa śveta padā jahi* (b) *pūrveṇa cāpareṇa ca* | (c) *sapta ca vāruṇīr imāḥ*, (d) *sarvāśca rājabāndhaviḥ svāhā* || (e) *na vā śvetaścābhyācāre* 'śir jaghāna kiñcana | (f) *śvetāya vaidārvaṇya namaḥ svāhā*" *iti* |

*Trans* : (In the ceremony of Pratyavarohana) having again renovated the house by coating (the walls), spreading (the roof) and levelling (the floor), they should after sunset, sacrifice oblations of milk-rice with the mantras :— (a) "Strike off, O White One ! (b) with thy fore-foot and hind-foot, (c) these seven (prajāś i.e. sevenfold progeny) of Varuṇa and (d) the entire kingly fraternity. (e) In the vicinity of the White One (I read 'svetasyābhyācāre'—an emendation discussed below), the Serpent has killed none. (f) To the White One, the Vaidārva, adoration ! Svāhā !"

*Sources* : Prof. STENZLER (p. 69) draws attention to AV. 10. 4. 3. which has (a) and (b) with 'ava' for our 'apa'. He and Prof. OLDENBERG (p. 204) compare PG. II. 14. 5 and ŚG. IV. 18. 1. Similar verses, it may be added, occur in MG. 2. 7. 1 ; ĀPMB. 2. 17. 26 and HG. 2.16.18.

*Meaning of the Mantras* :

'Śveta' ? As regards the meaning of 'Śveta', Prof. STENZLER on PG. II. 14. 4 and 5 (p. 70) says that Dr. HILLEBRANDT drew his attention to the 'White Horse' in the RV., dealing death to the serpents, which the Aśvins gave to Pedu and that this meaning suits the second pāda well. *This may be accepted but why the metaphor of the 'White Horse'?* The explanation, in my opinion, is found in RV. V. 1. 4<sup>a</sup> : 'Śveto vājī jāyate agre aḥnām' | = The white Horse (*evidently the sun*) is born at the beginning of the days. The Aśvamedha-context of 'Śvetāya Svāhā' in TS. 7.3.18 and TB. 3.8.17.4 makes it certain that 'śveta' is 'the White Horse' and the Dictionary (MONIER WILLIAMS) explains 'śveta vaidārva' occurring in our clause (f) as 'a deity connected with the sun'. This double implication of 'Śveta' meaning 'White Horse' and also 'a solar deity' gives excellent sense to our clause (b) as the fore-foot and hind-foot of the 'White Horse' would then represent the eastern and western strides of the Sun.

*The corrupt reading in (e)* : The reading 'Śvetaścābhyācāre' in (e) does not make good sense ; so Prof. OLDENBERG proposes (p. 204) that it should be 'śvetasyābhyācāre' in conformity with PG. II. 4. 5<sup>a</sup> but this is too great a change to admit of the possibility of the emendation being the original of which the existing reading may have been a corruption. *I propose that it should be read as 'Śvetasyābhyācāre' which is the reading of MG. 2. 7. 1<sup>a</sup>. Besides it is not improbable that the letter 'syā' should have been corrupted into the present 'ścā'. HG. 2.16.8<sup>a</sup> also has 'Śvetasyābhyācāreṇa'.*

*Sapta Vāruṇīḥ*? I cannot understand why Prof. OLDENBERG translates this phrase as "the Seven *daughters* of Varuṇa"! The parallel passages in HG.PG. and ĀPMB. make it *almost certain that 'Prajāḥ' is to be understood* after the phrase giving the meaning : 'the seven-fold progeny of Varuṇa'. The serpents are so-called because, in my opinion, Varuṇa is the lord of the waters and the waters of the rainy season bring out the serpents. That 'Rāja-bān-dhavīḥ' denotes the fraternity of King Varuṇa is clear from ĀG. II. 9.5 : 'aitu Rājā varuṇo revatībhiḥ'.

ĀG. II. 3. 5 : "*Abhayam naḥ prājāpatyebhyo bhūyat*" *ityagnimikṣamāṇo japati* |

*Trans.* While looking at the fire, he mutters "May there be safety to us from the progeny of Prajāpati".

*Sources* : A sūtra text, MG. 2. 7. 1 alone has this mantra with 'svāhā' at the end.

ĀG. II. 3. 6 : '*Śivo naḥ sumanā bhava*' *iti hemantam manasā dhyāyāt* |

*Trans.* He should meditate in his mind on the Hemanta (the winter-season beginning with the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, in which this ceremony is performed) repeating the mantra "Gracious to us, well-disposed be thou".

*Sources* : The formula is found in TS. 4. 5. 1. 4<sup>d</sup> and VS. 16. 51<sup>b</sup> as one of the prayers addressed to Rudra in the Śatarudrīya hymn. In our text : IV. 8. 27-28, the serpents are associated with 'Rudra' and naturally therefore a prayer to Rudra has been employed in a ceremony which signifies the end of the period of danger from snakes.

(To be continued.)

## THE LATE MR. JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE

*By*

N. C. GHOSE, Calcutta.

BABU JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE, second son of late Babu Ananda Chandra GHOSE, was born at Baisari, a village in Bakhargunge in the year 1872. His education began at his own house in vernacular and having completed it he joined Brojamohan Institution at Barisal, where his youthful mind came to be licked into shape by the benign influence of renowned educationists like Babu Aswini Kumar DUTT and Jagadish Ch. MUKERJEE who always took care to lay the real foundation of true character amongst the pupils by their own example of saintliness, love of duty and orderly habits. From this institution later he came to Calcutta and joined the B.A. class of the St. Xavier's College; he had however to give up studies and seek employment. During his college days he displayed an extraordinary bent for mathematics and without graduating himself, he successfully coached many students appearing for B.A. and M.A. in higher mathematics.

After leaving the college he married, and secured a clerkship in the office of I. G. P. in Bengal. The death of his father and his elder brother who were both in the Government employ, at this stage, threw the burden of maintaining a joint family upon him. With his small pay, he found it very hard, but took courage and improved his income by taking up insurance agencies and such other sundry works. His fellow clerks liked him very much for his honesty, integrity and independence of character.

His married life was very short. Two years after his marriage a son was born to him and when the child was only two years old, his wife died. He never married again though repeatedly requested to do so by relations, friends and well-wishers.

After some years of intense struggle he got some relief when his youngest brother joined the Bar and ultimately got employed in the Bengal judicial service.

His spirit of justice and independence was very high, and it may be mentioned that he twice tendered his resignation when his just claims to higher grades were overlooked, although he knew full well what this resignation meant for himself and for those whom he dearly loved.

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\* His many valuable contributions towards historical research were published from time to time in many important journals of history both in India and abroad, such as *The Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, *Indian Culture*, *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, *The Indian Antiquary*, *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, etc.

In connection with his service he had to go to many places of Bengal and Bihar and wherever he went he utilised his off-time by gathering useful historical information about those places. His bent for antiquarian researches thus peeped through his days of bondage.

When he was transferred to Barisal, his intense desire for doing something for public utility showed itself in the establishment of a Co-operative Bank for the good of the ministerial officers in the district who often found themselves handicapped in securing loans when they were most needed. He devised the scheme, started the Bank and was himself its founder-Secretary. He had to put forth a tremendous amount of labour for securing deposits, to constitute the capital of the Bank, and be it said to his credit that the Bank is now established on a sound financial basis and can be said to be the premier Bank of the district. When this venture came to a success, he turned his attention to the welfare of the general public and laid the foundation of another Bank to accommodate the public with loans to be repaid by easy instalments. He even sunk some of his slender private resources for its capital and begged from door to door for deposits and raised the working capital to Rs. 40,000/- in three months. This was a labour of love but the success it attained was its reward.

During his stay at Barisal he also directed his energy to find out the genealogical tree of his family and picked up the genealogical trees of almost all the well-known Kayastha families of the district from the Ghataks and other sources.

He ransacked Government records and procured all possible information for the compilation of a complete history of the pargana of Selimabad (not yet published) of which, he had the satisfaction to discover, one of his renowned ancestors was the one time overlord.

The idea of writing out a general genealogical table of all the renowned Kayastha families of Bengal was finally given up as he found his friend Babu Bisheswar Roy CHOWDHURY of Idilpur engaged in the same work.

After his premature retirement—due mainly to his sense of injustice done to him, he became master of his own time and was able to devote his whole time, energy and devotion towards his favourite pastime, viz. the historical researches. His first excursion into this realm was at the controversial point of the origin and places of the Kayasthas of Bengal and he traced the original source to the Nagar Brahmins of Gujarat. In this connection he came in contact with Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR, the renowned scholar and like the great connoisseur that he is, the doctor found out the genius that lay hidden in an ex-clerk of the Bengal Secretariat. The two worked together in collaboration as friends in various researches the result of which has filled the pages of the historical records. They remained friends to the last and Dr. BHANDARKAR still sincerely mourns the loss of his friend's extraordinary capacity for research. During this period of useful work he came to be intimately known to many other workers in this line such as Prachyavidya-

maharaja Nagendra Nath BOSE, Dr. N. L. LAW, Pandit Amulya BIDYA-BHUSAN, Khan Bahadur Abdul Ali KHAN and other learned professors of Calcutta and other Universities throughout India in the department of history. This intimacy ripened in many instances into mutual regard and genuine friendship.

Besides the origin of the Bengal Kayasthas the spirit of research led him to other discoveries which not only found appreciable recognition from learned circles but also secured for him the title of *Purātattva Vicakṣaṇa*.

Some of his famous articles of later days are :—

(i) His learned discourse on the theory of (Devi Ekan gashī) recognized and rewarded by the Government of Bengal, (ii) He ably controverted the theory of Aśvamedha Yajña (iii) Antiquity of Gaya (Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society Vol. XXIV Part iii, Sept. 1938) (iv) His last article written in Bengali created a sensation amongst the learned scholars of Bengal. He brought into his researches an analytical mind, a deeply critical and persevering brain and a complete mastery of details and strange to say an infirm body and sickly health were no hindrance to the spirit that always roved about for things anew. These qualities and above all his affable personality illuminated by lustrous erudition made him loved and respected by those whom he came across.

He left behind him two brothers Babus Dinesh Ch. GHOSE and Woopendra Chandra GHOSE (Rai Bahadur) and one son—(Dr. Narendra GHOSE) to mourn his loss and a host of admiring friends and relatives to revere his memory.

## MISCELLANEA

### DR. SALETORE AND THE AUTHENTICITY OF MUDHOL FARMANS

In a previous issue of the *New Indian Antiquary* (vol. II. No. I; pp. 6-24), Dr. B. A. SALETORE has published an article concerning the Mudhol *farmans*, in which, after criticizing those *farmans* published by Dr. BALKRISHNA in his *Shivaji the Great* (vol. I, part I) and Mr. D. V. APTE in his मुघोल संस्थानच्या वोरपडे घराण्याचा इतिहास (Appendix A), and after quoting the remarks passed by Sir Jadunath SARKAR on the spurious nature of Marāṭhī documents and *farmans*, found in *Mahārāṣṭra*, he has questioned the authenticity of the *farmans*; nay, he has even tried to impress upon the minds of readers that the *farmans* are mere forgeries.

The other side of the issues raised by Dr. SALETORE ought to be put forth by Dr. BALKRISHNA and Mr. D. V. APTE. It is better if they do so and I hope they will do it in the near future. But as the editing of the *farmans* in question, published in Mr. APTE's book, has been done by me, I think I am entitled to examine Dr. SALETORE's criticism. Without waiting, therefore, for the reply by the two distinguished scholars, I place before the readers the result of my examination of Dr. SALETORE's views concerning the Mudhol *farmans*.

Before considering, however, the *farmans* individually, I wish to bring to the notice of readers some facts of a general nature regarding the *farmans* and the material for the history of the Bahmanī and 'Adilshāhī dynasties to which the *farmans* pertain. (1) Only photographic copies of the *farmans* were handed over to me from which I edited them. I did not get the advantage of examining the originals. Both the internal and external examinations of a document are equally necessary for the determination of its authenticity. (2) I am not responsible for the English translations printed in the book as they were handed over to me with the instruction that the same might be inserted in the book without any material changes. (3) I found some discrepancies in the *farmans* which I have noticed in the notes. (4) Dr. SALETORE in his article has dealt with the *farmans* No. 1-9, from Mr. APTE's book; all, but the last, of which pertain to the Bahmanī period. Dr. SALETORE after comparing the contents of these *farmans* with the narrative of Firishṭa (F.) and after finding that they cannot be reconciled to F.'s account, arrives at the conclusion that the *farmans* are not reliable. But here, I think, Dr. SALETORE is mistaken. Firstly, he has relied, for the meaning of the *farmans*, on the summaries or versions given by Dr. BALKRISHNA and Mr. APTE. But it is possible that both may have been in the wrong. A research scholar ought not to rely on translations and versions of a document, especially when he has to raise grave objections against it. He must study the document in the original. Then alone there is the possibility of his arriving at the truth. I am very sorry to note that Dr. SALETORE has not followed this method and consequently has committed very palpable mistakes. Secondly, Firishṭa is not the only Persian source for the period of the *farmans* as Dr. SALETORE seems to assume. There are the *Burhān-i-ma'athir* (BM.) of Tabātābā, *Tajkirat-ul-mulūk* of Shīrāzī, *Sirāju'l-kulūb* etc. The narrative given in BM. is found in many places to be superior to and more faithful than that of F. That F. could not even give a faithful pedigree of the Bahmanī sultans has been proved by the contemporary coins and the narrative in BM. Is Dr. SALETORE ready and willing to rely, as the only source for the Bahmanī dynasty, on F.'s narrative and denounce all others? That he is not, as far as contemporary

inscriptions are concerned, can be easily gathered from this very article of his. Then is it logical to suppose that the Mudhol *farmans* which bear seals and Tughras i.e. *farmans*, the contemporaneity and authenticity of which cannot be questioned as far as the external evidence is concerned, are forgeries, because they are not consistent with the account of F.? Especially when we know that F. is full of inaccuracies and inconsistencies? Moreover as the critical examination of individual *farmans*, which follows, will show, the information supplied by the *farmans* is not so much inconsistent with the narrative of F. as the Dr. supposes. If the contemporary documents are to be condemned as unauthentic they ought to be compared with contemporary documents, the genuineness of which is beyond doubt. Is it logical to compare them with a narrative composed some two hundred years after the events had actually happened? (5) Dr. SALETORE seems to think that the event serving as the cause of some *inam*, when referred to in a *farman*, ought to take place in the same year in which the *farman* is issued. But this is quite an untenable supposition. Even under the well-organised British regime, *inams* for bravery shown in the last great war were granted years after the treaty was signed. Why should we then be astonished if the issue of *farmans* of grants was delayed for a year or two in old Muhammadan courts? The above statement can be easily substantiated from Bijapur *farmans* and Marāṭhī *sanads*. Why should we expect a different situation under the Bahmanī rule?

With these general remarks on some of the very queer assumptions of Dr. SALETORE, I now propose to examine his criticism of the *farmans* individually.

#### (I) FARMAN DATED 1352 A.D.

Both Dr. BALKRISHNA and Mr. APTE have given their versions of this *farman*. But as the information in the *farman*, presumes Dr. SALETORE, is in contradiction with F. and Vijayanagar inscriptions, it cannot be reliable. But Dr. SALETORE seems not to have studied the *farman* in the original. It clearly states that [Dilipāsīnha] was given an *inam* in consideration of his self-sacrifice. The details of the sacrifice, however, have unfortunately disappeared owing to the lacunæ in the document. Mr. APTE has assumed on the evidence of the Bakhar which he has incorporated in his volume, that Dilipāsīnha was sent to Karnāṭaka about 752 H.<sup>1</sup> and was rewarded for some act of his bravery there. Dr. BALKRISHNA further took Karnāṭaka to mean Vijayanagara and conjectured that Dilipāsīnha showed his bravery in a battle with a Vijayanagara king.<sup>2</sup> But as remarked above, the text of the *farman* mentions neither Karnāṭaka nor Vijayanagara. All the same be it noted here that both F. and BM. refer to the Karnāṭaka expedition of Alau'd-dīn Hasan Gangū Bahmanī and Dr. SALETORE does not seem to question the date of this expedition which F. puts in either 752/1351 or 753/1352. Then where lies the propriety of Dr. SALETORE's criticism, especially when we know that the *farman* is dated in 753 H.?

#### (2) FARMAN DATED 1398 A.D.

Before examining Dr. SALETORE's views on this document it is convenient to give the gist of the *farman* here. It is dated in 800 H. Rabī' II 25/15-1-1398 A.D. and was issued by Firūzshāh Bahmanī. Firūz finding that there was misgovernment due to the short-sightedness of some *Amirs* and the tender age of the reigning sultan [conceived of getting the throne for himself and with that object in mind] went to Sāgar. Siddhājī, the *thanadar* of that place received him warmly. Firūz, with the help of Siddhājī and other adherents, fought a battle with the army of the reigning sultan at some place in which the latter with his son showed much bravery,

1. Intro. p. 84; Bakhar p. 19.

2. p. 39.



but was unfortunately killed. Some time after this battle Firūz succeeded to the throne.

F. gives nearly the same account but with a slight variation. For instance, according to BRIGGS, F. calls the *thanadar* of Sāgar Suddoo, a slave of the royal family and does not mention of his death in the battle of Merkole fought before Firūz gained the throne.

Now Dr. SALETORÉ raises the following points in connection with this *farman*.

(1) If Siddhaji died, according to Dr. BALKRISHNA, in 798/1388, how could he have helped Firūz in 1397 in his struggle for the throne?

(2) Siddhaji cannot be identified with Suddoo who may have been one of the many Abbyssinian slaves at the court of the Bahmani ruler.

(3) Had he helped Firūz, F would have certainly mentioned him along with Mir Faizullah Anjū, Mullā Issac Surhindī, Mir Shumsu'd-dīn Muhammad Anjū and Ahmadkhān Amīru'l-umarā who helped Firūz on his accession to the throne.

(4) In 1397, the date of the *farman* there was no misgovernment due to the short-sightedness of the *Amirs* but only the rebellion of Firūzkhān.

I regret to note, in connection with these points, that Dr. SALETORÉ has committed blunders and had there been any layman in Dr. SALETORÉ'S place, I would not have cared to answer these points. But in the present case I feel I must show the mistakes and I do it here very reluctantly.

(1) Had Dr. S. instead of believing in Dr. BALKRISHNA'S conversion of the Hijra year, referred to some ephemerics, he would have found that 798 H. corresponds to 1395/1396 A.D. Moreover neither the *farman* nor the *bakhar* nor F mentions this date of Siddhaji's death. On the other hand both the *farman* and F. explicitly narrate that Siddhaji or Suddoo was alive till at least the battle of Merkole. Siddhaji or Suddoo must have, therefore, died only a short time before Firūz's accession to the throne which took place by the end of 1397 A.D.

(2) I do not understand how Dr. S. calls Suddoo an Abbyssinian slave. In Persian mass. diacritical marks are generally omitted and the name Suddoo (Saddū) can easily be read as Siddū. The Nawal Kishore edition of F. gives the reading Sidhū<sup>+</sup> instead of Siddū and Sidhū is quite a common corruption of names beginning with Siddha among Marāṭhī speaking people. Thus there is no difficulty in identifying Suddoo of BRIGGS' F. with Siddhaji of the *farman*. The Nawal Kishore edition of F. describes Sidhū as 'Az ghulāmān-i-ān khāndān' which has been, it seems, translated by BRIGGS by the phrase 'a slave of the royal family.' But "slave" is not the only meaning of 'ghulām.' Any Persian dictionary will give the word 'servant' as a synonym of 'ghulām' and there are a number of Persian and Marāṭhī documents and seals in which the word is actually used in that sense. It is not, therefore, so easy to make Suddoo of BRIGGS' F. an Abbyssinian slave as Dr. S. has done.

(3) The *farman* clearly states that Siddhaji died before Firūz could succeed in his object of getting the throne. F's statements are not inconsistent with those of the *farman*. How can we, then, expect F. to mention the services rendered by Siddhaji to Firūz after the latter's accession to the throne, and to refer to him along with others.

(4) Had Dr. SALETORÉ borne well in mind the date of the *farman*, he would not have dared to make the bold statement in 4. The *farman* was issued on 15/1/1398 A.D. i.e. some two months after Firūz ascended the throne. Could Firūz have named his own doings a rebellion and his antagonist's rule good govern-

ment in a *farman* issued by himself? I must plainly assert that what has been said by Dr. SALETORÉ about this *farman* is all illogical.

### (3) FARMAN DATED 1424 A.D.

The *farman* bears the Tughra of Ahmadshāh bin Ahmad Bahmanī and after referring to the service rendered by Siddhaji and Bhairavasingh and bravery shown by Ugrasena in the war with Vijayanagar, reaffirms the hereditary grant of *inam* to Ugrasena. Dr. BALKRISHNA attributes the issue of this *farman* to Ugrasena's saving the life of Alā-ud-dīn Ahmadshāh Bahmanī when the latter was surprised by a detachment of the Vijayanagar king in a hunting expedition.

Now Dr. S. quotes the contents of this very *farman* in his article and states that there is no mention of a hunting expedition in the *farman*. But ignoring this as well as the fact that the *farman* bears the tughra of Ahmadshāh bin Ahmad Bahmanī and its date falls in Ahmadshāh's reign, goes on criticizing Dr. BALKRISHNA'S attribution of the issue of this *farman*. He brings in the evidence of F. to prove that the date of the *farman* falls in the reign of Ahmadshāh Walī Bahmanī and not in that of Alā-ud-dīnshāh Bahmanī, that no hunting expedition worthy of special note was undertaken by Alā-ud-dīnshāh Bahmanī, and that there was a war between this sultan and the Vijayanagar king Devarāya II in 1443 A.D.; and finally questions as to how the Mudhol *farman* can be relied upon for the details relating to the war with Vijayanagar in 1424 A.D. But where is the room for all these baseless and contradictory speculations? As the *farman* is dated in 1424 A.D. and as it, instead of mentioning a hunting expedition, refers to a war with Vijayanagar you are only to see whether there was a war going on between the two powers in 1424 A.D. or a short time before 1424 A.D. By referring to F. one can easily assure oneself that there was such a war which ought to be assigned the date 1423 A.D.

### (4) FARMAN DATED 1454 A.D.

Here again Dr. S. has confounded the interpretation with the contents of the *farman*. The *farman* makes no mention of either the Sirke chief or the chief of Khelna. It only refers to a battle fought in the Konkan in which Ugrasena, an ancestor of the Ghorpade chief of Mudhol was taken a captive. Dr. S. admits that the version given by Mr. APTE is different from that given by Dr. BALKRISHNA; but then asks 'which of these scholars shall we believe?' Why should he ask such a question? If he had found the versions given by the two scholars in contradiction to each other, it was his duty to verify the statements in both the versions from the original and find out the truth. But instead of doing that, he has unnecessarily believed in the version of some one and brought in the evidence of F. and Grant DUFF to prove that Sirke chief was different from the chief Khelna as against Dr. B.'s identity of the two chiefs. But where was the necessity of either identifying or differentiating between the two chiefs? As they are not mentioned in the *farman*, neither their identity, nor their differentiation would affect the genuineness of the *farman*. He ought to have proved that there was no battle fought in the Konkan about the date of the *farman*. But that is an impossible task. By the by let me tell the readers that Dr. S. seems to be quite ignorant of the fact that Sirke is a Maratha family name and not a place name. Otherwise he would not have used the phrases 'the chief of Sirka (Sirke)', 'the Raja of Sirke', and 'the ruler of Sirke' which betray his perfect ignorance about the above fact.

### (5) FARMAN DATED 1471 A.D.

Dr. S.'s main contention about this *farman* seems to be that as F. does not record the information supplied by the *farman*, one fails to see how the statements

in the *farman* can ever be accepted as historically valid. But let me bring to the notice of readers that BM. records about the campaign, referred to in the *farman*, such details as are not to be found in F. and letters of Mahmūd Gāwān, the gists of which have been published recently<sup>1</sup>, supply still more details which are to be traced neither in F. nor in BM. Does Dr. S. know this? Whom will he then discard as untrue, either F. or BM. or the letters of Mahmūd Gāwā? If he cannot reject any of the three sources why should he reject this *farman* which supplies still some more information?

#### (6) FARMAN DATED 1522 A.D.

This *farman* which is dated in 1522 A.D. refers along with others to an episode in the life of Ismāil 'Ādilshāh in which he, while leading an expedition against Tīm-rāj, the ruler of Vijayanagar had to fight a pitched battle on the bank of the Kri-shna. In it Ismāil was hemmed in and could not cross the river. At this juncture Māloji Ghorpade, the son of Kheloji, came forward and at the risk of his own life, brought him out of the danger safely. In recognition of this service Māloji was exempted from *Kurnisal*.

Now Dr. S.'s main objections against this *farman* are (1) that the other events mentioned in the *farman* do not fit in with the accounts already known, (2) that Kheloji and Māloji of this *farman* should be identified with their name-sakes from the Bhosale family who lived only a century later (3) and that Māloji Ghorpade does not figure in the account given by Firishta about the calamity which befell Ismāil 'Ādilshāh.

About the first point let me note that the other events mentioned in the *farman* are indeed referred to by F. and in the same order as the *farman* does. The only difference between the two is of some details and personal names. But unless we prove the *farman* to be spurious by some independent evidence, how can we accept the one source and discard the other?

On the second point I may be permitted to state that Dr. S.'s arguments are simply misleading. The *farman* clearly surnames Kheloji, and his son Māloji as Ghorpade and gives their title as Bahādur. As the *farman* is dated in 1522 A.D. and its seal as well as language clearly show that it belongs to the 'Ādilshāhi sultans, Ismāil 'Ādilshāh who was then reigning must be reckoned as their protegee. Now those Kheloji and Māloji with whom Dr. S. identifies these Kheloji and his son Māloji Ghorpade are surnamed Bhosale; they were not father and son but perhaps cousins; moreover they served, as a rule, the Nizāmshāhi sultans and occasionally sided with the Mughal emperor Shāhjahān; besides they lived in about 1630 and not in 1522, the date of the *farman*. It is, therefore simply misleading to identify the Ghorpade pair of Kheloji and Māloji with the Bhosale pair and question the contemporaneity and the authenticity of the *farman*.

About the third point suffice it to say that it is not proper to discard the *farman* only because it cannot be reconciled to F. I need not go into the details of this point as it has been already dealt with.

Thus it will be seen that Dr. SALETORÉ has not studied the *farmans* in the original, has unnecessarily believed in the versions given by others, has discarded better versions, has not cared to study and digest the existing material bearing on the subject, has given undue importance to Firishta and neglected other better sources and finally has drawn hasty conclusions based on the imperfect knowledge of the material.

Poona.

G. H. KHARE

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1. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XVI, p. 263.

## REFERENCE TO NASIR SHAH KHALJI IN A CONTEMPORARY MS.

The Oriental Manuscripts Library (Prācya-Grantha-Saṁgraha) of Ujjain (Gwalior) has recently procured a 431 year old MS (Accession No. 5768) of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. The MS is complete and covers 136 folios of country paper of the size 11×5 inches written in dark-black ink in Devanāgarī characters. The scribe's concluding colophon bears some historical interest and reads as follows :—

Folio 136<sup>a</sup> “ .....दिशतु भगवानशेषपुंसां

हरिरपजन्मजरादिकां स सिद्धिं ॥ छ ॥

इतिश्रीविष्णुपुराणे षष्ठेशोऽष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥ छ ॥ समाप्तश्चायं षष्ठोऽंशः ॥ एवं समाप्तं विष्णुपुराणं ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

शिवमस्तु सर्वजगतः प (र) हितनिरता भवंतु भूतगणाः ।

दोषाः प्रयांतु नाशं सर्वत्र जनः सुखी भवतु ॥ छ ॥

देशे मालवके नसीरनृपते राज्ये जगीसामिधो

ग्रामस्तस्य समीपवर्तिनि वरे श्रीराजपौरे नृपः ।

श्रीभानुः किल चाहमानकुलजः श्रीजोगदेवात्मजो

राज्ये तस्य मनोरमे द्विजकुलकीर्णे प्रजापूरिते ॥

शाके चंद्रगुणाब्धिभू १४३१ परिमिते संवत्सरे त्वीश्वरे

याम्ये वर्त्मनि वारिवाहसमये मासे नभस्येऽसिते ।

पक्षे रुद्रमिते तिथौ रविदिने मे ..... शीतगौ

कर्कस्थे लिखति स्म पुस्तकमिदं रामेश्वरः पंडितः ॥

श्रीमद्दशपुराणातिः परोपकृतिलोचनः ।

श्रीमत्पंडितरेडाल्यपुत्रः परम ( धा ) मित्रः ॥

अज्ञानभावादश्च वा प्रमादा—

यत्किंचिदूनं लिखितं मयात्र ।

तत्सर्वमार्यैः परिशोधनीयं

प्रायेण मुह्यंति हि ये लिखंति ॥ श्रीः ॥ छ ॥ ”

Thus the MS was copied at a village called Jagisā by a Daśapura<sup>1</sup> Brāhmaṇa named Rāmeśvara-Paṇḍita who was son of one Reḍa-Paṇḍita and describes himself as extremely pious and benevolent. The village Jagisā is described as lying in the province of Malwa of which a king named Nasira was then the paramount sovereign and as belonging to the territories, charming, thickly-populated and thronging with the families of the twice-born, of a (feudatory) Cāhamāna (i.e. Chauhan) chief who was named Śrī-Bhānu, was son of one Śrī-Jogadeva and had his headquarters in a town or major village called Śrī-Rājapaura (i.e. Śrī-Rājapura) in the vicinity of the village Jagisā. The date on which the scribe completed the MS was Sunday the 11th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada in the year 1431 of the Śālivāhana era, i.e. about the close of September 1509 A.C. Other minor details, too, of the date are noted.

1. These Gujarati Nāgara Brāhmaṇas derive their clan-name from the town of Daśapura or Mandasaur in Malwa and are commonly known as *Dasore* Brāhmaṇas. They are found scattered all over Malwa and belong mostly to White Yajurveda and in some cases to R̥gveda.

The contemporary paramount sovereign Nasira mentioned in the colophon is undoubtedly identical with king Nasiruddin or Nasir Shah, the 3rd Khalji Sultan of Malwa, who ruled from his capital Mandu between 1500 and 1510 A.C.<sup>2</sup> and is said to have erected<sup>3</sup> a number of fine buildings in Malwa, among them being also the Kaliadeh Water Palace<sup>4</sup> on the banks of Sipra near Ujjain.

This reference to king Nasir Shah is important as coming from the pen of a contemporary Hindu Pandit. Although it does not convey any fresh substantial detail regarding the Sultan, it possibly does not fail to warrant the conclusion that he was held in high esteem by contemporary Sanskrit scholars. We are accustomed to read in the accounts of Mahomedan historians that Nasir Shah was a miserable sensualist, a brutal tyrant and a drunkard to the extreme. Still, all the same, his relations with contemporary Sanskrit scholars appear to be quite cordial and friendly. Had it not been the case, our scribe would possibly have avoided any reference to the Sultan.

By the way, here it may be pointed out that there has already been discovered<sup>5</sup> at least one Sanskrit work that is specifically attributed to this Nasir Shah. This fact not only substantially seconds the above-stated hypothesis but takes us still further to learn that the Sultan actually extended his liberal patronage to Sanskrit authors who, on their turn, were ready to attribute their own compositions to the Sultan.

I have not yet been able to identify the Chauhan chief Śrī-Bhānu and the two places Jagisā and Śrī-Rājapura mentioned in the colophon. As a matter of fact, at present it often becomes very difficult to identify small places of Malwa in old references, as the old province has since been split up into numerous patches, big or small, now scattered over the intermingled territories of the Maharajas of Gwalior, Indore, Dhar, Dewas and several other states. Further, it is also not very clear whether the scribe designates Śrī-Rājapura as a town or only as a flourishing village. Even if the place were a town, it cannot be identified with Rājpur, a prominent *pargana* town of Barwani State in Malwa, as the same has been under the rule of a branch of the Sesodia Rajputs at least from the fourteenth century A.C.<sup>6</sup> Again, it cannot be identical with Rājpur, the capital town of Alirajpur State in Malwa, as the same has been held since 1437 A.C. by the line of the present rulers who claim to be Rathors and not Chauhans<sup>7</sup>. In case, however, the place under reference is meant to be designated only as a major village, we can with fair justification identify it with the headquarters of Kheri-Rājāpur, a small estate in Malwa, which has been recorded as held to this day by Chauhan Rajputs.<sup>8</sup>

Ujjain

SADASHIVA L. KĀTRE

2. *Imperial Gazetteer of India—Central India* (1908), p. 126 ; G. YAZDANI : *Mandū The City of Joy* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 23-25, etc.

3. G. YAZDANI : *Mandū The City of Joy*, pp. 25, 93, etc.

4. M. B. GARDE : *Archaeology in Gwalior* (Gwalior, 1934), p. 146.

5. P. K. GODE : *Date of Kankālī Grantha attributed to Nāsirasāha—Annals of the B. O. R. Institute*, Vol. XII, pp. 289-291.

6. *Imperial Gazetteer of India—Central India*, pp. 334 and 336.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 337 ff.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 290.

## INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD \*

By

D. B. DISKALKAR

UNA

No. 91]

v.s. 1582.

[18-7-1526.

Unā is the chief town of a Mahāl of the same name in Junagadh State. The subjoined inscription is fixed in the eastern dam of the big tank there. It measures, 2'-5" by 1'-4". It is in a good state of preservation. Being carefully engraved there are few grammatical mistakes in it.

At the beginning of the inscription the following deities are praised. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇapati, Indra and other Dikpālas, Sūrya and other Grahas and Pārvaṭī. Then it mentions that in old times the sage Vālmikī founded, in VALABHĪPUR, a Kāyastha family. In that family which was famous for learning, statesmanship, charity, specially in penmanship and was respected by the kings, was born a minister named Narasimhavarā, who was devoted to Viṣṇu. His son was the minister Sevā, and the latter's son was the minister Maṭā.

The inscription then gives an account of another Kāyastha family of equal fame. In it there was a minister named Vijā. His son was Vaśya-rāja. The latter had a daughter named Kikī. She was married to the minister Maṭā named above. The couple had a son named Patā.

Patā was made Kārbhāri by AYĀZ, the Subā over SAURĀṢṬRA, of the SULTAN MAHAMMAD of Ahmedabad. Patā was also given a title 'Māfar-Malik' (Muzfar Malek) and a *pāḷkhī* by the Sultan.

This Patā caused a big tank to be made in UNNATADURG (i.e. Unā) on Wednesday, the 8th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1582.

In the concluding portion of the inscription the names of the three wives of Patā, named Lalimā, Dāi, and Haribāi, are given as also the name of the Nāgar Somanātha, son of Kṛṣṇadās, who composed the *praśasti* and of the engraver Ratnā son of Māhāva.

The easy flow of the language full of alliterations shows that the author of the *Praśasti* viz. Nāgar Somanātha, son of Kṛiṣṇadāsa, was a learned and gifted poet.

### Text

- 1 ॥ ॐ नमः श्रीगणेशाय ॥ कल्याणं कमलासनः सज्जु वः के
- 2 शव्ययं केशवो । गौरीशः खड्ग गौरवं गणपतिर्निःशेषविघ्नक्षयं । सर्वा
- 3 रातिविनाशमाशु ककुभाभीशः सुरेशादयः । कुर्वतु श्रुवमाधिपत्य
- 4 मधिकं सूर्यादयः खेचराः ॥ १ ॥ पतिः सतीत्वादिगुणैरतीव । प्रीतः स्वदेहा

\* Continued from p. 127 of Vol. III. June 1940.

- 5 द्दमदत्त यस्यै । सात्यंतसौभाग्यनिधिर्ददातु । मनोरथान् पर्वतराजपु-  
 6 त्री ॥ २ ॥ कायस्थवंशो वलभीपुरे पुरा । वाम्बलीकिनाम्ना मुनिना प्रतिष्ठि  
 7 तः । योऽव्याहृतं सर्वकलासु कौशलं । विशेषतो लेख्यकलाविधौ दधौ ॥  
 8 ३ ॥ विख्यातः क्षितिमंडले क्षितिभृतां संसत्सु सर्वैर्गुणै<sup>१</sup> । मीन्यो मंत्रि  
 9 गणाग्रणीर्गुणवतामग्रेसरः सोऽन्वयः । संतः शास्त्रविदः कलासु  
 10 कुशलः शूरा महामंत्रिणो ॥ दातारश्च दयालवश्च बहवो यस्मिन्  
 11 भूवन्नराः ॥ ४ ॥ यस्मिन्नशेषविदुषामपि माननीयो वंशे विशुद्धचरितः सु  
 12 तरामुदारः । मंत्री बभूव नरसिंहवराभिधानः श्रीपद्मनाभचरणार्चन  
 13 सावधानः ॥ ५ ॥ पुत्रस्तस्मात्सज्जनः सज्जनानां सेवाकारी मंत्रिसेवा  
 14 मिधानः । आसीदाशीर्वादमंत्रैर्ददारै । भूदेवानां भूतले भूतिमाप ॥ ६ ॥  
 15 तस्याभवज्जगति मंत्रिमटाभिधानः । ख्यातः सुतः सुचरितः परितः पवि  
 16 त्रैः । यः कर्मभिः कुलमशेषमलंचकार । यद्वत्तस्मैल्यजो मलयं महाद्रिं  
 17 ॥ ७ ॥ अथ मातृवंशः ॥ श्रीकायस्थकुलोद्भवः समभवनमंत्रीशबीजाभिध  
 18 स्तत्पुत्रः पृथिवीशसंसदि मतः श्रीवश्यराजाभिधः । कन्यारत्नमसू  
 19 त तस्य सुतरां सौभाग्यभाग्यास्पदं । प्रेम्णा यस्य पिताभिधानमकरो  
 20 त् कीकीति संलालयन् ॥ ८ ॥ भवं भवानीसहितं समर्च्य । पतिव्रता  
 21 सा पतिमाससाद । मटाभिधानं सच्चिवं यथा हि प्रभूतपुण्यं पुरुषं समृद्धिः  
 22 ॥ ९ ॥ तां वश्यराजस्य सुतामुपेत्य । पत्नी स सेवात्मज आत्मयोग्यां [॥\*] विचारयु[क्तो]  
 23 [वि]चचार चारु । गार्हस्थिकं धर्ममधर्मभीतः ॥ १० ॥ तस्मादभूद्भुतभाग्यभा  
 24 सुरः । सतामतीवाभिमतः पताभिधः । सुतः सुचेता दुरनेहसिंहसौ सी  
 25 दंतमंत्रैः समजीवयज्जनं ॥ ११ ॥ अयाजनामा यवनाधिराजः । कलासु  
 26 सर्वासु विशारदोऽभूत् । प्राप्तप्रसादः स तु पातसाहात् । सौराष्ट्रदेशा  
 27 धिपतामवाप ॥ १२ ॥ तेन प्रजापालनतत्परेण, विनिर्जिताजेयजनाधि  
 28 पेन । दक्षेण दक्षोयमिति प्रहृष्य । यस्मै पुरा मंत्रिपदं प्रदत्तं ॥ १३ ॥ श्री  
 29 पातसाहो महमूदसाहस्तस्मै ददौ मंत्रिषु चाभिधाय । श्रीमाफरोयं  
 30 मलिकः प्रसिद्धः । नामेति तस्मै च नृवाह्ययानं ॥ १४ ॥ स सर्वतापक्षय  
 31 कारि वारे सरो मनोहारि परोपकारी । अकारयत्तारयितुं स्वकीया  
 32 न् वलक्षपक्षद्वयपूर्वजातान् ॥ १५ ॥ संवत् १५८२ वर्षे श्रावण शुदि  
 33 ८ बुधे श्रीउन्नतदुर्गे श्रीवाह्मकायस्थ ज्ञातीय महं मटासु  
 34 त पता पत्नी ३ ललीमदाई हरिबाईतडागंड्वारितं । इयं प्रशस्ति [ : ]  
 35 आभ्यंतरनागरज्ञातीय । मंत्रि श्रीकृष्णदास सुत मंत्रि श्रीसोमना [ ये ]  
 36 [ न कृता ] ॥ सूत्रधार माहाव सुत रत्नाकेनोत्कीर्णा ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्री ॥

## DHRĀSANAVEL

No. 92]

v.s. 1582.

[12-8-1526.

This inscription is copied from a *Palio* standing near the old temple of Śiva, called *Magaderu*, to the east of the village Dhrāsaṇvel near Dwarkā in the Okhāmaṇḍal prānt, in the possession of the Maharaja Gaikwad of Baroda.

1. Drop the line. Such unnecessary strokes are many times given in the record.

It records the death in Dhrāsanavel of Śrī Dharaṇasena in a fight while protecting the cows on Sunday, the fifth of the bright half of Bhādrapada in v.s. 1582 or (Ś. 1448).

The epithet Śrī preceding the name Dharaṇasena, shows that the deceased was not an ordinary man but was probably a Vāḍhela or a Vāghera chieftain.

*Text.*

- 1 संवत् १५८२ वषे शा
- 2 के १४४८ वर्तमाने द
- 3 क्षणायने भाद्रपद
- 4 मासे शुक्ले पक्षे पंच
- 5 म्यां तिथौ रवौ श्रीधर
- 6 णसेन संग्रामे...
- 7 वि ? गायत्री...
- 8 मरणं द्रासणवल्लि

HALVAD

No. 93]

v.s. 1583.

[28-2-1527.

This inscription is found in a well near the temple of Saraṇeśvara Mahādeva adjoining the tank in the town Halvad in Dhrangdhra State.

The inscription is important for the genealogy of the family of the Zālā rulers of Dhrangdhra State. It mentions that Zālā is one of the 36 royal (Kṣatriya) families and gives the following genealogy.

Rana Raṇamal	= Laliāde
Rana Śatruśālya	= Mīnalade
Rana Jitā	= Jitāde
Rana Raṇavīra	= Līlade
Rana Bhīma	= Prīmalade
Rana Vāgha	= Nīnāde
Rana Rājadhara	= Ahikarade
Rana Rāṇiga	= Kalyāṇade
Maharana Mānasīmha	

The queen KALYĀNADE, mother of Mahārāṇā MĀNASIMHA, was, it is further told, the daughter of MAHĀRĀṆĀ SĀRANGDE of the VĀGHELĀ family by his wife Virāde. For the benefit of all creatures Kalyāṇade caused a well to be dug up during the time of her son Mahārāṇā Mānasīmha on Thursday, the 13th of the dark half of Phālguna in v.s. or Ś. 1448.

*Text.*

- 1 ॥ ॐ नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीसारस्वदे नमः श्रीअंबिकाईनमः गुरभ्यो नमः
- 2 ॥ स्वस्तश्रीजयो मंगलाभ्युदयश्च । श्रीमन्नृपविक्रमाऽऽसमयातीत संवत् १५८३ वै
- 3 ॥ षे साके १४४८ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायने शिशिरशुद्धौ फाल्गुनमासे कृष्णपक्षे १३ त्रयोद
- 4 ॥ स्यां तिथौ गुरुवारे धेनिष्ठानक्षत्रे सिधियोगे बव करणे मीनलम् बह्मने



- 5 ॥ षट्त्रिंशद्वाजकुलावतंस झल्लवंशप्रदीपकराय श्रीरणम्यल भार्या बाई श्रीललीआदेत
- 6 ॥ त्सुत रायश्री शत्रुशाल्य भार्या बाई श्रीमीणलदे तत्सुत रायश्रीजिता भार्या बाई श्री जितादेत
- 7 ॥ त्सुत रांणश्रीरणवीरभार्या बाई श्रीलीलादे तत्सुत रांणश्रीभीमभार्या बाईश्रीप्री
- 8 ॥ मलदे तत्सुत राणश्रीवाघभार्या बाई श्रीनीणादे तत्सुत राणश्री राजधरभार्या बाई
- 9 ॥ श्रीअहिकारदे तत्सुत रांणश्री राणिगदे भार्या बाई श्रीकल्याणदे तत्सुत मा
- 10 ॥ हाराण श्रीमानसिंहविजिराज्ये वाघेलावंशोद्भव महारांण श्रीसारंगदे भा
- 11 ॥ र्या बाई श्रीवीरादे तत्सुता बाई श्रीकल्याणदे मानसिंहमाता बाई श्रीकल्याणदे श्रीविष्णु
- 12 ॥ प्रीतये सर्वजंतूनामुपकाराय वापी कारापतं सुभं भवतु कल्याणमस्तु ॥
- 13 ॥ एक गौपदमात्रं वा उदकं धारिति मही षष्ठी वरिषसहस्राणि शिवलोके च महीयंते ॥
- 14 ॥ स्नाने दाने तथा पुण्ये देवे पितरे च कर्मणि । सामान्य सर्वभूतेभ्यो मया दत्तमिदं जलं[॥]
- 15 ॥ वाणारशी चायशं पुण्यं तत्पुण्यं नितुदर्शनात् अथवा स्नानपूजायां गंगास्नाना
- 16 ॥ दिक् फलं ॥

## VELĀVDAR

No. 94]

v.s. 1584.

[23-4-1528.

The following inscription is found in a well at the entrance of the village Velāvdar in Wadhwan State, at a distance of 20 miles from Wadhwan in the north-east direction. It measures 5'8" in length and only 10" in breadth. The letters which are of a big size are very incorrectly engraved. The last line of the record is unintelligible.

It opens with the date, Thursday, the fifth of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1584 (Śaka 1450) and refers to the reign of the Gujarat Sultan BAHĀDURSHAH, and of his feudatory chief Rāṇā Mānasimhaji, evidently of Halvad, the old capital of Dhrangdhra State. It then seems to record that a woman of Solanki family and resident of Valva caused to be made a well on the abovementioned date.

## Text.

- 1 संवत् १५८४ वरषे साके १४५० प्रवर्तमाने वैशाकमासे सुकलपंषे पंचम्यां गुरुवासरे पातसा श्रीबहादुर वी
- 2 जयराज्ये तथा राणश्रीमानसंग वजिराये अदेह चलचवास्तव सोलंकी राण सत रसल सत-दल
- 3 सत रा० हाजा सत रा० पत्नी भाब्या बाई ससरी सत रा० धना भाब्या बाई धाई सत रा० वामा भाब्या बाई राजी
- 4 व्यापी रा० वावितवाण अधरा रा० वामानाभाऊ रा० जाहालरा मूलरा० वाघा बाई पामी भाऊ रूप रा० वामा
- 5 नि सत बेटा पवटी १ रा० वसा रा० विरा रा० वना रा० रणवीर बाई रंगी गजधर-नाम जसा पाता करावि देसाई<sup>2</sup> सोलंकी मेगलभार्या मगल.

1. The names are quite unintelligible.

2. Curiously enough the इ is expressed here by three zeroes as in ancient inscriptions.

## ŚATRUNJAYA HILL, PALITANA

No. 95]

v.s. 1587.

[7-5-1531.

This inscription is engraved on a black stone slab fixed in the wall of the Ādiśvara temple on the famous Śatrunjaya hill near Palitana. It is carefully engraved and is in a good condition. The inscribed portion measures 2'5" by 1'5¼".

This important inscription was formerly published by Dr. BÜHLER in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. II, pp. 42 ff.

The record mentions that Bahadur Shah, successor of Muzfar Shah, the successor of Mahamud Shah, was ruling over Gujarat in v.s. 1587. Then is mentioned the name of Majhādkhan i.e. Mujāhid Khān Bhikan who, we know, was the Sultan's viceroy over Sorath. Then the description of the Citrakūṭa hill is given, which was situated in Medapāṭa i.e. Mewād, where Ratnasinhha, son of Sangrāmasinhha, son of Rājamalla, son of Kumbharāja was ruling. Ratnasinhha's prime minister was Karmarāj, a detailed account of whose family is next given. He went to the Śatrunjaya hill on pilgrimage and there made the seventh restoration and re-built the temple of Puṇḍarīka on the sixth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1587 or Śaka 1453. For this he had obtained permission of Sultan *Bahadur* through the good offices of Rava Narasinhaka, the Sultan's prime minister. The praśasti was composed by Pandit Lāvanyasamaya.

It is to be noted that in this record the names of Sikandar and Mahmud II, who ruled for a short time between Muzfar and Bahadur are omitted. The mention of the Mewād kings has added much to the importance of the inscription.

## Text.

- 1 ॥ श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीगूर्जरधारिव्यां पातसाहश्रीमहिमूदपट्टभाकरपातसाहश्रीमदाफरसाह-  
पट्टोद्योतकारक
- 2 पातसाहश्रीश्रीश्रीवाहदरसाहविजयराज्ये ॥ संवत् १५८७ वर्षे राज्यव्यापारधुरंधर  
षानश्रीमद्भादषानव्या
- 3 पारे श्रीशत्रुंजयगिरौ श्रीचित्रकूटवास्तव्य । दी० करमाकृत सप्तमोद्धारसत्ता प्रशस्तिर्लि-  
ख्यते ॥ स्वस्तिश्रीसौख्य
- 4 दो जीयात् युगादिजिननायकः । केवलज्ञानविमलो विमलचलमंडनः ॥ १ श्रीमेदपाटे  
प्रगट-प्रभावे । भावेन भ
- 5 व्ये भुवनप्रसिद्धे । श्रीचित्रकूटो मुकुटोपमानो । विराजमानोस्ति समस्तलक्ष्म्याः ॥ २  
सत्रंदनो दातृसुरदुमश्च तुं
- 6 गः सुवर्णोपि विहारसारः । जिनेश्वरस्तानपवित्रभूमिः । श्रीचित्रकूटः सुरशैलतुल्यः ॥ ३  
विशालसालक्षित
- 7 लोचनाभो रम्यो नृणां लोचनचित्रकारी । विचित्रकूटो गिरि चित्रकूटो । लोकस्तु यत्राखिल-  
कूटमुक्तः ॥ ४ तत्र श्रीकुं-
- 8 भराजोऽभूत् कुंभोद्भवनिभो नृपः । वैरिवर्गः समुद्रो हि येन पीतः क्षणात् क्षितौ ॥ ५  
तत्पुत्रो राजमल्लोभूद्राज्ञां म

- 9 ॥ इवोक्तः । सुतः संग्रामसिंहोऽस्य संग्रामविजयी नृपः ॥ ६ तत्पट्टभूषणमणिः सिंहद्रवत्प-  
राकमी । रत्नसिंहाऽ
- 10 धुना राजा राजलक्ष्म्या विराजते ॥ ७ इतश्च गोपाह्वगिरौ गरिष्ठः श्रीबप्पभट्टिप्रतिबोधितश्च ।  
श्रीआमराजोऽजनि तस्य
- 11 पत्नी काचिद्वभूव व्यवहारिपुत्री ॥ ८ तत्कुक्षिजाता [ः] किल राजकोष्ठागाराह्वगोत्रे सुकृतै-  
कपात्रे । श्रीऊशवंशे विशदे
- 12 विशाले तस्यान्वयेऽमी पुरुषाः प्रसिद्धाः ॥ ९ श्रीसरणदेवनामा तत्पुत्रो रामदेवनामामभूत् ।  
लक्ष्मीसिंहः पुत्रो...तत्पु
- 13 त्रो भुवनपालाख्यः ॥ १० श्रीभोजराजपुत्रो [वच्छ?] रसिंहाख्य एव तत्पुत्रः । श्वेताक-  
स्तत्पुत्रो नरसिंहस्तत्पु
- 14 [ तो जातः ] ॥ ११ तत्पुत्रस्तोलख्यः पत्नी तस्याः ( स्य ) प्रभूतकुलजाता । तारादेपर  
नाम्नी लीलपुण्यप्रभापूर्णा ॥ १२ तत्कुक्षिसमुद्भूताः ष [ ८ ]
- 15 पुत्राः कल्पपादपाकाराः [ धर्मा ] नुष्ठानपराः श्रीवंतः श्रीकृतोऽन्येषां ॥ १३ प्रथमो रत्नाख्य-  
सुतः सम्यक्त्वोद्योतकारकः कामं ।
- 16 श्रीचित्रकूटनगरे प्रासादः [ कारितो ] येन ॥ १४ तस्याऽस्ति कोमलापाल्यवल्लीव विशदा  
सदा । भार्या रजमलदेवी पुत्रः श्रीरंगना
- 17 मासौ ॥ १५ भ्राताऽन्यः पोमाह्वः पतिभक्ता दानशीलगुणयुक्ता पद्मापाटमदेव्यौ पुत्रौ माणि-  
क्यहीराह्वौ ॥ १६ बंधुर्गणस्तु-
- 18 तीयो भार्या गुणरत्नराशि विख्याता । गडरागारतदेव्यौ पुत्रो देवाभिधो ज्ञेयः ॥ १७  
तुर्यो दशरथनामा भार्या तस्यास्ति देवगु
- 19 रुभक्ता । देवल [ दू ] रमदेव्यौ पुत्रः केलहाभिधो ज्ञेयः ॥ १८ भ्राताऽन्यो भोजाख्यः भार्या  
तस्यास्ति सकलगुणयुक्ता
- 20 भावलहर्षमदेव्यौ पुत्रः श्रीमंडणे जीयात् ॥ १९ सदा सदाचारविचारचारुचातुर्यधैर्यादिगुणैः  
प्रयुक्तः श्रीकर्मेराजो
- 21 भगिनी च तेषां जीयात्सदा सूहृदिनामधेया ॥ २० कर्माख्यभार्या प्रथमा कपूरदेवी पुनः  
कामलदे द्वितीया । श्रीभीषजी
- 22 कस्वकुलोदयाद्रिसूर्यप्रभः कामलदेविपुत्रः ॥ २१ श्रीतीर्थयात्राजिनर्बिबपूजापदप्रतिष्ठादिक-  
वर्मधुर्याः । सुपात्रदानेन प
- 23 वित्रमात्राः सर्वेदशाः सत्पुरुषाः प्रसिद्धाः ॥ २२ श्रीरत्नसिंहराज्ये राज्यव्यापारभारधौरेयः ।  
श्रीकर्मसिंहदशो मुख्यो
- 24 व्यवहारीणां मध्ये ॥ २३ श्रीशत्रुंजयमाहात्म्यं श्रुत्वा सद्गुरुसंनिधौ । तस्योद्धारकृते भावः  
कर्मराजस्य-यभूत् ॥ २४ आग
- 25 त्य गौर्जरे देशे विवेकेन नरायणे । वसंति विबुधा लोकाः पुण्यश्लोका इवाऽद्भुताः ॥ २५  
तत्रास्ति श्रीधराधीशः श्रीमत्
- 26 बाह्यादरो नृपः । तस्य प्राप्य स्फुरन्मानं पुंडरीके समाययौ ॥ २६ राज्यव्यापारधौरेयः  
षानः श्रीमान् मझादकः । तस्य गेहे म
- 27 हामंत्री रवाख्यो नरसिंहकः ॥ २७ तस्य सन्मानमुत्प्राप्य बहुवित्तव्ययेन च । उद्धारः सप्त-  
मस्तेन चके शत्रुंजये गिरौ ॥ २८

- 28 श्रीपादलिप्तललनासरशुद्धदेशे सद्वाद्यमंगलमनोहरगीतना[दैः] श्रीकर्मराजमुधिया जलयात्रि-  
कायां चके महोत्स  
29 ववरः सुगुरूपदेशात् ॥ २९ चंचच्चंगमृदंगरंगरचनाभेरीनफेरीरवा वीणा[वंश]विशुद्धनालवि-  
भवासाधर्मिवात्सल्य  
30 कं । वल्लालंकृतिहेमतुंगतुरगादीनां च सद्धर्षणमेवं विस्तरपूर्वकं गिरिवरे बिंबप्रतिष्ठापनं ॥  
३० विक्रमसमयातीते ति  
31 थिमितसंवत्सरेऽश्ववसुवर्षे । १५८७ शाके जगन्निवाणे ५३ वैषाषे कृष्णषष्ठ्यां च ॥ ३१

## HĀMAPAR

No. 96]

v. s. 1588

[20-1-1532.

Hāmapar is a small but old village in the Rājasitāpur Mahāl of the Dhrāngdhra State at a distance of six miles to the north of the Rājasitāpur Railway Station on the Wadhwan-Dhrangdhra line. To the east of a very large well there is a Śiva temple where the following two inscriptions are found engraved on the lintel of the door. Both of them together measure 22'-10" in length and 6" in breadth.

Both the inscriptions are of the same date and also record the same object viz. the Śiva temple was built by one Jitamāla of the Sōlanki family, on Saturday the 13th of the bright half of Māgha in v. s. 1588 or Śaka 1453 when Mahāmālik Ayajavalli was the viceroy at Hāmpur, evidently of the Gujarat Sultan and Mahārāṇā Mānsimhji was ruling, evidently at Halvad.

## Text

( १ )

- 1 संवत् १५८८ वर्षे शाके १४५३ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायणे श्रीसूर्ये
- 2 ...महामांगल्यप्रदमाघमासे शुक्लपक्षे १३ त्रयोदश्यां
- 3 तिथौ शनिवासरे हामपरवास्तव्य महामलेक श्रीअयाज
- 4 वल्लीविजयराज्ये महाराणा श्रीमानसिंहजीविजयराज्ये
- 5 ....व्यापारे क्षत्रियज्ञातिना परोपकाराय सोलं
- 6 की रात महोजल सुत रात डुंगर भार्या बाई मती सुत रात
- 7 जितमालेन ईश्वरप्रासाद उद्धरितः ।

( २ )

- 1 संवत् १५८८ वर्षे शाके १४५३ प्रवर्तमाने
- 2 महामांगल्यप्रदमाघमासे शु
- 3 कलपषे १३ त्रयोदश्यां त्यथौ सनिवासरे
- 4 हामपरवास्तव्य महामलेक श्री
- 5 असजावल वजयराजे महाराणा
- 6 श्रीमानसंगवजयराजे व्यव० राजश्री

The rest of the portion is illegible.

## NAGICHANA

No. 97]

v. s. 1590

[14-9-1534.

This inscription is engraved on a pillar of a *Deri* called Gosarā in the village Nagicānā in Maṅgrol State. It measures 10" by 12".

It records the death, in a fight, of Pithiā Anaśā, son of Vāsanga, at Nagicānā on Sunday, the 11th of the dark half of Bhādaravā in v.s. 1590, during the victorious reign of Bahādurshaha, evidently the Gujarat Sultan.

## Text

- 1 संवत् १५९० वरषे भादर
- 2 वा वदि ११ रवौ नगचाणाग्रा
- 3 मे पातसाहा श्रीबाहादर
- 4 साहा बिजिराजे पीठीआ
- 5 वासंगसुत अणसा सं
- 6 ग्रामे मरण सूतार अमर
- 7 सी सूतार वरदेनी पाऊ

## PAḌA

No. 98]

v. s. 1594.

[1538.

This inscription is inscribed on a stone slab lying in the small village Paḍā near Dhokaḍvā, in the Junagadh State. It measures 18" × 13½".

It opens with the date, Sunday the fourth of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1594 and mentions the names, possibly of the officers, of *Sherkhan* and *Mahk Ajijalāuddīn*. The middle portion of the record is unintelligible. A land consisting of 31 bighas seems to have been granted to some body, whose name is not known. In the concluding portion both the Muhammedans and the Hindus are asked not to violate the grant.

## Text

- 1 संवत् १५९४ वर्षे
- 2 वईसाष सुदि ४ रवौ<sup>1</sup> षि
- 3 रघानसाही मलिक श्रीअजी
- 4 जलाहोदि सहाकल (?) मांडण मौ
- 5 ज प[ड] बजरष (?)...अहव
- 6 . . . . .
- 7 आ सेढानु वीगत आयमणि भू
- 8 मि वीघा ३१ सेढावंध पाव जे
- 9 साने आपू अेहनो जे को वंस
- 10 होअ ते अेवा भराविषे (?) पात
- 11 साहि पलित तरकाणे सूर हीद
- 12 वाणि गाय लोपि तेहनि...

1. The date does not agree.

## BAGASRĀ

No. 99]

v.s. 1604.

[18-3-1548.

The following two inscriptions are engraved side by side on a yellowish stone lying at the north-west corner of the village Bagasrā (Dhed) under Junagadh State. The right hand inscription measures 6" by 9½" and the left hand one, 7½" by 9¼".

Both the inscriptions are of the same date i.e. Sunday, the ninth of the bright half of Caitra of v.s. 1604 or Śaka 1470 and refer to the rule of the Sultan MUHAMMAD Shaha. The right hand inscription records the death at Bagasrā of Vāghelā Vāktā, son of Hibā Mālā, in a fight while protecting the cows. The left hand inscription records that the wife, named Amēṇā of that man became a sati. She was the daughter of Kācā Parvata of Bagasrā and his wife Ravibai.

## Text

( १ )

- 1 ॥ १० ॥ उँ नमः श्रीशवाय ॥ स्वस्ति श्री
- 2 नृपतिविक्रमा अर्क समयातीतः संव
- 3 त १६०४ वर्षे शाके १४७० प्रवर्तमा
- 4 ने पातशा[ह] श्रीमहिमूंदशाहविजै
- 5 राये अयेह श्री बगसराग्रामस्य
- 6 वाघेला हीबामाला सुत वाक्ता गो
- 7 ग्रहे मृतः चैत्र सुदि ९ रिबौ श्रीः

( २ )

- 1 ॥ १० ॥ उँ नमः श्रीशिवायः ॥ स्व
- 2 स्ति श्रीनृपतिविक्रमा अर्कसमया
- 3 तीतः संवत् १६०४ वर्षे शाके १४
- 4 ७० प्रवर्तमाने पातशाह श्री महि
- 5 मूंदशाह व्यजै राये अयेह श्री
- 6 श्रीश्रीः बगसराग्रामस्य का
- 7 चा पर्वतः तस्य भार्या बाई रवी
- 8 तस्य पुत्री बाई अमणा साहा गम
- 9 न कृत्वा चैत्र सुदि ९ रिबौः ॥

## KODIDARĀ

No. 100]

v.s. 1609.

[30-1-1553.

This inscription is engraved on a *pālio* found in a small village named Kodidarā, situated near Somanātha Pātana. The inscribed portion measures 1'-6" in length and 1' in breadth.

It records that the *pālio* of Hadiāni Suraja was raised in the village Kodidarā in the reign of Fātasāhā MAHAMŪD at Devapātana on Monday the second of the dark half of Māgha in v.s. 1609.

Mahamūd was the Gujarat Sultan, who ruled from 1536 to 1554 A.D. at Ahmedabad.

## Text

- 1 संवत् १६०९ वर्षे माहा व
- 2 दि २ सोमे आदे श्रीदेवप-
- 3 तने पातसाहा श्रीमिमू
- 4 दसाहा...कोडीदरा
- 5 ग्रामे हडीआनी सुरज
- 6 पालीआ

## WADHWAN

No. 101 ]

v.s. 1613.

[26-7-1557.

This inscription is copied from a white stone slab discovered at Wadhwan during excavations of the old palace foundations. The stone is now lying near the State stables in the Darbargaḥ at Wadhwan. The inscribed portion, which is in a good condition, measures  $2\frac{1}{2}'$  by  $2\frac{5}{6}'$ . Below it are carved a pig and an ass. Being inscribed in very incorrect Gujarati and also in an awkward manner the meaning of the inscription has to be made out with much difficulty.

The record opens with the date, Monday, the first of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa of v.s. 1613 and refers to the reign of PĀTSHAH AHMAD. Names of several officers are then given. They are : Hazrat Suleman Khan, Itimad Khan Ahodī, Mir Hazbar, Malik Ain Havāli, Malik Nusrat Phal, Malik Agadh, Meheta (?) Rangvala, Arisirha Sāṅgaṇa, chief (?) of Wadhwan, Mir Abdul Halim, Bakshi of Wadhwan, Desai Āsā, Patel and Talāti. Then it is stated thus—whatever *Vaje* is due from the *pasāitas* of the abovementioned town, both Koṭias and Talāvias, this shall be spent by the Talāvias on the Talav (i.e. tank) and the Koṭias on the Koṭ (i.e. fort). Whoever shall infringe these stipulations will be subject to the curse of the cow if he is a Hindu and that of the boar if he is a Musalman.

The Patshah Ahmed mentioned in the record is the Gujrat Sultan Ahmed II, whose Diwan, was the powerful noble Itimat Khan. Zalavad, in which Wadhwan is situated was directly under him. (See Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 260.) The other names are of officers connected with the government of Wadhwan.

This inscription shows the origin of the Kotia and Talavia Kolis. They were *pasāitas* or landholders and were bound to work for the forts and tanks of the places, near which their holdings were situated.

## Text

- 1 संवत १६१३ वरषे सावण सु[दि १ सो]
- 2 मे श्रीदीवान शक झालावाडि पातसाह
- 3 श्री अहिमद वजिराजि ताअन<sup>1</sup> (?) ह
- 4 जरत सेलेमान पां. श्रीअतमेतपान
- 5 अहोदि मर श्रीहजेबर, मलेक अेन
- 6 हवालि, म० नुसत्र फल, मलेक अग
- 7 ध म० श्रीरंगवलारुणगैः ? वढवाण
- 8 णि रा० श्रीअरिसिंहजी सांगण सुयवे
- 9 मी. अबदल हलीम अषजगहसा जव (?)
- 10 बक्षी वढवाण देसई असव पटिल

1. A large number of words in this inscription are unintelligible.

- 11 तलाटी जोग्य जत कसबे मजकुरना पसा
- 12 धिता कोटीआ वा तलावीमां नो वजे आ
- 13 पि तलावीआं तलावि कोटीआं कोटि
- 14 षरचि अ वात लोपिते दापे हींदुआ
- 15 णे गाई तरकाणे सुअर ओपर ग
- 16 जूर देसही जूला वू. घघजा व. जसाप ?
- 17 भातरी ऐकोजिव लोपे तेनी गधडगालि

## DAHISARĀ

No. 102]

v.s. 1622.

[30-7-1556.

This inscription is engraved on the lintel of the temple popularly known as Dhingadmalla's temple in the village Dahisarā, at a distance of three miles from Vavāniā in Morvi State. The lower portion of the inscription, which measures about 4½ feet in length and only 10 inches in breadth is illegible.

It seems to record the building of the temple by the wife of Jām Śrī Karaṇaji of Dahisarā on Tuesday, the fourteenth of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1622 or Śaka 1488.

Karaṇaji was merely a *Bhāyāt* of the ruling family of Navānagar, though he is given the epithets Jāma Śrī out of respect only.

## Text

- 1 संवत् १६२२ वर्षे शाके १४८८ संवत्सर प्रवर्तमाने श्रावण वदि १४ भौमे अयेह
- 2 श्रीदहीसरावास्तव्यजामश्रीकरणजी तस्य गृहे भार्या
- 3 .....रणछोडजीना चरणसेवाने प्रासाद...

## GHOCHA

No. 103]

v.s. 1634.

[13-10-1577.

This inscription was discovered in the Khāri *vāv* at the Ghoghā port. It was published by Col. Watson in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 283, from which the following text is copied.

The inscription states that on Sunday, the 2nd of the bright half of Kārtika in v.s. 1634, in the glorious reign of Padishah Śrī AKBAR, when Raja-śrī Kalyāṇarai was in charge of the port and in the reign of the king Visāji .....the *vāv* of Ghāyanti in the Puti garden was built. The inscription ends with an ass-curse.

The king Visāji mentioned in the record was an ancestor of the Maharaja of Bhavnagar.

## Text

॥ संवत् १६३४ वर्षे कार्तिकशुदि २ रवौ पातशा श्री ५ अकबर विजयराज्ये हवाली राज्यश्री कल्याणराय श्रील्ला राजाचिसाजीआर आखं ? घायंतीती वाव्य पूतीवाही छे त्यांहा हांहु तथा जशल कोमर मझामति थइ तेहनी गधीडगालि ॥



## MANKHETRA

No. 104]

v.s. 1639.

[24-1-1583.

This inscription is found in a well called Khetsarā in the village Mān-khetra, 3 miles to the east of Mangrol. It is engraved on a yellow stone and measures 1' by 11".

The record opens with an invocation to Gaṇeśa. Then it is stated that the digging of a well, etc. is more meritorious than performing a hundred sacrifices. Then a long genealogy of a family belonging to the Prāgvat community is given in which the sons of Parīkṣa (?) Phakā named Parikṣa Rāmji, Devadās, Ravidās, Amidās, Acala and Sāring caused a well to be made on Thursday, the 12th of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1639 or Śaka 1505. In the concluding portion blessings are given to the builders of the well.

## Text

- 1 ॥ ॐ । नमो भगवते श्रीमंगलेश्वराय [ १\* ] श्रीमत् दिव्यलक्ष्मीन्
- 2 सिंहाय नमः [ १\* ] श्रीश्रीमदनगोपालाय ॥ नौमीव्यतेभुवपु
- 3 षे तडिदंबराय गुंजावतंसपरिपिच्छलसन्मुखाय [ १\* ] वन्यसु
- 4 जेकवलवेत्रविषाणवेणुलक्ष्मिधिये मृदुपदे पशुपां [ गजा ]
- 5 य ॥ १ ॥ तीर्थाधिकं यज्ञशताच्च पावनं । जलं सदा केशवद
- 6 ष्टिसंस्थितं । छिनंति पापं तुलसीविमिश्रितं विशेषतश्चक्रशि
- 7 लाविनिर्गतं ॥ २ ॥ श्रीवंशविशुद्धप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठकर सो
- 8 मसुत ठकर धारशी सुत ठकर मंडलिक सुत ठकर काहां
- 9 न भगवती सुत ठकर वरशंगसुत परिक्ष जितमाल सु
- 10 त परिक्ष बूटा सुत परिक्ष गांगा सुत परिक्ष फका सुत परि
- 11 क्ष रामजी देवदास रविदास अमीदास अचल सारिगं
- 12 एभिर्वाप्योद्धारः कृतः ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥ संवत् १६३९
- 13 वर्षे शाके १५०५ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायन ( ण ) गते श्रीसूर्ये शिशिर
- 14 रितौ महामांगल्यप्रदमाघशुदि १२ गुरौ । यावद्वीचीतरंगा वहति सुर
- 15 नदी जाह्नवी पुंण ( पुण्य ) तोया । यावचा ( च्या ) काशमार्गे तपति दिनकरो भास्करो लो
- 16 कपालः यावद्वैज्रैर्दानीलस्फटिकमणिमयं वर्त्तते मेरुशृंगं तावत्त्वं पु
- 17 त्रपौत्रैः स्वजनपरिगतो जीव विष्णोः प्रसादात् ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

## DHROL

No. 105]

v.s. 1647.

[1-8-1591.

This inscription is engraved on one of the *pālās* standing to the north of the temple of Bhūtanātha Mahādeva in the place called 'Bhūchara Mori' at a distance of a mile and a half to the south-west of Dhrol. The inscribed portion measures 2½' in height but only 10" in breadth.

It records the death of a warrior named Bāraḍa Gōlā (?) while fighting

1. Elsewhere the word used in this connection is वैदूर्य.

together with *Ajāji* against *Ājama Khān* on Sunday, the 8th of the dark half of *Śrāvaṇa* in v.s. 1647.

This record refers to the well-known battle that took place at Bhūchar Mori between the armies of Khān Azam, the Gujarat Viceroy of the Emperor of Delhi, and the armies of the Jāmsaheb of Navānagar under Jam Satra-sāla's son Ajoji and his minister Jasā Ladaka. In the fight Ajoji and Jasā were killed with considerable loss to their army.

### Text

- 1 संवत् १६४७
- 2 वरषे सरा
- 3 वण वद ८
- 4 राव बारड
- 5 श्रीगोला:
- 6 नापाणी: गो
- 7 हेडीअ कुं
- 8 अर श्री अज
- 9 सथे मराण
- 10 षान श्री आज
- 11 मषननी टो
- 12 ढमरणा ग
- 13 जधर: मेपा
- 14 पाली अटाक

### ŚATRUÑJAYA

No. 106]

v.s. 1650.

This inscription is engraved in the porch of the east entrance of the Ādiśvara temple on the left hand on the famous Śatruñjaya hill. It was once published by Dr. BÜHLER in the *Epi. Ind.* II, p. 50.

### Text

- 1 ओं कं नमः । श्रेयस्वी प्रथमः प्रभुः प्रथिमभाग् नैपुण्यपुण्यात्मनामस्तु स्वस्तिकरः सुखा-  
ब्धिमकरः श्री[ आदि ]
- 2 देवः स वः पद्मोल्लासकरः करैरिव रविव्योम्नि कर्मांभोरुहन्त्यासैर्यस्तिलकीबभूव भगवान्  
शत्रुजयेनेक
- 3 शः ॥ १ श्रीसिद्धार्थनरेशवंशसरसीजन्माजिनीवल्लभः पायाद्वः परमप्रभावभवनं श्रीवर्द्धमानः  
प्रभुः । उत्पत्तिस्थितिसं
- 4 हतिप्रकृतिवाग् यद् गौजगत्पावनी । स्वर्वापीव महाव्रतिप्रणयभूरासीद् रसोल्लासिनी ॥ २  
आसीद्वासववृन्दवन्दितपदद्वन्द्वः
- 5 [ पदं ] संपदां । तत्पद्मां बुधचिन्दमा गणधरः श्रीमान् सुधम्मार्भिधः । यस्यौदार्ययुता प्रहृष्ट-  
सुमना अद्यापि विद्यावती धत्ते

- 6 संततिरुचति भगवतो वीरप्रभोगौरिव ॥ ३ श्रीसुस्थितः सुप्रतिबुद्ध एतौ सूरौ अभूतां तदनु-  
क्रमेण याभ्यां गणोऽभू
- 7 दिह कोटिकाह्वयमभ्यामिव सुप्रकाशः ॥ ४ तत्राभूद्वणिनां वंद्यः श्रीवज्रार्चिगणाधिपः मूलं  
श्रीवज्रशाखायाः गं
- 8 गाया हिमवानिव ॥ ५ तत्पट्टांबरदिनमणिरुदितः श्रीवज्रसेनगुरुरासीत् । नागेंद्रचंद्रनिवृत्ति ।  
विद्याधर संज्ञकाश्च तच्छिष्याः
- 9 ॥ ६ स्वस्वनामसमानानि । येभ्यश्चत्वारि जज्ञिरे । कुलानि काममेतेषु कुलं चांद्रं तु दिद्युते ॥  
७ भास्करा इव तिमिरं । हरंतः ख्याति
- 10 भाजनं भूरयः सूर्यस्तत्र । जज्ञिरे जगतां मताः ॥ ८ बभूवुः । कमतस्तत्र श्रीजगच्चंद्रसूरयः ।  
यैस्तपोविरुदं लेभे । बाणसिद्धार्क
- 11 १२८५ वत्सरे ॥ ९ क्रमेणास्मिन् गणे हेम । विमलाः सूरयोभवन् । तत्पट्टे सूरयोभूव ।  
नानंदविमलाभिधाः ॥ १० साध्वाचारविधिः प
- 12 यः शिथिलतः सम्यक् श्रियां धाम यैरुद्वेगे स्तनसिद्धिसायकसुधारोचिर्निभि १५८२ नेहसि ।  
जीमूतैरिव यैर्जगत्पुनरिदं तापं
- 13 हरद्विर्भृशं सश्रीकं विदधे गवां शुचितमैः स्तोमैरसोल्लासिभिः ॥ ११ पद्माश्रयैरलमलंकृत्य ते  
स्म तेषां । प्रीणन्मनां
- 14 सि जगतां कमलोदयेन । पट्टः प्रवाह इव निर्जरनिकं (र्क्षं) रिण्याः । शुद्धात्मभिर्विजयदाना  
मुनीशहंसैः ॥ १२ सौभाग्यं हरिसर्वं [ प ]
- 15 वर्द्धणं रूपं च रंभापतिः । श्रीजैत्रं शतपत्रमिन्नमहसां चौरं प्रतापं पुनः । येषां वीक्ष्य सना-  
तनं मधुरिपुस्वः स्वामिधर्माशवो जाताः
- 16 काममपत्रपाभरभृतो गोपत्वमाप्तास्त्रयः ॥ १३ तत्पट्टः प्रकटः प्रकामकलितोद्द्योतस्तथ-  
सौधवत् [ ] । सस्नेहैयतिराज
- 17 हीरविजयस्नेहप्रियैर्निम्ममे । सौभाग्यं महसां भरेण महतामत्यर्थमुल्लासिनां । बिभ्राणः स  
यथाजनिष्ट सदृशां कामप्र
- 18 मोदास्पदं ॥ १४ देशाद् गूर्जरतोथ सूरिवृषभा आकारिताः सादरं । श्रीमत्साहि अकरब्बरेण  
विषयं मेवातसंज्ञं शुभम् । शा
- 19 ...जपाणयोवतमसं सर्वं हरंतो गवां । स्तोमैः सूत्रितविश्वविश्वकमलोल्लासनैर्भोर्का इव ॥ १५  
चक्रुः फतेपुरम
- 20 ...[नं]भौम । एष युग्मकोककुलमाप्तसुखं सृजंतः । अर्द्धेकपावकनृपप्रमिते १६३९  
स्वगोभिः । सोल्ला
- 21 ...बुजकाननं ये ॥ १६ दामेवाखिलभूपमूर्द्धसु निजामाज्ञां सदा ऋरयथ । श्रीमान् शाहि-  
अकब्बरो नरवरो [ देशेष्व ]
- 22 शेषेष्वपि । षण्मासाभयदानपुष्टपट्टहोद्घोषानघध्वंसिनः । कामं कारयति स्म हृष्टहृदयो  
यद्वाक्कलारं ( रं ) जितः ।
- 23 ॥ १७ यपु ( दु ) पदेशवशेन मुदं दधन्निखिलमण्डलवासिजने निजे । मृतधनं च करं च  
सुजीजिअभिधमकब्बरभूपतिरत्यजत्
- 24 ॥ १८ यद्वाचा कतकामया विमलितस्वातांबुपूरः कृपा । पूर्णः शाहिरनिधनीतिवनिताकोडी-  
कृतात्मात्यजत् । शुल्कं त्यक्तु

- 25 [ म ] शक्यमन्यधरणीराजां जनप्रीतये । तद्वानीडजपुंजपूरुषपशंश्चामुचदूरिशः ॥ १९  
यद्वाचां निचयैर्मुधाकृतसुधास्वादै
- 26 [ र ] मंदैः कृता । ल्हादः श्रीमदकब्बरः क्षितिपतिः संतुष्टिपुष्टाशयः । त्यक्त्वा तत्करमर्थ-  
सार्थमतुलं येषां मनःप्रीतये । जैनेभ्य
- 27 : प्रददौ च तीर्थतिलकं शत्रुंजयोर्वीधरं ॥ २० यद्वाग्भिर्मुदितश्चकार कर्णास्फूर्जन्मनाः  
पौस्तकं । भांडागारमपारवाङ्मय
- 28 मयं वेदमेव वाग्दैवतं । यत्संवेगभरेण भावितमतिः शाहिः पुनः प्रत्यहं । पूतात्मा बहु  
मन्यते भगवतां सद्दर्शनो दर्शनम् ॥ २१
- 29 यद्वाचा तरणित्विषेव कलितोल्लासं मनः पंकजं । बिभ्रच्छाहि अकब्बरौ व्यसनधीपाथोजिनो  
चंद्रमाः । जज्ञे धाद्वजनीचितैश्च सुकृतै
- 30 : सर्वेषु देशेष्वपि । ख्यतश्चाहृतभक्तिभावितमतिः श्रीश्रेणिकक्षमापवत् ॥ २२ छुंपाकाधिप-  
मेधजीकृषिमुखा हित्वा कुमत्याग्रह ( हं ) । मेजुर्यच
- 31 रणद्वयीमनुदिनं शृंगा इवांभोजिनीं । उल्लासं गमिता यदीयवचनैर्वैराग्यरंगोन्मुखै । ज्ञाताः  
स्वस्वमतं विहाय बहवो लोकास्तपासंज्ञका
- 32 ॥ २३ आसीच्चैत्यविधापनादिसुकृतक्षेत्रेषु वितव्ययो । भूयान् यद्वचनेन गूर्जरधरामुख्येषु  
देशेष्वलं । यात्रां गूर्जरमालवादिक्कमहादेशो
- 33 द्भवैर्भूरिभिः । संधैः सार्द्धैः सृष्टीश्वरा विदधिरं शत्रुंजये ये गिरौ ॥ २४ तत्पट्टमब्धिमिव  
रम्यतमं सृजंतः । स्तोमैर्गवां सकलसंतमसं हरंतः
- 34 कामोलसत्कुवलयप्रणया जयंति स्फूर्जत्कला विजयसेनमुनींद्रचंद्राः ॥ २५ यत्प्रतापस्य  
माहात्म्यं वर्ण्यते किमतः परं । अस्वप्राश्चकिरे येन जीवंतो
- 35 पि हि वादिनः । २६ सौभाग्यं विषमायुधात्कमलिनीकांताश्च तेजस्विना । मैथुर्यं गिरिजा-  
पतेः कुमुदिनीकांताकलामालिनां । माहात्म्यं ध
- 36 रणीधरान्मखभुजां गांभीर्यमंभोजिधे । रादायांबुजभूः प्रभुः प्रविदधे यन्मूर्तिमेतन्मयी ॥ २७  
ये च श्रीमदकब्बरेण विनयादाकारिताः
- 37 सादरं । श्रीमल्लभपुरं पुरंदरपुरं व्यक्तं सुपर्वोत्करैः । भूयोभिर्भ्रमितिर्बुधैः परिवृतो वेगादलं-  
चकिरे । सामोदं सरसं सरोरुहवनं लीलामराला
- 38 इव । २८ अर्हंतं परमेश्वरत्वकलितं संस्थाप्य विश्वोत्तमं । साक्षात्साहिअकब्बरस्य सदसि  
स्तोमैर्गवामुद्यतैः । यैः संमोलिव ( त ) लोचना विदधिरं
- 39 इ(प्र)त्यक्षशूरैः श्रिया वादोन्मादभृतो द्विजाःप्रतिपथो भट्टा निशाटा इव ॥ २९ श्रीमत्साहि-  
अकब्बरस्य सदसि प्रोत्सर्पिभिर्भूरिभिर्वादैर्वादि
- 40 वरान् विजित्य समदान्सिंहैर्द्विपैर्द्रानिव । सर्वज्ञाशयतुष्टिहेतुरनघो दिव्युत्तरस्यां स्फुरन् । यैः  
कैलास इवोज्ज्वलो निजयशः स्तंभो
- 41 निचखने महान् ॥ ३० दत्तसाहसधीरहीरविजयश्रीसूरिराजां पुरा । यच्छ्रीशाहिअकब्बरेण  
धरणीशक्रेण तत्प्रीतये । तच्चक्रेखिलमप्यवालम
- 42 तिना यात्साज्जगत्साक्षिकं तत्पत्रं फुरमाणसंज्ञमनघ ( धं ) सर्वा दिशो व्यानशे ॥ ३१ किं  
च गोवृषभकासरकांता । कासरा यमगृहं न हि नेयाः । मोच्य
- 43 मेव मृतवित्तमशेषं बंदिनोपि हि न च ग्रहणीयाः ॥ ३२ यत्कलासलिलबाह्विन्नासप्रीत-  
चित्तराणाजनतुष्टयै । स्वीकृतं स्वयमकब्बरपानीस्वामि-

- 44 ना सकलमेतदपीह ॥ ३३ चोलीवेगमनंदनेन वसुधाधीशेन सन्मानिता । गुर्वी गूर्जर-  
मेदिनीमनुदिनं स्वर्लोकविज्योकिनीं ।
- 45 सद्वृत्ता महत्तां भरणे सुभगा गाढे गुणोद्भासिनो । ये हारा इव कंठमंबुजदशां कुर्वति  
शोभास्पदं ॥ ३४ इतश्च । आभूरान्वय[ प ]
- 46 द्यपद्मसवया लकेशवंशेभव । च्छे ( च्छ ) ष्ठी श्रीशिवराज इत्यभिधया सौवर्णिकः पुष्पधीः ।  
तत्पुत्रोजनि सीधरश्च तनयस्तस्याभवत्पर्वतः ।
- 47 कालाह्वोजनि तत्सुतश्च तनुजस्तस्यापि बांधाभिधः ॥ ३५ तस्याभूद्वृद्धिआभिधश्च तनुजः  
ख्यातो रजाईभव । तस्याभूव सुहासिणो[ ति ]
- 48 गृहिणी पद्मे पद्मापतेः । इंद्राणीमुरराजथोरिव जयः पुत्रस्तयोश्चभव । तेजःपाल इति  
प्रहृष्टमुमनाः पित्रोर्मनःप्रीतिकृत् ॥ ३६ [ का ]
- 49 मस्येव रतिर्हरेरिव रमा गौरीव गौरीपते । रासीतेजलदे इति प्रियतमा तस्याकृतिः... ।  
भोगश्रीसुभगो गुरौ प्रणयिनौ शश्वत्सुपर्वादरौ । पालो
- 50 मीत्रिदशेश्वराविव सुखं तौ दंपती भेजतुः ॥ ३७ वैराग्यवारिनिधिपूर्णनिशाकराणां ।  
तेषां च हीरविजयव्रतिसिंधुराणां । सौभाग्य [ भा ]
- 51 ग्यपरभागविभासुराणां । तेषां पुनर्विजयसेनमुनीध्वराणां ॥ ३८ वाग्भिर्मुधाकृतसुधाभिरुद-  
न्विचेताः । श्राद्धः स शोभनमना भज
- 52 ति स्म भावं श्रीसंघभक्तिघनदानजिनंद्रवैत्योद्धारादिकर्मसु भृशं सुकृतिप्रियेषु ॥ ३९  
विशेषकं । ग्रहैः प्रशस्तेहि सुपार्श्वभर्तुं
- 53 रनंतभर्तुश्च शुभां प्रतिष्ठां । सोऽचीकरत्पद्मयुगभूप १६४६ वर्षे । हर्षेण सौवर्णिकतेजपालः ।  
४० आदावार्षभिरत्र तीर्थतिलके शत्रुंज
- 54 येऽचीकर सैत्यं ( चीकरंश्चैत्यं ) शैत्यकरं दशोर्मणिगणस्वर्णादिभिर्भासुरं । अत्रान्येपि भुजा-  
जितां फलवतीमुचैः स्रजंतः श्रियं [ प्रा ]
- 55 साद ( सादं ) तदनुक्रमेण बहवश्चाकारयन् भूभुजः ॥ ४१ तीर्थेन साधुकरमाभिधो धनी  
सिद्धिसिद्धि तिथि १५८८ संख्ये । चैत्यमची
- 56 करदुक्तेरानंदविमलमुनिराज्ञां ॥ ४२ तं वीक्ष्य जीर्ण भगवद्विहारं । स तेजपालः स्वहृदीति  
दधौ । भावी कदा सोऽवस
- 57 रो वरीयान् । यत्राऽत्र चैत्यं भविता नवीनं ॥ ४४ अन्येद्युः स्वगुरूपदेशशरदा कामं  
वलक्षीकृत । स्वांतांभाः स वणिग्वरः पु
- 58 रवरे श्रीस्तंभतीर्थे वसन् । तीर्थे श्रीमति तुंगतीर्थतिलके शत्रुंजयेद्दृष्टो । द्वारं कर्तुमना  
अजायततमां साफल्यमिच्छन् श्रियः ॥ ४५
- 59 अत्र स्यात् सुकृतं कृतं तनुमतां श्रेयः श्रियां कारणं मत्वायं ? निजपूर्वजव्रजमहानंदप्रमो-  
दास्ये । तीर्थे श्रीविमलाचलेतिविमले
- 60 मौलेर्हतो मंदिरे । जीर्णोद्धारमकारयत्स सुकृती कुंतीतनूजन्मवत् । ४६ शृंगेण भिन्नगगनां-  
गणमेतदुचै । श्वैतं चकास्ति शि
- 61 खरस्थितहेमकुंभं । हस्तेषु ५२ हस्तमितमुच्चमुपैति नाक । लक्ष्मीं विजेतुमिव काममखर्व-  
गर्वा । ४७ यत्रार्हदोकसि जितारकुम्
- 62 भिकुंभाः । कुंभा विभाति शरवेदकरेंदु १२४५ संख्याः । किं सेवितुं प्रभुमयुः प्रचुरप्रताप ।  
पूरैर्जिता दिनकराः कृतनैकरूपाः । ४८

- 63 उन्मूलितप्रमदभूमिरुहानशेषान् । विश्वेषु विघ्नकरिणो युगपन्निहंतुं । सज्जाः स्म इत्यमभि-  
धातुमिवेदुनेत्राः २१ सिंहा विभांत्युप
- 64 गता जिनधाम्नि यत्र । ४९ योगिन्यो यत्र शोभन्ते चतस्रो जिनवेदमनि । निषेवितुमिवाकांताः  
प्रतापैरागता दिशः । ५० राजन्ते च दि
- 65 शां पाला...यत्राऽर्द्धदालये । मूर्तिमंतः किमायाता धर्मास्संयमिनाममी । ५१ द्वासप्ततिः  
श्रियमयंति जिनेन्द्रचंद्र । विवानि देवकुलि
- 66 कासु च तावतीषु । द्वासप्ततेः श्रितजनालिकललतानां । किं कुट्टमलापरिमलैर्भुवनं भरंतः ।  
५२ राजन्ते यत्र चत्वारो गवाक्षा जिनवे
- 67 श्मनि । विरंचेरिव वक्त्राणि विश्वाकारणहेतवे ॥ ५३ यत्र चैत्ये विराजन्ते । चत्वारश्च  
तपोधनाः । अमी धर्माः किमाया
- 68 ताः । भूपास्त्यै वपुर्भृतः । ५४ पंचालिकाः श्रियमयंति जिनेन्द्रधाम्नि । द्वात्रिंशदिन्द्रमणी-  
भरजैत्ररूपाः । ज्ञात्वा पतीनि
- 69 ह जिने किमु लक्षणश्मा । राज्ञां प्रिया निजनिजेशनिभालनोक्ताः ॥ ५५ ॥ द्वात्रिंशदुत्त-  
मतमानि च तोरणानि ॥ राजन्ति य
- 70 त्र जिनधाम्नि मनोहराणि । किं तीर्थकृद्दरानलक्षिमृगेषणाना । मंदोलनानि सरलानि  
सुखासनानि ॥ ५६ ॥ गजाश्चतु-
- 71 विंशतिरद्वितुंगा विभांति शस्ता जिनधाम्नि यत्र । देवाश्चतुर्विंशतिरीशभक्त्यै । किमागताः  
कुञ्जररूपभाजः ॥ ५७ ॥ स्तं
- 72 भाश्चतुस्सप्ततिरद्विराजोत्तुंगा विभांतीह जिनेन्द्रचैत्ये । दिशामधीशैः सह सर्वे इन्द्रा ×  
किमासभक्त्यै समुपेयिवांस ॥ छ
- 73 ॥ ५८ ॥ रम्यं नंदपयोधिभूपति १६४९ मिते वर्षे सुखोत्कर्षकृत् । साहाय्याद् जसुठ-  
कुरस्य सुकृतारामैकपाथोमुचः ॥ प्रासा
- 74 दं बलिआसुतेन सुधिया शत्रुंजये कारितं । दृष्ट्वाष्टापदतीर्थचैत्यतुलितं केषां न चित्ते  
रतिः ॥ ५९ ॥ चैत्यं चतुर्णामिव धर्म
- 75 मेदिनी । भुजां गहं प्रोणितविश्वविष्टपम् ॥ शत्रुंजयो बिभ्रति नंदिवर्द्धनाभिधं सदा यच्छतु  
वांछितानि वः ॥ ६० ॥
- 76 यः प्रभाभरविनिर्मितमनेत्रशैत्ये । चैत्येत्र भूरिभवद् विभवव्ययो यः । ज्ञात्वा वदन्ति  
मनुजा इति तेजपालं । क
- 77 त्पद्भुमत्ययमनेन धनव्ययेन ॥ ६१ ॥ शत्रुंजये गगनबाणकला १६५० मितेऽब्दे । यात्रां  
चकार सुकृताय स तेजपा—
- 78 लः ॥ चैत्यस्य तस्य सुदिने गुरुभिः प्रतिष्ठां चक्रे च हीरविजयाभिधसूरिसिंहैः ॥ ६२ ॥  
मार्त्तण्डमंडलमिवांबुह्रं
- 79 समूहः । पीयूषपरिमिव नीरनिधेः प्रवाहः । केकिव्रजः सलिलबाहमिवातितुंगं । चैत्यं  
निरीक्ष्य सुदमेति जनः
- 80 समस्तः ॥ ६३ ॥ छ चैत्यं चारु चतुर्मुखं कृतसुखं श्रीरामजीकारितं । प्रोत्तुंगं जसुठकुरेण  
विहितं चैत्यं द्वितीयं शुभं । रम्यं कूञ्ज
- 81 रजीविनिर्मितमभूच्चैत्यं तृतीयं पुन । मूलश्रेष्ठिकृतं निकामसुभगं चैत्यं चतुर्थं तथा  
॥ ६४ ॥ एभिर्विश्वविसारिभिर्युतिभैरै—

- 82 त्वर्थसंस्त्रितोद् । योतो दिक्ष्वखिलासु निज्ज्ञरपतिः स्वलोकपालैरिव । श्रीशत्रुंजयशैल-  
मौलिमुकुटं चैत्यैश्चतुर्भिर्यु
- 83 तः प्रासादोभिन्नोविनोदकमलाचैत्यं चिरं नन्दतु ॥ ६५ ॥ वस्ताभिधस्य वरसूत्रधरस्य  
शिल्पं ॥ चैत्यं चिरादिदमुदीस्य
- 84 निरीक्षणीयं । शिष्यत्वमिच्छति । कलाकलितोपि विश्वकर्मास्य शिल्पिपटले भवितुं  
प्रसिद्धः ॥ ६६ ॥ सदाचाराब्धीनां कमलविज
- 85 याह्वानसुधियां । पदद्वंद्वोभोजभ्रमरसदृशो हेमविजयः । अलंकारैराढ्यां स्त्रियमिव शुभां  
यां विहितवान् । प्रशस्तिः शस्तै
- 86 षा जगति चिरकालं विजयतां ॥ ६७ ॥ इति सौवर्णिकसाहस्रीतेजःपालोद्धृतविमलाचल  
पट्टनश्रीआदीशमूलप्रासादप्रशस्तिः श्रेय
- 87 बुधसहजसागराणां । विन्नेयजयसागरोऽलिखद्वर्णैः । शिल्पिभ्यामुत्कीर्णा । माधवनांनाभि-  
धानाभ्यां ॥ ६८ ॥

(To be continued.)

# NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA : THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION\*

By

V. M. APTE, Poona.

ĀG. II. 4. 13 :—

...*Vapāmutkhidya juhuyād*: (a) “*Vaha vapāṃ Jātavedaḥ pitṛbhyo*, (b) *yatraitān, vettha nihitān parāke* | (c) *medasaḥ kulyā upinānt sravantu*, (d) *satyā etā āśiṣaḥ santu sarvāḥ svāhā*” *iti* |

*Trans.*... Scooping out the omentum, he should sacrifice it (with the mantra) : (a) “Bear the omentum, O Jātavedas, to the Fathers, where thou knowest them to be settled, afar. May streams of fat flow unto them ; may all these wishes be fulfilled ; svāhā !”

*Context* : In the Aṣṭakā ceremony (Sūtra 13th), an animal is killed according to the ritual of the animal sacrifice, omitting, however, the sprinkling and touching of the animal and then follows the scooping out of the omentum.

*Sources* : As Prof. STENZLER (p. 73) points out, the verse is found in VS. 35. 20. The variations are :—In clause (b), ‘enān’ for our ‘etān’ ; in (c), upa tāt for our ‘upainān’. The last pāda is different “*satyā eṣām āśiṣaḥ sannamantām*”. [May their wishes, turn out (true) !]. This version of the last pāda is better as more in keeping with the spirit of the whole verse which is concerned more with the needs and wishes of the Pitṛs, than with those of the sacrificer to which our pāda (d) refers.

The mantra occurs with variations in the following Sūtra-texts also ŚG. III. 13.3 ; PG. 3.3.9 ; SMB. 2.3.18 ; ĀPMB. 2.20.28 ; Kauś. 45.14 and HG. 2.15.7.

ĀG. II. 4. 14 : *Athāvadānānām sthālīpākasya ca ‘agne naya supathā rāye asmān’ iti dve* |

I (a) “*Griṣmo hemanṭa ṛtavaḥ śivā no* (b) *varṣāḥ śivā abhayā śaraṇaḥ* (c) *Saṃvatsaro dhipatiḥ prāṇado no*, (d) *ahorātre kṛṇutām dīrghamāyuhḥ svāhā* |

II (a) *Sāntā pṛthivī śivamantarikṣaṇi*, (b) *dyaus no devyabhayaṃ no astu* | (c) *śivā diśaḥ pradīśa uddīśo na* (d) *āpo vidyutaḥ paripāntu sarvataḥ svāhā* |

III (a) *Āpo marīciḥ pravahantu no dhiyo*, (b) *dhātā samudro’ vahantu pāpam* | (c) *bhūtaṃ bhaviṣyad abhayaṃ viśvam astu me*, (d) *brahmādhiguptaḥ svārākṣaraṇi svāhā* |

IV (a) *Viśva ādityā vasavaśca devā*, (b) *rudrā goptāro marutaḥ*



*sadantu* | (c) *ūrjam prajām amṛtam pinvamānaḥ* (d) *prajāpatiḥ mayi para-meṣṭhī dadhātu svāhā* ..... | 14 |

*Trans* : Then (are offered oblations) of 'avadāna's (cut-off portions) and the Sthālīpāka (as follows :—) two oblations with the two RV. verses beginning with) "Agni lead us" etc. (i.e. RV. I. 189. 1 and 2); (four oblations with the following four mantras): I (a): May summer, winter, the seasons be propitious to us, (b) propitious the rains; safe the autumn! (c) May the year be our life-giving master; (d) may days and nights make our life long, Svāhā!

II. (a) Tranquil be the earth; propitious the sky. (b) May goddess Heaven be our (assurance of) safety. (c) Propitious be the quarters, the intermediate quarters and the upper quarters to us; (d) may the waters, the lightnings protect us from all sides, Svāhā!

III. (a): May the waters, the rays bear our prayers! (b) May the Creator, the ocean, strike down evil! (c) May the past, the future, may all be safe to me; (d) protected by Brahman, may I pour forth the 'Svāras' (i.e. songs in general)!

IV. (a) May all the Ādityas, Vasus and Gods,<sup>1</sup> (b) the Rudras, the protectors, the Maruts sit down here! (c) Augmenting (pinvamānaḥ) vigour, progeny and immortality, (d) may Prajāpati, the highest-placed, confer (these) on me! Svāhā!

*Sources of I* : The nearest approach in words and sense is in TS. 5.7.2.4 (a) "Grīṣmo hemanta uta no vasantaḥ. (b) Śarad varṣāḥ suvitarṁ no astu | eṭeṣāṁ ṛtūnāṁ śataśārādānāṁ (d) nivāta eṣāṁ abhaye syāma || This mantra accompanies the depositing of the 'ĀJYĀNĪ' bricks in the structure of the fire-altar. The general sense—a prayer to the seasons—is the same. That this verse is the influence on our citation is shown by the following circumstances : PG. 3.2.2 quotes a mantra the first two pādas of which are identical with the first two of our mantra and the last two of which are identical with the last two of the TS. mantra! The mantra is quoted in PG. in the Pratyavarohaṇa context and in the same context ŚG. IV. 18.1 quotes a mantra very similar to the TS. mantra quoted above!

*Sources of II*. This verse stands as the 11th in the long passage given by STENZLER in his Kristische Anmerkungen (p. 46-7) as found in some MSS at the end of Kaṇḍikā I. 2. The nearest approach in words and sense is AV. XIX. 9. 1 : (a) Śāntā dyauḥ, śāntā pṛthivī, (b) Śāntam idam urvan-tariṣam | (c) Śāntā udanvatūrāpaḥ, (d) Śāntā naḥ santvoṣadhīḥ ||—which is a prayer for appeasement and welfare to various deities. PG. 3. 3. 6 and MG. 2.8.6 also cite similar verses.

*Sources of III*. This is not traced to any early text; among sūtra-texts Prof. OLDENBERG compares PG. III. 3.6. In MG. 2.8.6 is cited a similar mantra and curiously enough the agreement between the PG. and MG. versions is very close e.g. PG. III. 3. 6 = (a) Āpo marīciḥ paripāntu sarvataḥ

1. 'Devāḥ' is not an adjective (= divine) as Prof. OLDENBERG takes it.

(MG. 'viśvataḥ'). (b) Dhātā samudra apahantu pāpam | (MG. 'abhayaṁ kṛṇotu'). (c) Bhūtāṁ bhaviṣyadakṛtadviśvam astu me (MG. has 'uta bhadram astu me') (d) Brahmābhiguptaḥ surakṣitaḥ syām || [MG. reads this pāda as 'brahmābhigūrtam (approved of by Brahman) svarā kṣāṇaḥ'].

*Svāra* is the name of a *sāman* ending in a svarita (circumflex), having no special *nidhāna* or finale. The chanting of a *svāra sāman* is prescribed to expiate for any excess committed, previously, in chanting. Though the word is used in the general sense of 'songs' in our mantra, there may be a hint of this expiatory character, as there is a reference to 'pāpam' in the second pāda.

*Sources of IV.* This is traced only to Sūtra texts. MG. 2.8.6 and PG. III. 3.6 have both a mantra almost identical with ours, with the following variations :—Both have 'sarve' instead of our 'devāḥ' in (a) ; have 'marutaśca santu' for our 'marutaḥ sadantu' in (b) ; and have 'dīrgham āyuh' instead of our 'pinvamānaḥ' (which is rather awkward) in (c). *The striking agreement of PG. and MG. perhaps indicates a more faithful version of the original whatever it was.*

ĀG. II. 6. 1-4 : *Rathamāroksyannānā pāṇibhyāṁ cakre abhi-mṛśed* : (a) 'Ahaṁ te pūrvapādāvārabhe,' (b) 'bṛhadrathantare te cakre' | 1 | (c) "Vāmadevyam akṣaḥ" ityakṣādhiṣṭhāne | 2 | dakṣiṇa-pūrvābhyāṁ ārohed, (d) *Vāyoṣṭvā vīryeṇārohāmūdrasyaujasādhipatyeneti* | 3 | *raśmīntsamṛśed araśmīkānvā daṇḍena*, (e) "brahmaṇo vastejasā saṁgrhṇāmi satyena vaḥ saṁgrhṇāmi" iti | 4 |

*Trans.* (1) When about to mount a chariot, one should touch the two wheels separately (but simultaneously) with his two hands (repeating the formula) (a) "I touch thy two fore-feet ; (b) the 'Bṛhat' and 'Rathantara' are thy two wheels ; (2) (one should touch) the two (naves) which hold the axle with the formula "The 'Vāmadevya' is thy axle". (3) One should mount (the chariot) with the right foot first (with the formula) "With the power of Vāyu, I mount thee, with Indra's vigour and mastery, (I mount thee)." (4) One should reach the reins or the horses (themselves) with a staff if they have no reins, with the formula "With the lustre of Brahman I seize you ; with Truth I seize you".

*Sources :* For formulas (b) to (e), may be compared LŚ. 2.8.2 and 6-8. If the yajamāna makes a gift of a horse-chariot to the Udgātṛ (the LŚ. belongs to the Sāmaveda) he accepts the gift in the following manner :—2.8.2 = He accepts the leather-work of the chariot (by touching it) with the mantra "Vāyoṣṭvā." 2.8.6-8 = he touches the right wheel of the chariot with the words 'Rathantaramasi', the adhiṣṭhāna (which is the same as our "akṣādhiṣṭhāna or axle-rest in sūtra 2) with the words "Vāmadevyamasi" and the left wheel with the words "Bṛhad asi". PB. (another Sāma-veda Brāhmaṇa) in 1.7.3-4 employs the same formulas in the same context as in LŚ. above ; it quotes in full however the mantra of which only the pratika is quoted in LŚ. 2.8.2 as follows :—"Vāyoṣṭvā tejasā pratigrhṇāmi, nakṣatrāṇāṁ tvā rūpeṇa pratigrhṇāmi sūryasya tvā varcasā pratigrhṇāmi |" This

mantra though different is highly suggestive of and parallel in purport to our mantras (d) and (e) which really constitute one mantra (in substance), expanded into two, by the two verbs 'ārohāmi' and 'saṁgrhṇāmi" to suit two different acts.

For (a) may be compared AB. VIII. 17.2 'Bṛhacca te Rathantaram ca, pūrvau pādaū bhavatām' (Let the Bṛhat and Rathantara be thy fore-feet). This is addressed to the Āsandī (or throne) which is set before a king in the Rājasūya sacrifice. *Our text appears to have taken over this formula as it is in AB., without making the necessary change viz. the dropping of 'pūrvau' (before pādaū) which as applied to a chariot with two wheels is meaningless, though significant in the original (AB. passage) where it is addressed to the Āsandī which has four feet!* AB. V. 30.1-4 develops the idea of 'Bṛhat' and 'Rathantara' being wheels by identifying the day with Bṛhat and the night with 'Rathantara' after declaring "Ete vai saṁvatsarasya cakre, yad ahorātre". (The night and day are the two wheels of the year).

ĀG. II. 8. 16 : *Athainām ucchrīyamāṇām anu mantrayeta* : I. (a) "ihaiva tiṣṭha nimitā, (b) tilvilāstāmīrāvatīm | (c) madhye poṣasva tiṣṭhantīm (d) ā tvā prapannaghāyavaḥ || II. (a) Ā tvā kumārastarūṇa, (b) ā vasto jāyatām saha | (c) ā tvā pariśrītaḥ kumbha (d) ā dadhnaḥ kalaśairayam iti".

*Trans.* Over this (middle post) while it is being erected, he should recite the mantras, 'ihaiva' etc. (Both the mantras are translated below.)

*Context* : The Kaṇḍikā deals with house-building.

*The text and interpretation of I.* The verse has puzzled both Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG. The former ignores the accusative ending 'm' of 'tilvilāstāmīrāvatīm' which, in his opinion, must be erased; Prof. OLDENBERG separates the pāda as 'tilvilā+stāmīrāvatīm' and then says (p. 213) that the correction and translation of the latter word is quite uncertain. I think, however, that the verse admits of a simple and natural explanation as it stands, except that 'Poṣasva' must be corrected into 'Poṣasya' in (c) and 'ā tvā' into 'mā tvā' in (d), as Prof. STENZLER following ŚG. III. 3. 1, proposes. I may add in support of these two corrections that ĀPMB. 2.15.3 reads 'Mā tvā' like ŚG. My construction is as follows : The first pāda constitutes a complete sentence ending with 'nimitā'. "Stand just here, set up ('Nimitā': cf. RV. V. 62. 7<sup>c</sup> quoted below) as you are". *The remaining three pādas make up one sentence.* The second pāda is to be separated as 'tilvilāstām + irāvatīm' two accusatives going with 'tvā' in the fourth pāda along with the accusative 'tiṣṭhantīm' in the third pāda. The translation is : 'May the sinful not find thee, standing in the midst of plenty (poṣasya madhye), full of welfare (irāvatīm) and fixed (astām) into holy ground (tilvila+astā) as thou art. For this sense of 'tilvila' and 'nimitā' compare RV. V. 62.7<sup>c</sup> : "Bhadre kṣetre nimitā tilvile vā" = 'set down in an auspicious field or holy ground (tilvila)' describing the 'sthūṇā' mentioned in RV. V. 62. 7<sup>a</sup>, as in our text,—a striking parallel!

*Sources of I.* Among sūtra-texts ŚG. III. 3. 1 has a parallel verse (as shown by Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG), as also ĀPMB. 2. 15. 3 and MG. 2.11.2. The readings in these parallel passages were helpful, as seen above, in correcting the slightly corrupt readings in (c) and (d). *I think that the passage AV. III. 12. 2. 6 and 7 has influenced the citations in this and the following Kaṇḍikā* e.g. AV. III. 12. 6 and 7 correspond to the 2nd verse quoted in this sūtra (II. 8.16) and the verse quoted in II. 9.2 respectively. Therefore it is quite probable, that AV. III. 12.2 which begins 'ihaiva dhruvā pratīṣṭha Śāle' may have given a hint regarding our 1st. verse as AV. III. 12 deals with 'house-building'.

*The text and interpretation of II :—*This verse also is supposed to be far more corrupt than it really is, by Professors STENZLER and OLDENBERG who both propose emendations. The necessity for their emendations may be examined in the light of the parallel verses that we have in AV. III. 12. 7 ; ŚG. III.2.9 and PG.3.4.4 (as pointed out by the two scholars) and also in HG. 1.27.4 ; MG. 2.11.12 and ĀPMB. 2.15.4.

The only correction necessary in my opinion is that of 'parīśritaḥ' in (c), into 'parisrutaḥ' as proposed also by the two scholars in the light of the AV. ŚG. and PG. readings, because the corruption of the latter word into the former is very likely and because the meaning 'the cup of parisrut', suits the verse better and because ĀPMB. 2.15.4 and MG. 2.11.12 have also the same reading. But Prof. OLDENBERG's view that 'jāyatām saha' in (b) is a corruption and that too of 'jagadaiḥ saha' in PG. III.4.4 (see his note on pp. 93-94) is far-fetched and quite unnecessary ! 'Jāyatām' is too far removed from 'jagadaiḥ' to be a corruption of the latter and is moreover the reading in AV. 3. 12. 7<sup>b</sup>. Besides, the verse yields very good sense as it is, with only one emendation 'parīśrutaḥ' as noted above. I now give my translation :—  
 "May the young boy (Kumāras taruṇaḥ), may the calf (vatsaḥ) be together (saha) born to thee [ (tvā ājāyatām) i.e. be destined for thee, destined to live near thee. For such use of 'jana' (Jāyate, to be born) with the accusative, compare our mantra in I. 5. 4 'yadiyaṁ kumārī abhijātā' = that to which this girl is born]. May the jar of 'Parisrut' (lit. flowing or foaming over = a kind of intoxicating liquor prepared from herbs) come to thee (the verb from the next pāda being supplied after 'ā tvā') ; may it come with mugs of curds."

*Sources :* The Sūtra-texts having parallel passages have already been mentioned but the earliest version of the mantra is AV. III.12.7 (Prof. STENZLER compares the whole hymn AV. III. 12), which reads (a) "Emām kumārastaruṇa, (b) ā vatso jāyatām saha | (c) emām parisrutaḥ kumbha (d) ādahnāḥ kalaśair aguḥ" |. The meaning of the word 'Vatsa' and the general sense of our mantra is made clear by AV. III.12.13cd : ā tvā vatso gamed ā kumāraḥ, ā dhenavaḥ sāyam āsyandamānāḥ | (May the calf, the young boy, may the cows—come to thee in the evening) as addressed to a 'Śālā' or a house newly-built.

AG. II. 8. 2 : (a) “*Ṛtena sthūṇām adhiroha Varṇśa*, (b) *drāghiya āyuhḥ prataran dadhānaḥ*” *iti* |

*Trans.* “(a) By Ṛta (Law) mount over the post, O staff ; (b) conferring longer life on us, hereafter”.

*Context.* This mantra is addressed to the ‘bamboo-staff’ while it is being mounted (on to the middle post) in the course of the ‘House-building’ ceremony.

*Sources of (b) :* The part or pāda (b) is a well-known verse-pāda of the RV. often repeated in the Ṛgveda e.g. in I. 53. 11<sup>d</sup> ; X. 18. 2<sup>b</sup>, 3<sup>d</sup> ; X. 115. 8<sup>d</sup>, being of the nature of a general prayer for long life. It also occurs in AV. 12. 2. 30<sup>b</sup>. Our text in taking over this pāda has changed the RV. ‘dadhānāḥ’ plural, Ātmanepada (= choosing for ourselves) into ‘dadhānaḥ’ (conferring) singular Parasmaipada as it qualifies ‘Varṇśa’.

*Sources of (a) :* This pāda is found in AV. III. 12. 6<sup>a</sup> [III. 12 being the hymn on house-building referred to above] in close proximity to the mantra (III.12.7) parallel to the one cited in our II.8.16. *So our text has taken over the first pāda from this AV. verse and joined it on to another pāda in the RV. to make up a new mantra ! This is quite in keeping with the general practice of Sūtra-texts which, when not citing a mantra from their particular Vedic Saṁhitā, took the liberty of adapting, altering or joining verse-parts or pādas from one or many sources to make up a mantra suitable to a particular context !* Clause (a) is also found in HG. 1 27. 7<sup>a</sup>, ĀPMB. 2. 15. 5<sup>e</sup> and MG. 2. 11. 14<sup>a</sup>, with the change ‘Sthūṇau’ for ‘Sthūṇām’ the verse being addressed to ‘a staff mounted on two pillars.’

AG. II. 9. 3-4 :—*Sadūrvāsu catasṛṣu śilāsu maṇikam pratiṣṭhāpayet* : I. “*Ṁṛthivyā adhi sambhava*” *iti* | 3 |

II. (a) “*Araṅgaro vāvadīti*, (b) *tredhā baddho varatrayā* | (c) *irām u ha praśamsati* (d) *anirām apabādhatām*” *iti vā* | 4 |

*Trans.* He should instal a water-barrel on four stones overspread with Dūrvā (grass) with the mantra : I “Arise with [this is the force of the preposition ‘sam’ in ‘Sambhava’] (and) on the earth” ; or with the mantra II (a) : “The araṅgara chatters on, (b) thrice bound with the straps ; (c) it, verily praises prosperity ; (d) may it drive away adversity.”

*Context :* After the main structure of the house has been erected, a water-barrel is given a place in the house.

*Sources of I.* TS. V. 6. 1. 4 has ‘Ṁṛthivyā Sambhava’ (be united with the earth), the reading of MS. 2.13.1 being ‘Ṁṛthivyāḥ sambhava’. The context is very suggestive. In the piling up of the fire-altar, a *caru* (of wild rice with milk) is deposited in the midst of the ‘Kumbha’ bricks with this formula. Now TS. 4. 1. 1. 1<sup>d</sup> reads “*Ṁṛthivyā adhi ābharat*” a formula accompanying the picking of the spade in the ceremony of placing the fire in the fire-pan. Our formula is evidently made up of parts (in italics above) of these two TS. formulas.

*Sources of II.* Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG compare AV. XX. 135. 13. The variations are ‘irām aha’ instead of our ‘irām u ha’ in (c) and

'apasedhati' for our 'apasedhatām' in (d). I think however that the influence here is ŚŚ. XII. 16. 1. 3, where the verse occurs with only one variation 'apasedhati' in (d), as in the AV., because ŚŚ. *has influenced many chapters in our text* (compare our I. 24. and IV. 8).

*The meaning of Aramgara* : Prof. OLDENBERG (p. 214) says that the meaning is unknown to him but that it seems to be a musical instrument. Prof. STENZLER translates it as 'schnell-schlinger.' The dictionary (MONIER WILLIAMS) meaning is "One who bestows praise or hymns the gods." V. S. APTE's dictionary gives the meaning "praising readily (aram)". *I think that the key to the meaning of this word is to be found in RV. IV. 58. 3c* : "tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti". [=The bull (i.e. the fire-god) bound thrice, crackles loudly]. A ghyā fire was always near at hand in all domestic rites, and then the term is figuratively transferred to the *Maṇika* or the metallic water-barrel (bound with straps) from which must be proceeding curious sounds, as it was being installed on the four stones. These sounds are looked upon as auspicious invocations.

ĀG. II. 9. 5 : *Athāsminnapa āsecayet* (a) "Aitu rājā Varuṇo revatībhīr  
(b) *asmintsthāne tiṣṭhatu modamānaḥ* | (c) *irām vahan̄to gṛ̥tām ukṣmāṇā,*  
(d) *Mitreṇa sākam saha sam-viśantu*" *iti*

*Trans* : He should then pour water into it with the mantra (a) "May King Varuṇa come here with the plentiful (waters) ; (b) may he abide rejoicing, at this place ; (c) bringing prosperity and dripping with ghee (d) may they rest here with Mitra.

*Sources* : (a) and (b). The first two pādas are found without variation in KS. 25. 5. 28 which is an expiatory verse recited when the *Praṇītā waters are spilt* :—a context suggestive of our context.

*Clause* : (c) is = ĀŚ. 2. 15. 17<sup>c</sup> which occurs in the 'Gṛ̥ha-prapadana'—section which is presupposed in our text II. 10. 1. It also occurs in ĀPŚ. 6. 27. 3 in the same context as in ĀŚ. Among sūtra-texts, MG. 2. 11. 17 has all the first three pādas with unimportant variations. The last pāda then is the only improvisation of our text.

ĀG. II. 10. 6. : *Āyatir, I* : "Yāsām udhaścalurbilam madhoḥ pūrṇam-ghṛ̥tasaya ca | tā naḥ santu payasvatir bahvīr goṣṭhe gṛ̥tācyah | II. Upamaitu mayobhuva ūrjam caujaśca bibhratīḥ | duhānā akṣitam payo mayi goṣṭhe nivīśadhvam yathā bhavāmyuttamāḥ |

*Trans* : When they (i.e. the cows) are coming back (from the pasture-lands, after grazing), he recites over them the mantra : I "May they whose udders, each with its four holes, are full of honey and ghee, abound in milk for us, many (i.e. multiplying) in our stable, dripping with ghee. II Come hither to me, giving refreshment and bearing power and vitality. Yielding inexhaustible milk, rest with me, in (my) stable, that I may become the highest one.

*Sources* : These two verses constitute a khila of two stanzas found neither in AUFRECHT nor MÜLLER but given in the khila collection of the Kashmir manuscript of the RV. as reported by Prof. MACDONELL in his note

to the translation of the Bṛhaddevatā (verse) VIII. 83 (p. 316. HOS. vol. 6.) :—"Between 'yenedam' (i.e. a khila preceding RV. X. 167, mentioned by him on p. 312) and this (i.e. the Nejaṃeṣa khila), the Kashmir collection has one of two stanzas beginning 'yāsām ūdhaś caturbilam' and coming before RV. X. 170".

ĀPŚ. 7. 17. 1 has a mantra the first three pādas of which are identical with the first three of (I), the fourth being 'asmin goṣṭhe vayovṛdhaḥ'. The mantra is employed at the Nirūḍhapaśu-bandha (an animal-sacrifice) after the killing of the animal.

The text of the Ṛg-veda khila (reported by MACDONELL), has been printed on p. 129 of 'Die Apokryphen des Ṛg-veda' by SCHEFTELOWITZ with the following variations :—"Mayobhuvam" occurs there for our 'Mayo bhuvah', a 'pipratīḥ' for our 'bibhratīḥ' and 'mama gotre' for our 'mayi goṣṭhe' in II.

ĀG. II. 10. 8 : *Gaṇān āsāmupatiṣṭhetāgurugavīnām*, (a) "*bhūtāḥ stha, praśastāḥ stha, śobhanāḥ priyāḥ*"; (b) *priyo vo bhūyāsam*; *śam mayi jānūdhvam iti* |

*Trans* : He waits upon their herds not including (i.e. when they do not include) the cows of his preceptor with the formula (a) "You are doing well ; excellent are you, beautiful, beloved. (b) May I become dear to you ! May you see bliss in me" !

*Sources* : Only MS. 4. 2. 3 has "*Praśastāḥ stha kalyāṇyaḥ*" resembling somewhat our (a), but the mantra as it is in our text is not traced to early texts or any parallel sūtra-text. *I think the last sūtra (the 8th) with its mantra is an interpolation* for the following reasons (1) There is nothing corresponding to this rule in any other Gṛhya-Sūtra. (2) The reference to the 'Cows of the Guru' is most surprising as from Kaṇḍikā I. 23 to this Kaṇḍikā (II. 10), the duties of a house-holder are described. (3) The rule itself : that the cow of his Guru should be excluded from the homage which is to be paid *exclusively* to his own cows is amazing ! To avoid this absurd suggestion, if we suppose the implication to be that a different mantra was to be employed in the case of his Guru's cows *then that mantra should have followed*. (4) The end of a Kaṇḍikā, besides, is an easy place for interpolations and additions, generally speaking.

#### *Kaṇḍikās 1 to 4, in Adhyāya III.*

These Kaṇḍikās deal with the five daily sacrifices and 'svādhyāya' in particular. Prof. OLDENBURG compares the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI. 5. 6. 1 seqq. for III. 1. 1 seqq ; it may be added however that Kaṇḍikās 1 and 4 of the IIIrd. Adhyāya agree so strikingly, not only in substance but also in the wording of their Sūtras and Mantras with the Anuvākas II. 10-14 of TA. that the question of borrowing is hardly in doubt ! That some of the citations in these kaṇḍikās are traced only to TA. will be shown later but instances of close parallels and borrowings in the wording and substance of Sūtras are

as follows :—III. 1. 1-2 are parallel to TA. II. 10. 1 ; and III. 1. 3 to TA. II. 10. 2-6. As regards Kaṇḍikā III. 2, it borrows nearly all its rules, its peculiar terms and expressions like 'darbhāṇām mahadupastīrya' and its quotation in Sūtra 2 from TA. II. 11. In III. 3, sūtras 2 and 3 are almost word for word identical with TA. II. 10. 7-8, except for a few unimportant changes e.g. our text substitutes 'amṛtasya kulyāḥ' and 'amṛtāhutibhiḥ' for 'medasaḥ kulyāḥ' and 'medāhutibhiḥ' respectively in TA. ; the quotation in sūtra 4 is taken over bodily from TA. II. 12. 4. In the next Kaṇḍika (III. 4) sūtras 6 and 7 are nearly identical, word for word, with the corresponding passages in TA. II. 15. 3. 7. and 1 respectively !

ĀG. III. 2. 2. *Vijñāyate* " *apām vā eṣa oṣadhīnām raso yaddarbhāḥ, sarasameva tadbrahma karoti* ".

*Trans* : It is known (from the Śruti) 'This is what darbha grass is : it is the essence of waters and herbs. In this way he makes the Brahman endowed with essence'.

*Sources* : The whole quotation is traced to TA. II. 11. 3 where it is found word for word but to no other text.

ĀG. III. 3. 4 : ' *Sa yāvan manyeta tāvadadhītyaitayā paridadhāti* : (a) " *Namo brahmaṇe namo astvagnaye*, (b) *namaḥ pṛthivyai, nama oṣadhībhyah* | (c) *namo vāce namo vācaspataye*, (d) *namo viṣṇave mahate karomi* " iti

*Trans* : Having recited those texts (i.e. the Ṛcas, Yajus etc. enumerated in Sūtra 1) as far as he thinks (sufficient for the daily lesson), he concludes (by pouring oblations of water) with the mantra "Adoration to Brahman ! Adoration be to Agni ! Adoration to the Earth ! Adoration to the Plants ! Adoration to Speech ! Adoration to the Lord of Speech ! Adoration I bring to the great Viṣṇu !"

*Sources* : TA. II. 12. 3 and ĀPŚ. 14. 34. 5 are identical verses except that both the texts have 'br̥hate' for 'mahate' in our (d). That an oblation is meant to be offered (as Nārāyaṇa says) with this mantra, is made clear by what follows this mantra in ĀPŚ. "Svāheti āhutiṁ hutvā" etc. TA. II. 13. 4 refers to this very verse as the 'Paridhānīyā' or the 'Closing verse' of the Svādhyāya.

ĀG. III. 4. 6-7 : *Athāpi vijñāyate*, (a) " *sa yadi tiṣṭhan vrajamāśinaḥ śayāno vā*, (b) *yaṁ yaṁ kratum adhīte, tena tena hāsya kṛatuneṣṭam bhavātīti* | 6 | *Vijñāyate*, (c) *tasya dvāvanadhyāyau yadātmāśucir yad-deśaḥ* | 7 |

*Trans* : Sūtra 6th : And it is known (from the Śruti) "If he, whether standing, walking, sitting or lying, recites any particular 'sacrifice' (i.e. sacrificial text), a sacrifice, indeed, has been offered by him, through (the recitation of) that sacrificial text". Sūtra 7 : It is known (from the śruti) "There are only two cases for abstention from Vedic Study : when he is impure himself or when the place is impure".

*Sources* : The formula cited in Sūtra 6 where (a) and (b) make one sentence is evidently made up of two parts taken from TA. II. 15. 4 and 7



and joined together. Clause (a) is also found in TA. II. 12. 3 which after stating that 'Svādhyāya' should be studied in the village mentally, by day or night, or in a forest, silently or loudly adds "Uta tiṣṭhannuta vrajannutāsina uta śayāno'dhīyītaiva svādhyāyam" | and TA. II. 15. 7 says that 'svādhyāya' must be studied because 'Yaṁ yaṁ kratumadhīte' etc. exactly as in our text. *Formula* (c) in Sūtra 7 is also taken from TA. II. 15. 1 "Tasya vā etasya yajñasya (the sacrifice in the form of vedic study) dvāvanadhyāyau" etc. as in our text.

ĀG. III. 6.7 : *Kṣutvā jṛmbhitvāmanoṣṭhān dṛṣṭvā pāpakam gandhamāghrāya, akṣispandane kaṇadhvanane ca, I* " (a) *sucakṣā aham akṣibhyām bhūyāsam*, (b) *suvarcā mukhena suśrut kaṇābhyām* ; II (c) *mayi dakṣakartu* " *iti japeṭ* |

*Trans* : If one sneezes, yawns, sees an unpleasant sight, smells a foul smell or if there is throbbing of the eyes or noises in the ears, one should mutter the mantra :—

I. (a) 'Well-eyed may I become with my eyes, (b) resplendent with my face and well-hearing with my ears. II (c) May alertness and efficiency be (present) in me.'

*Sources of I* : I (a) and (b) are traced to the Nirukta 7. 3 with the addition of 'bhūyāsam' at the end of (b), in a discussion of the nature of Vedic Stanzas. It is said there that some Vedic stanzas are mere *benedictions* and not praise ('athāpyāśīreva na stutiḥ') and then our mantra is cited as an instance in point. Thus though the mantra is not traced to any existing vedic text, it was known to the Nirukta as a *Vedic stanza*.

Among Sūtra-texts the mantra is found in PG. 2. 6. 19 ; in MG. 1. 9. 25 with the addition of bhūyāsam (as in N. 7. 3 above) and the later regular form 'akṣibhyām' instead of the 'akṣibhyām' of our text, which is an early form found in the RV.

*Sources of II (c)* : This constitutes a separate mantra though our text has joined it on to (a) and (b), to make up one mantra. ĀPŚ. 4. 3. 12 has it in an identical form "Jañjabhyamāno brūyāt 'mayi dakṣakratū'" (*If one yawns, one should repeat the mantra...etc.*). This seems to have been the clue for our text where 'yawning' is one of the occasions for the citation. A variation of the formula with no change in meaning is found in VS. 38.27<sup>b</sup> 'Mayi dakṣo mayi kratuḥ' where it is a 'pravargya' formula employed when the sacrificer and the priests drink the contents of the 'Caldron'. This same variant is found in ŚB. 14. 3. 1. 21 ; TB 3. 7. 9. 4 ; TA. 4. 21. 1 and ŚŚ. 7. 7. 16. 8 in exactly the same context as in VS.

ĀG. III. 6. 8. : *Agamanīyam gatvāyājyaṁ yājayitvā abhojyam bhuktvā apratigrāhyam pratigrhya, caityaṁ yūpaṁ copahatya, I* (a) "*punar māmatvīndriyam*, (b) *punarāyuh punarbhagaḥ* | (c) *punar draviṇamaitu mām* (d) *punar brāhmaṇam aitu mām svāhā* |

II. (a) *ime ye dhiṣṇyāso agnayo*, (d) *yathā-sthānamihā kalpatām* | (c)

*Vaiśvānaro vāvṛdhānaḥ* (d) *antaryacchatu me mano* (e) *hr̥dyantaramamṛtasya ketuḥ svāhetyājyāhuti juhuyāt* |

*Trans* : If one approaches one's wife when she ought not to be approached (i.e. when she is in her monthly course), performs a sacrifice for a person for whom it ought not to be performed, eats forbidden food, accepts what ought not to be accepted and knocks against a 'caitya' column (i.e. a column belonging to a sanctuary or temple near a village ; compare 'caitya-yajña' in I. 12. 1), one should offer two Ājya oblations with the following mantras : I " Again to me, may come back the power of the senses, again life, again come back (good) fortune ; may my wealth come back to me ; may my spiritual power come back to me ! Svāhā ! II These fires here, that have altars (assigned to them), may they be in their proper places. May Vaiśvānara, the increasing one, the emblem of immortality, restrain my mind within my self ! Svāhā ! "

*Sources* of I and II : Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG compare AV. VII. 67. 1 ; but this verse has a general resemblance only to parts of our two verses e.g. its first pāda is nearly the same as our I(a) ; its second pāda roughly corresponds to I (c) and (d) together ; its third pāda to II (a) and its fourth to II (b). The proper source of our I is TA. I. 30. 1—a verse identical with ours except for insignificant variations e. g. it has 'praitu' for our 'aitu' in (a) ; the pādas (c) and (d) are virtually the same as our (d) and (c) with 'mā' instead of our 'mām' at the end of both.

The source of II (a) and (b) may, however, well be the last two pādas of the AV. verse VII. 67. 1 which reads (c) "Punaragnayo dhiṣṇyāso, (d) yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva" | Our text seems to have made a complete mantra of II by joining to these two pādas verse-parts derived from other sources. These probably are : TB. 3. 10. 8. 9 ; the last two pādas of this verse read 'Vaiśvānaro raśmibhir vāvṛdhāno'ntas tiṣṭhantv amṛtasya gopāḥ || and are remarkably similar to our II (c) and (d) ; besides the first two pādas of this TB. -verse are reminiscent of our I. ĀPŚ 17. 23. 11 is a verse identical with this TB. verse in its last two pādas that are so similar to our II (c) and (d).

ĀG. III. 8. 9. and 10 :—(a) '.....aśmanastejo'si cakṣurme pāhī'ti cakṣuṣi āñjayīta | 9 | (b) 'aśmanas tejo'si śrotam me pāhī'ti kuṇḍale ābadhnīta | 10 |

*Trans* : Sūtra 9. (Having bathed and put on new garments) he gets his eyes salved (āñjayīta is a causal form) with the formula : 'Thou art the sharpness of the stone ; protect my eye' (sūtra 10) : with the formula 'Thou art the sharpness of the stone, protect my ear' he puts on the two ear-rings.

*Context*. This is part of the ceremony of 'samāvartana' (the return of the pupil to his home) in which a bath signifying the end of his period of studentship is taken.

*Sources* : The first part of (a) and (b) is the same : 'aśmanastejo'si' and

is not traced anywhere. *It is probably an improvisation of the text itself.* It could be addressed to the collyrium or eye-salve because it is *rubbed and powdered on a stone and to the ear-rings because they are made of precious stone.* The latter part of both (a) and (b) viz., 'cakṣur me pāhi' and 'śrotram me pāhi' are found in TS. III. 2. 10. 2 in the offering of the Pratinirgrāhya cups and also in TS. 4. 3. 6. 2. and VS. 14. 17, the context in both places being the laying of the 'Prāṇabhṛt' bricks in the Agni-cayana but the real influence seems to be TS. 1. 2. 1. 2. although only the latter part of (a) is found there because the context is so allied to ours. In the Soma sacrifice, the sacrificer shaves his whiskers to the accompaniment of mantras (parallel to mantras cited in our I. 17. 7. 8) takes a bath, puts on his garment and then salves his eyes with the formula 'Cakṣuspac cakṣur me pāhi'. *The series of ritual acts here are exactly parallel to those in our text.*

AG. III. 8. 16. 'Anārto'syanarto'ham bhūyāsam' iti srajamapi badhnāta | :

*Trans.* With the formula 'Free from distress art thou, free from distress may I become' he puts on the wreath also.

*Sources.* Only the word 'anārta' is traced to TA. 4. 42. 2 in a slightly similar context. 'Anārtāni devatām prapadye'—I approach the deity free from distress (or health-giving according to the commentator). This is a benedictory formula recited after the ceremony of Dikṣā with hot water in hand.

AG. III. 8. 19 : (a) 'Devānām pratiṣṭhe sthaḥ sarvato mā pātām' ityupānāhāvāsthāya (b) 'divas' chadmāśīti' chatramādātte |

*Trans.* He puts on his shoes with the formula : 'You are the support of the gods ; protect me from all sides' ; and takes up the sunshade with the formula 'Thou art the canopy of heaven.'

*Sources.* (a) is found only in ĀPMB. II. 9. 3—'Pratiṣṭhe stho devatānām mā mā saritāptam' | (you are the support of deities, do not torment me)—which mantra is employed by ĀPG. 12. 11 in the same context as ours. The nearest approach to (b), is in LŚ 1. 7. 15 : 'divyaṁ chadmāsi viśvajanasya chāyā' (Thou art a divine canopy, the shade for all people), addressed to a branch of the Udumbara tree while it is being raised.

AG. III. 8. 20 :—(a) 'Veṇurasi, (b) Vānaspatyo'si (c) sarvato mā pāhīti vainavam daṇḍam |

*Trans.* (He takes up) a staff of reed with the formula : (a) 'Reed thou art, (b) Of vanaspati art thou ; (c) protect me from all sides'.

*Sources.* (b) is found in PB. 1. 2. 4 addressed to a Droṇa (or vessel of wood) and in PB. 6. 5. 3 addressed to a Soma vessel. In ĀPS 1. 16. 3, the formula is addressed to the cup of Prāṇitā waters while it is being washed.

A formula with the same general sense as that of (b) and (c) is AV. 12. 3. 18°. 'Vānaspatya udyato mā jihimsīh' [made of a tree (and) uplifted as thou art, do not injure me] which accompanies (according to Kauś. 61. 22) the pounding of rice-grains with a pestle.

(To be continued.)

## MISCELLANEA

### WHEN DID BERNIER ARRIVE IN INDIA ?

In the *Chronicle of Life and Times of François Bernier* the following statement is recorded with regard to Bernier's arrival in India :—

“1656--1658—Goes to Egypt.....Is compelled to abandon his intention of visiting Abyssinia and sets sail in an Indian vessel for SURAT, which he reaches in twenty-two days, *most probably towards the end of 1658 or early in 1659.*”

(Vide p. XX of *Bernier's Travels, Constable's Oriental Miscellany*, Vol. I, 1891.)

On pp. 2-3 of Constable's Edition, Bernier himself refers to his arrival in India as follows :—

“I embarked, therefore, in an Indian vessel, passed the Straits of *Bab-el-mandeb*, and in two and twenty days arrived at *Sourate*, in Hindustan, the empire of the Great Mogul. I found that the reigning prince was named *Chah-Jehan*, or King of the World.”

In the above statement of Bernier no date of Bernier's arrival at Surat is found recorded and perhaps on this account in the extract from the *Chronicle of Bernier's Life and Times* recorded above the Editor uses the words “*most probably towards the end of 1658 or early in 1659*” with reference to Bernier's arrival at Surat in India.

The question now arises : What is the exact year in which Bernier arrived at Surat ? I have not read the French original of Bernier's Travels on which Constable's edition is based but I possess a copy of the English Translation of Bernier's *History of the Late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogol* (with a letter to Lord Colbert) “Englished out of French” and published in London in 1671 (size  $3\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$ ). In this book which is a contemporary translation of Bernier's Travels we find that Bernier arrived at Surat in A.D. 1655 as will be seen from the following extract :—

Pages 4-5—“These considerations among others, induced me to change my resolution. I went aboard of an Indian vessel ; I passed those streights, and in two and twenty days I arrived at *Suratte* in *Indostan*, the Empire of the Great Mogol, IN THE YEAR 1655. There I found, that he who reigned there, was call'd *Chah-Jehan*, that is to say, King of the world ; etc.”

The Editor of Constable's Edition of *Bernier's Travels* refers to the London Edition of the *Travels* of A.D. 1671 (vide p. xxvii) but evidently he has not read the above extract which clearly states A.D. 1655 as the date of Bernier's arrival at Surat in India, and consequently he makes a doubtful statement regarding the year of Bernier's arrival in India viz. “most probably towards the end of 1658 or early in 1659”. Will any expert in the field of Indian History examine the above contemporary evidence and let me know if the evidence brought forth by me is corroborated by other contemporary evidence ? As Bernier died at Paris in A.D. 1688 (22nd September), I presume that he must have seen this Translation of A.D. 1671.

P. K. CODE.

## THE PANIS IN THE RIGVEDA.

(*Their identification with the Nāga Tribe*)

The recent discoveries in the Mohenjo Daro, Chanhu Daro and Harappa have really worked as an eye-opener, and have given a clue in regard to the history of Proto-Indian civilisation. Amongst the many indigenous peoples mentioned in the Picto-phonographic inscriptions (as Rev. H. HERAS, S.J., would term them) obtaining in those times, the Nāgas also acquired a prominent place. The Nāgas evidently acquired their tribal name on account of their being the direct worshippers of the Nāga (cobra). Dr. JAYASWAL and others have, however, dealt with the problem of the activities of the Nāgas in historic times. And it should be a matter of surprise, indeed, if we are not able to trace their history in the Vedic period also.

The Vedic Aryans always speak of the Dasyus, Dāsas and Paṇis as being inimical towards them. The dialogue between Saramā and the Paṇis is too well-known to be mentioned again. It has been a matter of great puzzle to all the Indologists who have worked in the field up-till-now as to who were these Paṇis. It is a fact worth noting that the Paṇis are referred to only in the Vedic literature. They have been termed as Rākṣasas in the Varāha Purāṇa, Adhyāya 16. In fact in the Varāha Purāṇa the dialogue is said to have taken place between Saramā and the Rākṣasas. Apart from this, we are not in a position to trace their history either in Pre-Vedic or Post-Vedic times.

The actual passage in the Varāha Purāṇa referring to the Paṇis throws a direct light on their location in those ancient times. The stanza runs as follows.—

आगत्य तौ तदा दैत्यौ मद्भुसैन्येन पर्वतम् ।

हिमवन्तं समाश्रित्य संस्थितौ तु बभूवुः ॥

Varāha Purāṇa, Bengal Edition, Adhyāya 16, 8.

Thus it is evident that the Paṇis were located somewhere at the foot of the Himālaya mountains originally. Then, who were these Paṇis—the best of the trading class population ?

In our opinion a proper understanding and study of the Dravidian literature and history would help us in regard to the solution of many of the problems in the history of Vedic India. Dr. KITTEL in his *Kannada-English Dictionary* has given the meaning of the word Paṇi as follows—

Paṇi = Tadbhava of Phaṇi, Cobra—Which is the same as Nāga. But the word Phaṇi does not occur in the Vedic literature. Therefore, is it possible that the word Phaṇi is itself derived from the word 'Paṇi', which is in vogue so long in Southern India.

We agree with Rev. H. HERAS, S. J., when he says that the Yadus and Turvasus were the first immigrants in India.<sup>1</sup> It was more or less in the period of the Yādavas that the process of Sanskritisation of many of the Dravidian words and terminologies had begun to take place. The Minas were rendered as Matsyas. Eventually the word 'Nāga' found an equivalent in the word 'Paṇi' at their hands. But like the word 'Matsya,' the word 'Paṇi' did not get currency in later literature.

Another fact in support of our argument is that the Paṇis are said to have been the worshippers of Ahi-Vṛtra, in the Rigveda. If this be so, will this derivation throw a new light on the history of the Nāgas in the Vedic times also ?

A. P. KARMARKAR.

1. Cf. Rev. HERAS, S. J. : The Origin of the Round Proto-Indian Seals discovered in Sumer, *B. B. & C. I. Annual*, 1938.

## SUR LES INFINITIFS VÉDIQUES EN -ASE

By

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§ 1. Seul l'examen toujours plus attentif du formulaire, des conditions de grammaire et de style dans lesquelles se présente une forme, permet de faire progresser l'interprétation littérale du Rgveda : il élimine certaines possibilités qui semblent plausibles lorsqu'on envisage un seul passage, mais qui se révèlent comme insoutenables ou du moins invraisemblables dès qu'on a parcouru la totalité des emplois.

Soit le cas des "infinitifs" en -ase. A examiner l'ensemble de ces formes replongées dans leur contexte, on ne peut manquer de voir quelle est leur configuration, dans quelle ambiance elles se meuvent. L'impression générale ainsi acquise sert de proche en proche à éclairer les cas douteux, à choisir entre des interprétations divergentes, théoriquement possibles.

Les formes en -ase sont un groupe de noms d'action exprimant le résultat —but ou conséquence—par rapport auquel est formulé le procès. Mais cette détermination finale ou consécutive, loin d'être nécessaire, ne se relie que d'une manière plus ou moins lâche à la phrase, laquelle est en principe complète et se suffit sans cette détermination. L' "infinitif" en -ase note, comme dit DELBRÜCK *Ai. Syntax* p. 422, un complément (*Ergänzung*)—on pourrait dire un supplément—à la formulation. Ainsi *viśvam jīvāṃ carāse bodhāyanī* I 92 9 " (l'Aurore) éveillant tous les êtres vivants, en sorte qu'ils se meuvent ", ou *tēna no mṛṣa jīvāse* IX 66 30 " fais-nous la faveur de ce (lait, ô Soma), afin que (grâce à lui) nous vivions ".

Il est vrai que dans un groupe d'exemples nous sentons la forme en -ase différemment, plus unie au verbe, de détermination plus nécessaire et plus proche. Ceci se produit lorsque le verbe est ravalé à la fonction d'auxiliaire, type *bhīyāse mṛgām kaḥ* V 29 4 " (Indra) a effrayé la bête (*Vṛtra*) ". Mais il est à présumer que la valeur finale ou consécutive continuait à être présente au sujet, une phrase telle que celle-là signifiant proprement " il a agi sur la bête en sorte qu'elle fût effrayée ". Il s'agit là d'un développement plus rapide de la forme en -ase, en situation favorable, non d'un emploi nouveau.

Avec des degrés variables de resserrement entre l'auxiliaire et l'infinitif, on a ainsi *puṣyāse dhāḥ* VI 13 5, *jīvāse dhāḥ* III 36 10, *jīvāse dhāt* AV. XVIII 3 63 = 4 54, *kṛnuthā jīvāse* VIII 67 17, *kṛdhī* . . . *jīvāse* 12, *karta jīvāse* I 172 3, *cākṣasa étave kṛthāḥ* I 112 8. La coïncidence de la racine *dhā-* et de la forme en -ase suffit à infirmer la constatation de GELDNER

(n. ad I 141 6) qui réfère *dhāyase* à la racine *dhā-* parce que, dit-il, cette racine se trouve plusieurs fois en contact avec cet infinitif.

§ 2. Les conditions, qu'on vient de rappeler, du fonctionnement de l' "infinitif" en *-ase*, doivent permettre maintenant d'écarter un certain nombre d'interprétations qui entraînent des divergences par rapport à la structure très simple de ce type.

C'est ainsi d'abord que la forme en *-ase* dépend d'un verbe personnel ou d'un prédicat nominal qui en tient lieu, mais qu'elle ne dépend pas d'un adjectif. Dès lors la correction (sur la base de certains manuscrits) d' *āriṣyantam* VIII 51 3 en *āviṣyantam*, que propose GRASSMANN (cf. aussi LUDWIG), et qui aboutit à la traduction *āviṣyantam nā bhōjase* "comme quelqu'un qui est avide de jouir", introduit inutilement un infinitif dépendant d'un participe non prédicat. La vraie interprétation est celle vers laquelle nous orientent les discussions d'OLDENBERG ad loc. " (Indra en tant que (le dieu) qui s'abstient d'endommager, en sorte que (l'homme pieux) jouisse (de lui) ".

§ 3. L' "infinitif" en *-ase* ne comparte pas de régime à l'accusatif. Ce trait distingue fortement le type en *-ase* de la plupart des autres catégories d'infinitifs védiques, et souligne sans aucun doute les attaches qu'il conserve avec le nom d'action dont il est issu. La forme en *-ase* tantôt se fonde sur des verbes qui ne comportent pas de régime, tantôt n'exprime pas le régime que d'après les autres formes verbales on pourrait théoriquement attendre.

Cette constatation nous met en mesure d'expliquer autrement qu'on ne l'a fait quelques passages où un régime accusatif est plausible à première vue. Ainsi X 77 1 *sumārutam nā brahmāṇam arhāse gaṇam astoṣy eṣām* : GRASSMANN (et de même, semble-t-il, LUDWIG) comprend *brahmāṇam* comme régime d'*arhāse*, OLDENBERG reconnaît *sumārutam* en cette même fonction, tandis que MAX MÜLLER hésite entre les deux éventualités. Tenant compte du caractère "absolu" de la forme en *-ase*, nous traduisons sans difficulté "j'ai loué la troupe de ces (Marut), leur bonne nature de Marut, comme (on loue) un brâhmane, en sorte d'avoir des droits (à leur faveur)".

Au v. I. 141 6 GELDNER donne *śāmsam* pour régime à *dhāyase* "pour apporter la louange". Mais cette interprétation a l'inconvénient de conférer à *dhāyase* une valeur qui ne s'accorde ni avec les conditions morphologiques du mot, ni avec l'ensemble des passages où il figure. *Dhāyase* signifie ici comme ailleurs "pour recevoir (ou : procurer) la nourriture (rituelle), pour satisfaire ou être satisfait", cf. PISCHEL VSt. I, p. 217. Et. *śāmsam* se reliera très naturellement à *mārtam* (BERGAIGNE Rel. I p. 306). *Dhāyase* est d'ailleurs un datif nominal, comme le montre la présence occasionnelle d'un régime génitif I 94 12, 72 9 V 7 6 et 9.

Dans VIII 4 17 *vēmi tvā pūṣann ṛñjāse vēmi stōtave* (v. sur le v. OLDENBERG ad loc. et ZDMG. LV. p. 308) l'accusatif *tvā* est le régime de *vēmi*, comme déjà DELBRÜCK Ai. Syntax p. 423 l'avait senti : "jet t'aborde en vue d'exalter, en vue de louer".

§ 4. Dans deux passages la présence d'un régime accusatif est en effet indéniable, mais la forme en *-ase* d'où il dépend est une seconde personne d'indicatif, non un infinitif. C'est d'une part V 15 4 *mātēva yād bhārāse paprathānō jānamjanam dhāyase cākṣase ca*. L'interprétation de *bhārāse* comme infinitif, imaginée par LUDWIG, est en soi peu vraisemblable et la traduction convenable est celle que donne par exemple OLDENBERG (Ved. Hymns p. 399) "quand (ô Agni) tu portes comme une mère les êtres successifs, en t'étendant, pour qu'ils soient satisfaits, pour qu'ils voient (la lumière du jour)".

D'autre part I 25 17 *yāto me mādhu ābhṛtam hōteva kṣādase priyām*. GELDNER traduit "pourquoi le doux breuvage m'a été apporté, en sorte que j'en goûte (le breuvage) aimé comme (fait) le hotṛ", mettant le v. dans la bouche d'un malade auquel on donne le soma comme médicament. Cette notion passablement insolite se démontre grammaticalement peu satisfaisante, puisqu'elle aboutit à poser une forme en *-ase* avec un accusatif *priyām*. Mais la pensée et la syntaxe sont en ordre si l'on traduit "puisque (ô Varuṇa) tu goûtes comme un hotṛ le doux breuvage aimé que j'ai apporté".

§ 5. Enfin au v. I 55 3 *tvām tām indra pārvatam nā bhōjase mahō nṛmāśya dhārmanām irajyasi*. GELDNER ici à nouveau entend *pārvatam* comme régime de *bhōjase* "tu possèdes les assises d'un grand courage, en sorte que tu en jouis comme d'une montagne". Mais OLDENBERG ad loc. a justement observé que *pārvatam* dépend d'*irajyasi* et que cette forme verbale dispose d'un double régime accusatif et génitif comme il advient plus d'une fois dans le Veda : la construction réelle est "comme (on possède) une montagne, pour (l') exploiter". Ceci peut paraître d'abord non nécessaire et même inutilement compliqué. Ce devient convaincant lorsque de cette formule tripartite *pārvatam nā bhōjase* où l'élément central est la particule comparative on rapproche les formules analogues (*ā tvā ... huvé*) *gām iva bhōjase* VIII 65 3 " (je t'appelle) comme (on appelle) une vache, afin de tirer profit (de son lait) " (cf. BERGAIGNE Quar. Hy. p. 34) ou *gām nā dohāse* (*huve*) VI 45 7 " (je l'appelle) comme une vache, en vue de (la) traire". L'accusatif, comme on voit, dépend du verbe personnel, non de la forme en *-ase*.

§ 6. L'existence de ce groupement formulaire (auquel serait à agréger *harito nāyase* I 57 3, *gāvām iva śriyāse* V 59 3 *sumārutam nā ... arhāse* cité § 3, peut-être *duvāse nā kārūḥ* I 165 14, v. OLDENBERG) conduit à éliminer une explication fallacieuse de LUDWIG et de GRASSMANN pour le v. VIII 76 1 *huva indram ... nā vṛñjāse*. L'un et l'autre voient là la négation *nā*. La comparaison avec *gām nā dohāse huve* précité montre qu'ils font fausse route. Le sens est "j'appelle Indra comme (celui-là même que je dois appeler), afin qu'il tourne (son chemin et vienne à moi)". Il y a là une sorte de proposition comparative elliptique où seule demeure la particule : cf. OLDENBERG ad VIII 70 3 qui rend compte du fait de manière analogue. On s'achemine ainsi, précisément dans le cadre des formules en *-ase*, à un emploi quasi explétif de *nā* : celui qu'on a au v. X 77 1 *gaṇām astoṣy eṣām*



*ná śobhāse* "j'ai loué la troupe de ces (Marut) afin que, pour ainsi dire, ils resplendissent": cf. OLDENBERG ad loc. Max MÜLLER avait déjà noté le caractère "intraduisible" du *ná*.

De même dans *ā yāt sedāthur dhruvāse ná yónim* VII 70 1 "lorsque vous vous êtes installés (ô Aśvin) dans votre séjour comme pour vous y affermir"; et dans *āriṣyantam ná bhōjase* (déjà cité § 2).

§ 7. Si l'accusatif fait défaut, le datif est fréquent : juxtaposé à la forme en *-ase* sans que le poète ait la moindre répugnance à accoler ainsi à un "infinitif" une forme de nom d'action purement nominale : *kṣáyāya jīvāse* X 58 1-12 "pour que tu possèdes pacifiquement (tes richesses), pour que tu vives", *carāthāya jīvāse* I 36 14 "pour marcher, pour vivre" (il est vrai que les noms en *-athāya* sont eux aussi des semi-infinitifs WACKERNAGEL Mél. Saussure p. 130 n.), *krátve dākṣāya jīvāse* (que suit parfois l'infinitif *dṛśé*) X 57 4 AV. VI 19 2 XVIII 2 23, *dirghāyutvāya cākṣase* AV. VI 68 2 TS. I 2 la MS. IV 10 6 etc. Il suit de là que la locution *urugāyāya jīvāse* I 155 4 ne saurait être comme le veut GRASSMANN "pour un bonheur de vivre illimité", mais avec GELDNER "pour marcher au loin, pour vivre", ce qui cadre fort bien avec d'autres emplois d'*urugāyā-*. Ni *rāṇāya cākṣase* X 9 1 "pour voir la joie" (GRASSMANN, LUDWIG), mais "pour la joie, pour (la faculté de) voir (= de vivre)".

§ 8. Lorsque le datif juxtaposé est un nom d'être animé, il prend valeur de sujet de l' "infinitif", comme le fait se produit sur une plus grande échelle pour d'autres infinitifs védiques. Ainsi la locution *tokya jīvāse* VIII 67 12 "pour nos enfants, pour qu'ils vivent" aboutira naturellement à "pour que nos enfants vivent", d'autant que ce groupe de mots est sous la dépendance de *kṛdhī* "fais (en sorte)". GRASSMANN a mal rendu tout le vers, qui repose sur deux phrases infinitives pivotant sur *kṛdhī*. De même on a X 35 12 *pāsve tokāya tānayāya jīvāse*. Dès lors se confirme aisément comme datif le pronom *naḥ* de la clausule fréquente *jīvase naḥ* "pour que nous vivions" (cf. aussi *puṣyāse naḥ* "pour que nous prospérions": *na spārase* § 9). Cet emploi d'un datif agrégé à la forme en *-ase* est assez vivant pour qu'au v. III 53 18 on voie un poète délaisser le cadre locatif des pāda a b (*bālam dhehi tanūsu bālam anaḥutsu*) pour poursuivre au pāda c, avec le datif, *bālam tokāya tānayāya jīvāse*. Ou encore au v. I 146 5 *ilēnyo mahō ārbhāya jīvāse* où la notion attendue "il est digne d'être invoqué par le grand (comme) par le petit, en sorte (qu'ils obtiennent le droit) de vivre" glisse vers cella de "...invoqué, en sorte que vivent grand et petit": le terme *ārbha-*, contigu à *jīvāse*, se laissant attirer au datif, tandis que *mahā-* demeure étranger à cette attraction (v. OLDENBERG ad loc.).

§ 9. Y a-t-il place, dans le cadre des formes en *-ase*, pour un datif régime, comme on a pour d'autres infinitifs védiques, type *āhaye hāntavā u* "pour tuer le dragon"? On a cru pouvoir en identifier quelques-uns. La masse des emplois et des habitudes du type en *-ase* conduit à les écarter. Ainsi d'abord pour le v. VIII 20 8 *iṣe bhujé... na spārase*. La traduction

de GRASSMANN "aidez-nous à boire, à jouir" accumule les invraisemblances philologiques. Il n'y a pas trace ailleurs d'un emploi "impératif" de la forme en *-ase*; la racine *spṛ* ne signifie pas "aider"; *naḥ* ne saurait avoir à côté de *spārase* une fonction autre que celle qu'il a à côté de *jīvāse* ou de *puṣyāse* (§ 8). On écartera ainsi encore LUDWIG qui traduit bizarrement "zu der speise genusz . . . zum verlangen (zum hinraffen) sind sie (geschaffen)" et Max MÜLLER "ils doivent jouir de leur nourriture, ils doivent nous aider". En conformité avec l'emploi général de *-ase*, on obtient aisément la traduction "pour que nous jouissions (*bhujé*) de la force rituelle, pour que nous soyons vainqueurs". De même *jyāiṣṭhyāya dhāyase* III 50 3 ne sera pas, comme le veulent les traducteurs, "pour exercer la souveraineté" (traduction d'autant moins pertinente que, comme on l'a vu § 3 *dhāyase* est plutôt un nom d'action pur qu'un infinitif), mais "en vue de la souveraineté, en vue de la satisfaction rituelle"; *avṛkāya dhāyase* I 31 13 non "pour créer la sécurité" (GELDNER), mais "en vue de la sécurité, en vue de la satisfaction" ou plus verbalement (PISCHEL VSt. I p. 217 OLDENBERG SBE. XLVI p. 23) "en sorte qu'il ait la sécurité, qu'il jouisse des mets rituels"; *indriyāya dhāyase* IX 70 5, 86 3 est "pour la force d'Indra, pour qu'il trouve satisfaction", la traduction, plus aisée en apparence, de GRASSMANN "pour qu'Indra boive" se heurte à IX 89 6 où figure en même contexte *indriyāya* seul. Le rôle de la juxtaposition est beaucoup plus considérable dans le RV. que les traductions ne le laissent paraître.

§ 10. Il est évident d'après ce qui précède qu'on répugnera à admettre qu'une forme en *-ase* soit le prédicat verbal d'une phrase : le v. V 64 4 *yād dha kṣāye maghônām stoṭṛhā ca spūrdhāse* ne saurait être avec GRASSMANN "(puissé-je vous attribuer par mon chant, ô Mitra-Varuṇa) ce qui est à conquérir dans le séjour des patrons et des chantres" (analogue LUDWIG), mais bien "( . . . ) ce qui est dans le séjour . . . en sorte que je l'obtienne par la lutte". De même au v. suivant qui dit parallèlement *své kṣāye maghônām sákhinām ca vṛdhāse* "(venez) dans le séjour propre des patrons et de leurs amis, en sorte qu'ils en soient renforcés". On ne voit pas comment LUDWIG peut construire *maghônām* et *sákhinām* comme des génitifs sujets de *vṛdhāse*. OLDENBERG inclinerait à entendre respectivement les vv. 4 et 5 "pour la rivalité des chantres", "pour la prospérité des amis", mais vu la forme et le ton de *spūrdhāse vṛdhāse*, il y a intérêt à leur laisser l'acception semi-infinitive, autrement dit à ne pas leur adjoindre de génitif régime.

Au v. VI 66 5 (cf. OLDENBERG ad loc., BRADKE Fest. Roth p. 121) la forme en *-ase* n'est pas prédicat mais déterminant d'un prédicat invisible. La traduction postulée par le contexte est "ceux chez qui l'active (Pṛṣni) n'a pas (la possibilité) de fournir son lait" *nā yēṣu dohāse cid ayāḥ*, proprement ("en sorte de se laisser traire"). Sur *yāt* . . . *āyase*, v. § 12.

§ 11. Un génitif régime paraît moins évitable au v. I 141 2 qu'aux v. précités V 64 4 et 5 : si du moins l'on groupe avec les traducteurs *vṛṣabhāsyā dohāse* "pour traire le taureau". Néanmoins il est loisible de construire le

génitif avec l'élément qui précède, *ṛtīyam asya vṛṣabhāsya dohāse* "la troisième (forme, celle) du taureau, (les jeunes femmes l'ont engendrée) en sorte qu'on puisse (le) traire".

Le génitif qui dépend de *rājāse* IX 86 36 est un génitif "verbal", conforme à la syntaxe de cette racine. Quant au génitif régime de *hārāse* IX 10 6, il est à sa place, *hārāse* étant un datif nominal, non l'infinitif que pose MACDONELL, Ved. Gr. § 585 n° 1 en l'accentuant *harāse* (aussi Ved. Gr. for Students p. 434), WHITNEY Skt Gr. § 973a avec l'accentuation correcte.

§ 12. L'infinitif en *-ase* est sans préverbe. Cette particularité lui est commune en gros avec l'ensemble des noms en *-as-*. OLDENBERG, qui l'a notée, indique justement que cette constatation aide à dénier à *vivakṣase* X 21 1 la valeur d'un infinitif. Il reste, il est vrai, deux exemples embarrassants auxquels OLDENBERG n'a pas pensé. D'une part VII 61 6 *prā vām māmāny ṛcāse nāvāni*. Les traducteurs (aussi MACDONELL Ved. Reader p. 123) rendent "que vous louent ces prières nouvelles" ou analogue. On retombe ainsi sur l'inconvénient d'un infinitif en *-ase* qui serait prédicat et avec nuance impérative ou optative. Cet inconvénient sera évité en comprenant *prā* comme portant sur un verbe non exprimé, duquel *ṛcāse* est à son tour un déterminant, soit quelque chose comme "je vous pré (senterai) des prières nouvelles afin de (vous) chanter". Tout est ainsi en ordre et la syntaxe avec *prā* elliptique est commune au début de pāda.

C'est avec raison que précisément GELDNER admet cette syntaxe pour un autre passage où figure la forme *āyase* : *prā yād dhiyē prāyase mādāya* IV 21 7 (v. OLDENBERG sur d'autres possibilités ; cf. en dernier lieu VELANKAR J. Un. Bo. VI 6 p. 45) "quand il se pré (pare) à la prière, à la marche, à l'ivresse". Sur la contiguité du préverbe *prā* et d'une forme en *-ase*, cf. *prā jīvāse (yāchanti)* X 185 3 ; *prā (tirata) puṣyāse* VII 57 5.

Le fait qu'un préverbe est évité devant la forme en *-ase* se mesure aux constatations suivantes : la locution *dirghāya cākṣase* I 7 3 VIII 13 30 tient lieu de *\*vīcakṣe*, cf. *vīcakṣe* passim ; *prā* devant *jīvāse* est remplacé par *pratarām* AV. VI 41 3 XVIII 3 63, 4 54.

§ 13. L'image qui résulte de ces différents traits est celle d'une forme à emploi linéaire, passablement monotone et qui dérive directement des conditions générales fournies en védique soit à l'emploi des noms d'action, soit aux possibilités du datif.

La dissociation morphologique qui s'est effectuée entre cette forme et les datifs nominaux en *-ase*, marquée par la place du ton et par la qualité de la voyelle radicale, n'est, on le sait, pas constante. Plusieurs noms d'action en *-as-* ont le ton suffixal ; quelques infinitifs ont le ton radical ou le vocalisme plein (ce ne sont d'ailleurs pas les plus caractéristiques, à savoir *cākṣase*, *āyase*, *spārāse*, *bhōjase* et l'hybride *dohāse*—si l'on élimine des listes d'ARNOLD ou de MACDONELL les formes *kṣādase*, *dhāyase*, *bhārāse*, *sāhyase*, *harāse* qui ne sont pas des infinitifs). Dans les datifs nominaux comme dans les infinitifs il y a juxtaposition fréquente avec d'autres datifs, situation fréquente en

fin de pāda ou en groupe fermé, dépendance fréquente des racines *dhā-* et *kṛ-*, absence de préverbes. *Śriyāse*, *śobhāse* ne se distinguent guère de *śriyē* ou de *śubhé*, *vṛdhase* équivaut à *vṛdhāya* (cf. LANMAN Noun-Infl. p. 557), *carāse* s'échange avec *carāyai*.

En l'absence d'une construction d'accusatif régime, si l'on se demande ce qui en fin de compte caractérise comme tel un infinitif, la seule réponse plausible est celle-ci : c'est son isolement, isolement de structure, isolement de la finale *-ase* du point de vue du paradigme.

# A SANSKRIT INDEX TO THE CHĀNDOGYA UPANISAD

(With References to other Sanskrit Texts.)

By

E. G. CARPANI, Bologna.

## III. r—au.

420. RKTAS, adv. : with regard to the *Rik* verses. IV, 17.4.
421. R̥GVEDA, m. : the Rig-Veda. -*das* (nom. sg.) : I, 3.7 ; III, 1.2 ; VII, 1.4. -*dam* (acc. sg.) : III, 1.3 ; 15.7 ; VII, 1.2 ; 2.1 ; 7.1 ; Cf. B. Ā. U. II, 4.10—*R̥gvedo* . . . *vyākhyānāny*—IV, 1.2. ; 5.11 ; M. U. VI, 32, 33 ; cf. also Muṇḍ. U. I, 1.5.
422. R̥C, f. : lustre ; sacred hymn, verse. “Esp. as distinguished from that which is sung (*sāman*) and from the sacrificial formula (*yajus*) ; verse to which a rite or explanation refers.” (MACDONELL). Pl. : the Rig-Veda. -(nom. sg.) : I, 1.2, 4=5 ; 3.4 ; 6.1=5, 8 ; 7.1=5. -*cam* (acc. sg.) : I, 3.4, 9 ; 4.4. -*cā* (instr. sg.) : III, 12.5 ; V, 2.7. -*cas* (gen. sg. ; nom.-acc. pl.) : I, 1.2 ; 4.3 ; III, 1.2 ; IV, 17.2 ; VI, 7.2. -*ci* (loc. sg.) : I, 3.9 ; 4.3 ; 6.1=5 ; 7.1=4. -*cau* (nom. du.) : III, 17.6. *ṛgbhyas* (abl. pl.) : IV, 17.3. *ṛcām* (gen. pl.) : IV, 17.4.
423. RTU, m. : fixed time ; period, season. -*tavas* (nom. pl.) : II, 5.2. -*tūn* (acc. pl.) : II, 16.2. *tuṣu* (loc. pl.) : II, 5.1=2 ; 16.1=2.
424. RTUMANT, a. : possessing the seasons. -*mān* (nom. sg.) : II, 5.2.
425. R̥TE, prep. : without ; except. V, 1.8=11.
426. R̥TVIJ, a. : sacrificing regularly ; m. : priest. -*vik* (nom. sg.) : IV, 17.9. -*viṇe* (dat. sg.) : V, 11.5. -*viṇas* (acc. pl.) : IV, 17.10.
427. R̥ṢABHA, m. : bull. -*bhas* (nom. sg.) : IV, 5.1.
428. R̥ṢI, m. : an inspired sage ; poet-seer ; *Rishi*. -*ṣim* (acc. sg.) : I, 3.9.

## E.

429. E=pron. st. of third pers. See Nos. 442, 448, 449, 451.
430. EKA, num. a. : one, alone. -*kas* (nom. sg. m.) : I, 5.2, 4 ; III, 6.3 ; 7.3 ; 9.3 ; 10.3 ; IV, 3.6 ; 9.2 ; 17.9 ; VI, 7.3 ; VII, 8.1 ; 26.2. -*kā* (nom. sg. f.) : VI, 7.3, 6 ; VIII, 6.6. -*kam* (nom. sg. n. ; acc. sg. m.) : II, 10.2 ; V, 3.5 ; VI, 2.1=2 ; 7.5 ; VII, 4.1 ; 5.1. -*kām* (acc. sg. f.) : VI, 11.2 ; 12.1. -*kena* (instr. sg.) : IV, 16.3 ; VI, 1.4=6. -*ke* (nom. pl.) : VI, 2.1.
431. EKATĀ, f. unity, union ; identity -*tām* (acc. sg.) : VI, 9.1 Cf. M. U. VI, 22 (unified condition of honey).
432. EKADHĀ, adv. : singly. VII, 26.2.
432. EKAPĀD, a. : one footed. -*pāt* (nom. sg. m.) : IV, 16.3.
434. EKALA, a. : alone ; one. -*las* (nom. sg.) : III, 11.1.

435. EKAVIMŚA, num. a. : twenty-first. -śas (nom. sg.) : II, 10.5.<sup>1</sup>
436. EKAVIMŚATI, f. : twenty-one. -śatyā (instr. sg.) : II, 10.5.<sup>1</sup>
437. EKAŚATA, n. : hundred and one. -tam (acc. sg.) : VIII, 11.3.
438. EKĀDAŚA, num. : eleven. -(nom. sg.) : VII, 26.2.
439. EKĀYANA, n. : union ; union-point. -nam (nom. acc. sg.) : VII, 1.2, 4 ; 2.1 ; 5.2 ; 7.1.
440. EKĀRA, m. : the sound *e*. -ras (nom. sg.) : I, 13.2.
441. EKAİKA, a. : each singly. -kā (nom. sg. f.) : VI, 3.4 ; 4.7 ; 8.6. -kām (acc. sg. f.) : VI, 3.3=4. -kasmāi (dat. sg.) : V, 11.5.
442. *eta*, pron. st. of third pers. : this, this here (n. acc. as adv. : thus). *eṣas* (nom. sg. m.) : occurs 112 times. *etat* (nom. = acc. sg. n.) : 185 times. *eṣā* (nom. sg. f.) : 12 times. *etam* (acc. sg. n.) : 52 times. -tām (acc. sg. f.) : 8 times. -tena (instr. sg.) : 4 times. -tayā (instr. sg. f.) : V, 2.7. -tasmāt (abl. sg.) : 13 times. -tasya (gen. sg.) : 16 times. -tasmin (loc. sg.) : 9 times. -tasyām (loc. sg. f.) : 9 times. -tau (nom. -acc. du. m.) : 3 times. -te (nom. du. f. ; nom. pl. m.) : 21 times. -tayos (gen. du. m.) : V, 10.8. -tāni (nom. acc. pl. n.) : 16 times. -tās (nom. acc. pl. f.) : 7 times. -tān (acc. pl. m.) : 9 times. -tais (instr. pl.) : VIII, 6.5. -teṣām (gen. pl.) : I, 10.3. -tāsām (gen. pl. f.) : 2 times.
443. ETAD, adv. : thus. See No. 442.
444. ETADĀTMAKA, a. : having this nature ; essence of this (MACDONELL). See No. 454.
445. ETADĀTMAYA, a. : having this nature. See No. 454.
446. ETADUPANIṢADA, a. : having this philosophical (secret) doctrine or Upaniṣad. -das (nom. sg. m.) : VIII, 8.4.
447. ETARHI, adv. : now ; nowadays ; then. I, 8.6, 8 ; VI, 7.3, 6.
448. ENA-, pron. st. of third pers. : he, she, it. -nam (acc. sg. m.) : occurs 39 times. -nat (acc. sg. n.) : 2 times. -nān (acc. pl. m.) : 3 times.
449. EVA, adv. : so, just so ; precisely. Occurs 403 times.
450. EVAṂVID, a. : knowing so ; having such knowledge. -vit (nom. sg. m.) : I, 7.8 ; IV, 17.8=10 ; V, 24.4 ; VIII, 3.3, 5. -vidam (acc. sg.) : IV, 17.9=10. -vidi (loc. sg.) : I, 2.8 ; IV, 14.3 ; V, 2.1.
451. EVAM, adv. : thus, so ; in this way. Occurs 157 times.
452. EVAMMAHANT, a. : thus great. -hān (nom. sg. m.) : VI, 12.2.
453. EṢAS. See No. 442.

## AI.

454. AITADĀTMYA, a. : having this nature (essence of this). -yam (nom. sg. n.) : VI, 8.7 ; 9.4 ; 10.3 ; 11.3 ; 12.3 ; 13.3 ; 14.3 ; 15.3 ; 16.3.
455. AITAREYA, proper name (m.) : patr. of Mahidāsa. -yas (nom. sg.) : III, 16.7.

1. *eko-vimśatyā ādityam āpnoti, eka-vimśo vā ito'sāv ādityaḥ. Oṡā-vimśena param ādityāi jayati. tan nākam tad viśokam.* According to Śaṅkara, "the twelve months, the five seasons, and the three worlds ; and the sun is the twenty-first."

456. AIRAMMADĪYA, n. : name of a lake (Myth.). -*yam* (nom. sg.) : VIII, 5.3. See Kauṣ. U. I, 3.

### O.

457. OṢKĀRA, m. : the sound *om*. -*ras* (nom. sg.) : II, 23.4. -*reṇa* (instr. sg.) : II, 23.4.

458. OJAS, n. : strength ; vigour. -(nom. sg.) : III, 13.5.

459. OJASVIN, a. : strong ; powerful. -*vī* (nom. sg. m.) : III, 13.5.

460. OM, in. : sacred syllable. "*Om* appears first in the Upaniṣads as a mystic monosyllable, and is there set forth as the object of profound religious meditation, the highest spiritual efficacy being attributed not only to the whole word but also to the three sounds *a*, *u*, *m*, of which it consists." (MONIER-WILLIAMS). Occurs 18 times.<sup>2</sup>

461. OṢADHI, f. : plant, herb. -*dhayas* (nom. pl.) : I, 1.2. -*dhīnām* (gen. pl.) : I, 1.2.<sup>3</sup>

462. OṢADHIVANASPATI, m. : herbs and trees. -*tayas* (nom. pl.) : V, 10.6.

### AU.

463. AUPAMANYAVA, proper name (m.) ; patronymic from Upamanyu. -*vas* (nom. sg.) : V, 11.1. -*va* (voc. sg.) : V, 12.1.

464. AUHOIKĀRA, m. : the sound *auhoi*. -*ras* (nom. sg.) : I, 13.2.

(To be continued).

2. Cf. Egypt. ôN, Coptic AMn (AMon or AMnRA), and the Christian o'M, O'MEN, AMEN.

3. eṣām bhūtānām....oṣadhayo rasa.... Cf. B. Ā. U. VI, 4.1 : =eṣām vai bhūtānām.... oṣadhaya....etc.

# NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA : THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION\*

By

V. M. APTE, Poona.

AG. III. 9. 1 : I (a) 'Smṛtaṁ nindā ca vidyā ca, (b) śraddhā prajñā ca pañcamī (c) iṣṭaṁ dattam adhītaṁ ca, (d) kṛtaṁ satyaṁ śrutaṁ vratam II (a) Yadaṅneḥ sendrasya saprajāpatikasya saṛṣikasya saṛṣirājanyasya sapitṛkasya sapitṛrājanyasya samanuṣyasya samanuṣyarājanyasya, (b) sākāśasya sātīkāśasya sānūkāśasya sapratīkāśasya, (c) sadevamanuṣyasya sagandharvāpsaraskasya, (d) sahāraṇyaīśca paśubhir grāmyaiśca, (e) yaṁ ma ātmani vratam tan me sarvavratam idamahamagne sarva-vrato bhavāmi svāheti |

*Trans.* 1. Memory and reproach, lore, faith (and) understanding as the fifth ; what is sacrificed, what is given and what is studied ; what is done, truth and learning—(all this is my) vow.<sup>1</sup>

II. (a) *The vow* which belongs to Agni together with Indra, Prajāpati, the Rṣis, with the royalty among the Rṣis, the Fathers ; (to Agni together) with the royalty among the Fathers, with human beings, with the royalty among human beings ; (b) (to Agni) with Shine, Over-Shine After-Shine, Counter-Shine, (c) (to Agni) with gods and men, with Gandharvas and Apsarasas, (d) (to Agni) with wild and domestic animals (e)—*that vow* belonging to myself and centred in myself—that is my Universal vow. Here, O Agni, do I become (pledged) to the Universal vow—*Svāhā*.

*Context* : With these formulas, the fuel is put on the fire (a ritual act referred to in the preceding sūtra III. 8. 21) by the snātaka standing.

*Sources* : ĀPMB II. 5. 2. 10 is a long passage similar to our I and II. Now ĀPMB. II. 5. 2 reads : "Smṛtaṁ ca me'smṛtaṁ ca tan me ubhayaṁ vratam." Similarly II. 5. 3. is : Nindā ca me'nindā ca" etc. as above. II. 5. 4-8 are similar statements with reference to Śraddhā, vidyā, śrutam, satyam, tapaḥ and then II. 5. 9. reads 'vratam ca me'vratam ca tanme ubhayaṁ vratam, yad brāhmaṇānām brahmaṇi vratam' followed by a passage similar to our II with the omission of 'saṛṣikasya saṛṣirājanyasya' and the addition of 'sadevasya sadevarājasya in IIa, the complete omission of IIb, the omission of 'sadeva-manuṣyasya in II (c), the complete omission of II (d) and the omission of 'tan me sarvavratam' in (e).

This parallel passage shows (1) that Nārāyaṇa's view regarding the recitation of I. as : "smṛtaṁ ca me asmṛtaṁ ca tan me ubhayavratam"

\* Continued from p. 222 of Vol. III, No. 6.

1. Prof. OLDENBERG connects the verse syntactically with the following formula which is unnecessary. The verse is complete in itself.



for each of the twelve words of the section like 'smṛtam' in the manner exemplified for 'smṛtam' is based on tradition though rejected by OLDENBERG (p. 229. note to III. 9. 1) because ĀPMB. II. 5. 2 above, we actually see the expanded form of the formula ; secondly (2) this passage supports the conjecture 'agneḥ' for 'agne' of Prof. STENZLER (adopted by Prof. OLDENBERG) as ĀPMB also reads 'agneḥ'.

AG. III. 9. 6 :— '*Mahadvai bhūtaṁ snātako bhavāṭi*' vijñāyate |

*Trans.* 'A great being, indeed, is the Snātaka' ; so it is known (from the Śruti).

*Context.* This is quoted in the Sūtra after enumerating a number of things forbidden for a snātaka.

*Sources.* The citation cannot be traced in this form to any Saṁhitā or Brāhmaṇa (Śruti) but it is always uncertain whether 'Vijñāyate' introduces a quotation or the gist of a similar statement on the subject in the śruti. If the latter is the case, then ŚB. 11. 3. 3. 7 may be compared : 'Yathā ha vā agniḥ samiddho rocate, evaṁ ha vai sa snātvā rocate'— ] [Even as the fire kindled shines, so does he who has taken a bath i.e. a snātaka shine....]

AG. III. 10. 2 : '*Idaṁ vatsyāmo bho*' iti |

*Trans.* : Here we dwell, sir !

*Context.* : The Snātaka now takes leave of his teacher as he is about to make his homeward journey. In doing so, he mentions the name [of the teacher according to Nārāyaṇa] in a low voice and then loudly repeats the formula in our sūtra.

[Prof. OLDENBERG (p. 230) states that this chapter (III. 10) describes the way in which a student has to take leave of his teacher before a journey and has nothing to do with the Samāvartana but it may be pointed out that it is the common practice of Sūtra texts to state general rules (about leave-taking as here, in connection with a particular case (e.g. here the journey of the Snātaka). A comparison of ŚG. II. 18 which inclined OLDENBERG to the above view shows on the contrary that our text has deliberately made certain changes (e.g. the omission of 'eṣa te brahmacārī' in ŚG. II. 18. 3 a formula parallel to our III. 10. 6) to make the rules applicable to a snātaka here. This chapter, besides, follows immediately after a description of the Samāvartana].

*Sources.* ŚG. II. 18. 2 has 'Om ahaṁ vatsyāmi bhoḥ' as pointed out by OLDENBERG. HG. 1. 5. 13 has 'Idaṁ vatsyāvaḥ'. Prof. OLDENBERG's suggestion in his note on ŚG. II. 18. 2. (p. 90) that 'vatsyāmi' (I will dwell) is a sort of euphemism for 'pravatsyāmi' (I will go away) is well-supported by an orthodox practice still prevalent in many parts of India according to which a person departing says euphemistically 'I come now' instead of 'I go now'.

AG. III. 10. 4 : '*Prāṇāpānayoṛ upāṁśu*' |

*Trans.* 'Into Inhalation and Exhalation'—(this formula) he (i.e. the student) utters in a low voice.

*Sources.* Though the point has not been noted by STENZLER or OLDENBERG, in my opinion, these two words are the *pratīka* of the formula quoted below in Sūtra 6, because the two words by themselves, would be meaningless and because the student and the teacher repeat nearly the same mantras [compare sūtra, 6, according to which the teacher is to repeat the same Rg-verse (III. 45. 1) which the student repeats (sūtra 5) after this formula]. ŚG. II. 18. 2 has exactly this formula (i.e., its *pratīka* consisting of two words) in this very context.

ĀG. III. 10. 6 :—*Ato vṛddho jāpati* (a) ‘*Prāṇāpānayoḥ uruvyacās tayā prapadye*, (b) *devāya savitre paridadāmi*’ iti—||

*Trans.* (b) The aged one then mutters, ‘Into inhalation and exhalation, (I) the wide-extended one, enter with thee. (b) To God Savitr, I give thee in charge.’

*Sources.* (a) is only traced to a Sūtra-text : ŚG. 2. 18. 3, as Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG point out. The former scholar proposes two emendations in formula (a), in the light of the ŚG. readings :—(1) he adopts ‘*tvayā*’ for ‘*tayā*’. This is a necessary emendation to get some sense out of the formula *but his second emendation* (2) ‘*Prāṇāpānā*’ for ‘*prāṇāpānayoḥ*’ is, in my opinion unnecessary for the following reasons :— (i) The locative dual ‘*Prāṇāpānayoḥ*’ [It need not be genitive dual as Prof. OLDENBERG takes it to be in his translation of sūtra 4] can go with ‘*prapadye*’ as well as the accusive [MACDONELL : *A Vedic grammar for students* 204 B1b page 325]. (ii) Very possibly, ‘*Prāṇāpānayoḥ*’ in sūtra 4 is a *pratīka* of this formula, as I have shown above, which will rule out any alteration of that word here. Formula (b) is found without variation in ŚB. 11. 5. 4. 3 in an upanayana context : ‘*Athainam bhūtebhyaḥ paridadāti | prajāpataye tvā paridadāmi*’ and then comes our formula. The common link between this Upanayana context in ŚB. and our *leave-taking* context is that the Ācārya gives over his disciple in charge of god Savitr. This same formula occurs in PG. 2. 2. 21 and SMB. 1. 6. 24 in the same Upanayana context.

ĀG. III. 10. 11 : *Yasyā diśo bibhīyād yasmādvā tām diśam ulmukam ubhayataḥ pradīptam pratyasyen, manthanā vā prasavyam āloḍya* : (a) “*abhayam mītrā-varuṇā mahyamastu*, (b) *arciṣā śatrūn dahatam pratītya* | (c) *mā jñātāram mā pratiṣṭhām vindantu* (d) *mītho bhindānā upayantu mṛtyum*” iti.

*Trans.* : Sūtra 11. (If in the course of the journey), he should apprehend danger from any direction or person, in that or his direction, he should throw a fire-brand burning at both ends and having twirled a churning-stick from right to left with the mantra “Safety be to me, Mitra and Varuna ; having caught hold of the foes, burn them up with your flame. May they not find one who knows (*our whereabouts*) nor any support ; falling out with one another, may they go to death” [Sūtra 12 : he lowers it i.e. the churning-stick with the RV. verse X. 84. 7].

*Sources* : Prof. STENZLER compares AV. VI. 32. 3, from which he has adopted the reading ‘*Upayantu*’ in (d) although his MSS. ABC read ‘*bhindā-*

nām ubhayaṁ tu' and DE read 'bhindāna ubhayaṁ tu' ' (p. 51 Kritische Anmerkungen). This emendation, is, in my opinion, unnecessary as the reading of MSS. DE gives quite a good sense e.g. pādas (c), and (d) could be translated with this reading : "May they not find a knower or a support but let both, falling out with each other (find) death" the verb 'Vindantu' being easily supplied from the third pāda. Emendations should be resorted to only when a reading makes no sense at all because even though our text may have borrowed the verse from AV., it could, like all Gṛhya texts, exercise the privilege of making changes in it. In pāda (a), for example, our text has changed the AV. "ihāstu naḥ" into 'mahyam astu' because the speaker is a single person.

ĀG. III. 11. 1 :—' *Sarvatobhyādanājñātād aṣṭāv ājyāhufīr juhuyād* : "I (a) *Prṥhivī vṛtā*, (b) *sāgninā vṛtā*, (c) *tayā vṛtayā vartryā*, (d) *yasmād bhayād bibhemi tadvārāye svāhā* | II (a) *Antarikṣaṁ vṛtam* (b) *tadvāyunā vṛtam* etc III (a) *Dyaus vṛtā* (b) *sādityena vṛtā* and so on (there being eight associated pairs in all e.g. IV (a) *diśaḥ* etc. (b) *candramasā* etc. V (a) *āpaḥ* etc. (b) *Varuṇena* etc. VI (a) *Prajā* etc. (b) *Prāṇena* etc. VII (a) *Vedāḥ* etc. (b) *Chandobhiḥ* etc. VIII (a) *Sarvam* etc. (b) *brahmaṇā* etc. *svāhā* |

*Trans.* When an unknown danger threatens him from all sides, he offers eight ājya oblations with the following (eight) mantras : (I) *Prṥhivī* is covered ; (b) by *Agni* is she covered ; (c) With her (i.e. with the help of her) the covered one (and also), the covering one, I avert the danger of which I am afraid II (a) The *Antarikṣa* etc. (b) by *Vāyu* . . . and so on.

*Sources.* A parallel formula with '*śāntā*' (peaceful) instead of our '*Vṛtā*' is found in TA. 4. 42. 5 : I (a) "*Prṥhivī śāntā* (b) *sāgninā śāntā* (c) *Sā me śāntā* (d) *śucam śamayatu* | II (a) *Antarikṣam* etc. (b) *Vāyunā* . . . III (a) *Dyaus* . . . (b) *ādityena* . . . | and then follows "*prṥhivī śāntiḥ antarikṣaṁ śāntiḥ* etc. . . . *śāntireva śāntiḥ śāntir me astu śāntiḥ | tayāham śāntyā sarva-śāntyā mahyaṁ dvipade catuṣpade ca śāntiṁ karomi* etc" |

#### IV. 3

For the funeral rites in the third *kaṇḍikā* of this (i.e. the fourth) *adhyāya*, Prof. STENZLER compares (p. 119) SB. 12. 5. 2. 1. seqq. There is a general similarity in the rites described there, no doubt, but the passage ŚS IV 14. 17-35 agrees so remarkably with our text in practically every detail of the distribution and the disposition of the sacrificial implements on the dead body (of an *Āhitāgni*) that one cannot help thinking that the *Sāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* belonging to the RV. and therefore allied to our text was the model before our text.

ĀG. IV. 3. 27. *Pañcamāṁ urasi pretasya*, (a) "*asmād vai tvam ajāyathā*, (b) *ayam tvad adhijāyatām asau* (c) *svargāya lokāya svāhā*" |

*Trans.* A fifth (oblation) on the chest of the deceased (is offered) with the formula (a) "From this one (i.e., the deceased) indeed, hast thou (the

fire) been born (because the Āhitāgni in his life-time kindled and maintained the three fires ; (b) May he—so and so—now be born out of thee (to the immortal life beyond). (c) To the Heaven-world, svāhā !

*Context.* This oblation follows four oblations of Ājya in the Dakṣiṇāgni after the sacrificial implements have been placed on the limbs of the dead body and the body covered with a hide.

*Sources :* (a) is found in an identical form in JB. 1. 47 which has for (b) a slightly different formula 'eṣa tvaj jāyatām, svāhā' | ; (b) is found in an identical form in ŚŚ. 4. 14. 36, after a formula slightly different from (a) viz. "ayam vai tvām ajanayat" | ; (a) and (b) in a slightly different form are found in ŚB. 12. 5. 2. 15 (a) "Asmāt tvam adhiṣṭāsi (b) tvadayam jāyatām punaḥ". In all these passages (JB. ŚŚ. and ŚB.) the context is the same and the sense is the same.

ĀG. IV. 7. 11 : *Tilān āvapati :* (a) ".....tilo'si soma-devatyo' (b) gosave devanirmitaḥ | (c) pratna-vadbhiḥ prattaḥ svadyayā, (d) pitṛn imāññlokān prīṇayā hi naḥ svadhā namaḥ. | "

*Trans :* (a) "Sesamum art thou, with Soma as thy deity ; (b) created by the gods at the Gosava sacrifice, (c) offered with the Ṛg-verses containing the word 'pratna' (i.e. RV. IX. 54. 1 seqq.) with faith, (d) propitiate for us the Fathers and these worlds."

The context is the śrāddha ceremony.

*Sources :* Prof. STENZLER draws attention to Kātyāyana's and Gobhila's Śrāddha-kalpa-Sūtras where the verse occurs.

*The text and the interpretation of the verse :* Prof. STENZLER p. 133 thinks that the verse is hardly right as it stands and draws attention to the different readings of the parallel verse noted above. Prof. OLDENBERG (p. 251) similarly thinks that the reading of several words of the mantra is doubtful. *I may point out however that the verse as it stands is not corrupt and yields a very satisfactory meaning, (as in the translation above).* In (a) 'tila' is called 'Soma-devatyah' (having Soma as its deity) ; in (b) it is described as created by the gods at the Gosava sacrifice—which is the name of a type of Soma sacrifice, a variety of the 'Ekāha' (or one-day soma sacrifice.) It is but proper that the 'tila' whose deity is Soma, should be described as created at a soma sacrifice. The third pāda (c) then says that the tila is offered ('prattaḥ') with the 'pratna-vad' Ṛg-verses (containing the word 'pratna'). Prof. OLDENBERG who refers (p. 251) to this meaning of the word as given in the Petersburg dictionary *unnecessarily rejects it*. Sāyaṇa's commentary on PB. 10. 4. 8, where the word occurs explains that the 'pratnavat' Ṛg-verses are those beginning with 'Asya pratnām anu dyutam' i.e. RV. IX. 54. 1 seqq. Now the deity of the hymn RV. IX. 54 is 'Pavamāna Soma.' What could be more natural than that the 'tila' whose deity is Soma (pāda. a), who was created at a soma-sacrifice (pāda. b), should be described as offered ('prattaḥ') to the accompaniment of 'pratnavat' verses that are sacred to Soma? *For these reasons, I think, our readings should not*

be tampered with. Emendation effected by the substitution of the readings of parallel passages are always of doubtful value as each text often altered and adapted the words of a mantra taken from the common stock of Gṛhya tradition in its own way.

ĀG. IV. 7. 15 : *Prasṛṣṭā anumantrayeta* : (a) “*Yā divyā āpah pṛthivī sambabhūvur*, (b) *yā antarikṣyā uta pṛthivīryāḥ* (c) *hiranya-varṇā yajñīyās* (d) *tā na āpah śam syonā bhavantu*” iti |15|

*Trans* : Over (the Arghya water) poured out (by the Brāhmaṇas after accepting it) he recites the mantra “The divine waters that have appeared on the earth, the aerial waters and the terrestrial ones—may these waters, gold-coloured and sacrificial (as they are), be to us welfare (-bringing) and propitious—etc.

*Context* : The description of the Śrāddha-ceremony continues.

*Sources* : Prof. STENZLER p. 135 draws attention to the different readings of the parallel verses in Katyāyana's and Gobhila's Śrāddha-kalpa-sūtras but these are texts much later than ours and cannot be classed under ‘Sources’. The Mantra is traced to TB. 3. 1. 2. 3. with the following variations :—‘payasā’ for our ‘pṛthivī’ in (a) ; ‘antarikṣe’ for our ‘antarikṣyāḥ’ in (b) ; (c) is a different pāda altogether, viz. ‘Yāsām āśādhā anuyanti kāmam’ and pāda (d) is identical. In TB. the mantra is an Invitatory formula for offering an oblation to the ‘Pūrvāśādhā’ constellation sacred to Yama, which forms a link with our Śrāddha-context. The first two pādās in this very form appear also in TB. 2. 7. 15. 4. making a verse with two other pādās, employed for sprinkling water on the king in the Coronation ceremony. This same is the ritual context of AV. IV. 8. 5<sup>ab</sup> which are also pādās very similar to our first two. It is thus clear that the first two pādās invoking the waters of the ‘Dyauh, Antarikṣa and Pṛthivī’ constituted a popular hemistich made up into different verses by the addition of different pādās. The last pāda is also a very common ending of verses addressed to the waters (compare AV. I. 33. 1 and 4 ; MS. 2. 13. 1 etc.). Our text then seems to have derived pādās (a) and (b) and (d) from the TB. passage 3. 1. 2. 3. mentioned above. As regards pāda (c), I think it was suggested by the well-known verse : TS. 5. 6. 1. 1 ‘*hiranya-varṇāḥ śucayaḥ pāvakāḥ*’ etc. whose last pāda is identical with our (d), (a verse repeated in the daily Sandhyā adoration in India even to-day). I do not think that Prof. OLDENBERG's suggestion that “we should read no doubt as the parallel texts have *payasā sambabhūvur*” need be adopted for the simple reason that the substitution of ‘Pṛthivī’ (Old Vedic Loc. sing) is probably a deliberate change made by our text to suit the particular context viz. the pouring out of the arghya-waters which are spilt on the ground and thus appear on the earth (Pṛthivī). Besides, emendations should be resorted to only when no sense is otherwise possible.

ĀG. IV. 7. 16 (a) : “*Noddharet prathamam pātram*, (b) *pīṭṇām arghyapātitaṁ* | (c) *āvṛtāstatra tiṣṭhanti* (d) *pītarāḥ, śaunako'bravīt* |16|

*Trans* : (a) “He should not remove the first vessel, (b) set apart for

the *arghya* water of the Fathers<sup>1</sup>; (c) and (d) :—"covered up, the Fathers remain there" so said Śaunaka".

*Context* : When the Brāhmaṇas have poured out the Arghya-water offered to them (Sūtra 15), the remainder of the Arghya water in the three vessels (mentioned in sūtra 10) is mixed together. This śloka implies that the remainder in the second and third vessels is all added on to that in the first vessel, which (it says) *must not be removed* (or *lifted for the pouring of its contents into another vessel*).

*Sources* : It is a late śloka and not traced to any early work nor is it found in any other parallel Sūtra-text.

Prof. STENZLER in his *Kritische Anmerkungen* (p. 53) tells us that his MSS DE insert another verse after the 16th sūtra (i.e. the above śloka). *I give it here just for comparison with a different version of the same verse in the Trivandrum edition* :—(a) "Uddhared yadi cet pātram, (b) vivṛtaṁ vā yadā bhavet | (c) tadāsuram bhavēcchrādhaṁ, (d) Kruddhaiḥ pitṛ-gaṇair gataih" |. In the Trivandrum version of this second verse, pādā (a) reads 'yadā vā tūddhṛtam pātram'; (b) is the same, as also (d); in (c) it has 'abhojyaṁ tat' for 'tadāsuram'. It is interesting to note that Haradatta calls both these verses as "yajña-gāthe" i.e. 'stanzas of sacrificial import' like the one quoted in our text I. 3. 10.

ĀG. IV. 7.22 : (a) 'Agnimukhā vai devāḥ, (b) pāṇi-mukhāḥ pitara' iti hi brāhmaṇam |

*Trans* : (a) "The gods have Agni for their mouth. (b) The fathers have hands as their mouth" : thus runs a Brāhmaṇa.

*Context*. A portion of the Sthālī-pāka prepared for the Piṇḍa-pitṛyajña is besmeared with ghee and offered into the fire with the permission of the Brāhmaṇas or offered into the hands of the Brāhmaṇas. The latter alternative is supported by the quotation.

*Sources*. For (a) may be compared 'Agnir vai devānām mukham, mukhata eva tad devān prīṇāti' | (p. 100 Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa). "Agni is the mouth of the gods; he thereby pleases (the gods) through (their) mouth (when he sacrifices into Agni)."

For (b) may be compared ŚG. 4. 7. 55 'Pānyāso brāhmaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ' (The Brāhmaṇa has his hand as his mouth).

ĀG. IV. 7. 30-31 : 'Om Svadhocyatām' iti viśṛjet | 30 | 'astu svadhetyā vā | 31 |

*Trans* : Sūtra 30. (At the end of the Śrāddha ceremony), he grants leave (to the Brāhmaṇas to depart) with the formula : let it be said 'Om ! Svadhā' ; (Sūtra 31) : or 'So be it ! svadhā !'

*Sources*. These same formulas are found in a number of texts : ŚB. 2.6. 1.24 ; GB. 2. 1. 24 ; APŚ. 8.15. 12 ; KŚ. 9. 11 and ĀŚ. 2. 19. 18. These parallel

1. The compound 'arghya-pātitaṁ' can be dissolved, in my opinion, only in this way : 'arghyārtham pātitaṁ'.

passages show that the two formulas (corresponding to those given in our Sūtras 30 and 31) are for 'the leave-granting by the householder and for the response by the Brāhmaṇas respectively, whereas the wording in our text rather implies that the two are alternative formulas, either of which may be used by the householder—the formula for the response being left for inference from the 30th sūtra. I think that our text has made a confusion by putting 'vā in sūtra 31 instead of 'ca' (!) and that the formula in sūtra 31 is really one prescribed for the formal response of the Brāhmaṇas !

ĀG. IV. 8. This whole Kaṇḍikā describing the 'Śūla-gava' sacrifice agrees so closely with ŚŚ. IV. 17, not only in the wording of some of the mantras cited but many of the sūtras also, that it is almost certain that our text has made wholesale borrowings from the latter text ! As a few instances of close agreement may be cited :—IV. 8. 15-16 = ŚŚ. IV. 17. 5. and 7 ; IV. 8. 22, 28 = ŚŚ. IV. 17. 7 and 8. Many sūtras are wholly identical or in part ; many RV. citations are also the same.

ĀG. IV. 8. 22 : " *catasṣu catasṣu kuśasūnāsu catasṣu dikṣu balim haret* (a) " *Yāste Rudra pūrvasyāṁ diśi senāstābhya enan* (b) *namaste astu mā mā himsīr* " *iti evam pratidiśaṁ tvādeśanam* |

*Trans.* Let him make Bali offerings in (i.e. to) the four quarters, on four wicker-work baskets of kuśa grass (four for each quarter) with the formulas : (a) " Those hosts of thine, O Rudra, that are (stationed) in the eastern quarter, to them this (offering is brought), (b) Homage to thee ! Do not injure me ! " In this way (i.e. with similar formulas) the offering is directed to each quarter.

*Sources :* Only a Sūtra text : PG. 3. 8. 11 has similar formulas, Here, in fact, we find all the formulas for the various quarters introduced by words like 'purastāt', 'paścāt', 'dakṣiṇataḥ' and 'Uttarataḥ', etc., of which a specimen only is given in our text. The context is exactly the same as in our text.

ĀG. IV. 8. 27 and 28 : *Uttarato' gner darbhavītāsu kuśa-sūnāsu vā śoṇitam ninayet* : (a) " *Śvāsinīr ghoṣinīr vicinvatīḥ, samaśnvīḥ*, (b) *sarpā yadvotṛa taddharadhvam* " *iti* [27] *athodaṅgāvṛtya* (a) ' *śvāsinīḥ* ' [etc. as above, upto 'taddharadhvamiti' and then] *sarpebhyo yat tatṛāśṛg ūvadhyaṁ vāvasrutam bhavati taddharanti sarpāḥ* [8]

*Trans :* (Sūtra 27) He should pour out the blood (of the sacrificial victim) on Darbha-mats or wicker-work baskets of kuśa grass to the north of the fire with the formula :—(a) " Hissing Ones ! Shouting ones ! Searching ones ! Seizing ones ! (b) Serpents ! what here belongs to you, take that ! (Sūtra 28) :—Then, turning to the north, he offers it to the serpents with the formula " Hissing ones " etc. [as (a) above]. Then the serpents take whatever has trickled down, of blood, or of the contents of the stomach and bowels (of the sacrificial animal), (all that being intended) for the serpents.

*Sources.* In ŚŚ. IV. 17. 7-8, we not only find a similar mantra but the ritual act or context is also very much the same. "... palāśāni prāgudañci nidhāya, teṣu lohita-miśramūvadhyaṁ vāvadhāya Rudra-senābhyo ' nudīṣati ||?||

“Āghoṣiṇyaḥ pratighoṣiṇyaḥ samghoṣiṇyo, vicinvatyāḥ śvasanāḥ, kravvyād eṣa vo bhāgastarṇ juṣadhvarṇ svāhā ! || 8 || [Placing the leaves in a north-easterly direction and placing (i.e. pouring), the stomach—contents mixed with blood (of the sacrificial victim) in those leaves, he assigns it to the hosts of Rudra with a mantra which is very nearly the same as ours.]

AG. IV. 8. 32 : *Nāsya grāmam āhareyur “abhi-māruko haiṣa devaḥ prajā bhavati” iti.*

*Trans.* He should not take anything belonging to it (i.e. the sacrifice to Rudra) to the village (the whole sacrifice takes place outside the village), because ‘this god is harmful to the people’.

*Sources :* Prof. STENZLER (Vorrede III) accepts the suggestion of Prof. WEBER that ‘abhi-mānuka’ should be read for ‘abhimāruka’ (Prof. OLDENBERG proposes the same change on p. 258) in the light of AB. III. 34. But the AB. passage III. 34 reads ‘*anabhi-mānuko haiṣa devaḥ prajā bhavati*’ [This god Rudra becomes a *non-attacker* of men if the verse RV. II. 33. 1 from a hymn sacred to Rudra, is recited with some changes] ! It cannot be said that our text has taken the part ‘abhimānukaḥ’ from the word ‘anabhi-mānukaḥ’ in AB. because it appears to be a quotation from the AB ! The Trivandrum edition solves the problem by actually reading ‘*anabhi-mānukaḥ*’ ! This reading can be constructed also satisfactorily with the introductory part of this sūtra as well as the preceding sūtra e.g. sūtra 31 says ‘he should not partake of that sacrifice’. Sūtra 32 then says “He should not bring anything of that sacrifice to the village because [thus (i.e. by observing these restrictions)] the god becomes a non-attacker of men” *exactly as it is said in the AB.*, that by reciting the verse RV II. 33. 1 with certain changes, the god becomes a non-attacker of men ! Thus if at all an emendation is necessary (*it is not, in my opinion*) ‘anabhimānukaḥ’ should be read and not ‘abhimānukaḥ’.

The foregoing investigation into the sources and interpretation of Non-Rgvedic Mantras liturgically employed in the Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra will, I hope, convince scholars that this Grhyasūtra (also Grhyasūtras as a class) is more a *School-compilation* than a composition by one or more individual authors. This is clear from the wholesale borrowings of not only Mantras (which were bound to be cited from earlier texts) but also whole chapters and sections from earlier Vedic texts such as the Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas Upaniṣads and Śrauta sūtras. I have also demonstrated, I hope, that a far larger number of passages from earlier Vedic texts betray a definite Grhya bias than was thought possible by scholars. I propose to publish in course of time the results of similar investigations by me in connection with other Grhyasūtras as the whole material is now ready with me.



## THE EPOCH OF THE SO-CALLED HARSHA ERA \*

By

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE

[In the June number of the 'Indian Historical Quarterly' for 1935, Mr. K. G. SANKAR wrote an interesting article on the 'Early Chronology of Nepal' which helped me a good deal in examining the epoch of the so-called Harsha era.]

There are a few inscriptions in Indian Epigraphy dated in an era which from synchronistic evidence were found to fall in or about the reign of Harshavardhana of Kanauj who, from a statement of Alberuni (A.D. 1036), was supposed to have started an era from about A.D. 606. Hence the era used in these inscriptions was assumed to be dated in the Harsha era of A.D. 606.

Now, let us go deeply into the question of an era started by Harshavardhana of Kanauj. Alberuni states 'The Hindus believe regarding Śrī Harsha that he used to examine the soil in order to see what of hidden treasures was in its interior. . . . . that, in fact he found such treasures ; and, that, in consequence he could dispense with oppressing his subjects (by taxes etc.). His era is used in Mathura and the country of Kanauj. Between Śrī Harsha and Vikramāditya there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by some of the inhabitants of that region. However, in the Kashmirian calendar I have read that Sri Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. In face of this discrepancy I am in perfect uncertainty, which to the present moment has not been cleared up by any trustworthy information.' (Alberuni's India. SACHAU's trans., Ch. XLIX, Vol. II p. 7). Alberuni also states that the year 1488 of the era of Śrī Harsha is equivalent to the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya. From all this it is evident that Alberuni speaks of only one Śrī Harsha era, the epoch of which was 400 years earlier than the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. Alberuni searched for this king Sri Harsha in whose name the era was started and found in the Kashmirian calendar that Sri Harsha (-vardhana of Kanauj) was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. From this it is clear that even in the Kashmirian calendar there is no mention of Harshavardhana having started an era but it simply says that Harsha flourished 664 years later than Vikramāditya. That Harsha never started an era seems evident from his own inscriptions dated Sam. 22 and 25 where he does not even state '*(vijaya-) rājya Samvatsare*'—in the year so and so of his (victorious) reign.

Now, if it is assumed that Harsha did not start an era then the question is, to what era do the dates in those inscriptions really belong ?

The late Prof. Sylvain LÉVI has shown that BENDALL'S Gōlmādhītōl inscription of Śivadeva (I) of Nepal mentioning Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarman

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\* Read before the first Indian Cultural Conference held in Calcutta in 1936.

is really dated 'Samvat 518' and not 'Samvat 316' as read by BENDALL. As such the date '518' may really be in the Śaka era, equivalent to A.D. 595 about which Sylvain LÉVI assumed to be the epoch of a local Nepāla era, the same as the so-called Harsha era. From Stanislas JULIEN's translation we know that Hiuen Tsiang visited Nepal not later than A.D. 637 when he speaks of Amśuvarman as 'Lately there was a king called Amśuvarman. . . .' clearly indicating that Amśuvarman was dead before A.D. 637. We have Amśuvarman's inscription dated Sam. 44 or 45. The epoch of A.D. 606, or A.D. 595 of Sylvain LÉVI would make Amśuvarman still living after A.D. 639. This shows that none of the epochs is the right one and the late Prof. KIELHORN's remarks 'But since for Amśuvarman we have the date No. 1393 of the year 44 or 45, even the adoption of such a new era (epoch A.D. 595) would not meet one of Prof. LÉVI's main objections to the assignment of this (of the year 34) to the Harsha era—the objection, namely, that according to Hiuen Tsiang's account, Amśuvarman could not have lived after A. D. 637.' (Dr. BHANDARKAR's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 189 fn.). Thus it is evident that the epoch of the era must be earlier than even A.D. 595 and hence Profs. KIELHORN and BHANDARKAR rightly suspected in their Lists that the era in those inscriptions is yet undetermined. The inscription of Sam. 34 is dated '*prathama Pausha*,' i.e., the month of Pausha was intercalary this year. On the epoch of the so-called Harsha era (A.D. 606) this date is equivalent to A.D. 640. But there was no intercalary Pausha this year showing clearly the incorrectness of that epoch (A.D. 606). The following remarks 'Judging by the date of No. 40 the month of Pausha of Harsha samvat 34 would be expected to fall in A.D. 639-40 (in Kali Yuga Samvat—3740 expired), but in that year no month was intercalary. In (Kali Yuga Samvat 3741 expired =) A.D. 640-41 by the rules of mean intercalation, there was an intercalated month which might be called Pausha on the supposition (this supposition would be the very reverse of the supposition made under No. 1351) that it was calculated by the *Brahma Siddhānta* and named according to the modern (not Brahmagupta's) rule for naming intercalated months, but which ordinarily would be called Mārgaśīra.' (Dr. BHANDARKAR's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 190). These are 'sufficient to show the incorrectness of the epoch (A.D. 606) of the so-called Harsha era.'

Now, we have the inscriptions of the Pratihāra P. M. P. Bhojadeva of Kanauj dated Vikrama years 893, 900, 919 (also Śaka 784) 932 and 933 and also in the so-called Harsha era dated Samvat 259 and 276. Now Vikrama Samvats 893, 900, 919 (= Śaka 784), 932 and 933 are equivalent to Śaka years 758, 765, 784, 797 and 798. If, however, it is assumed that a new counting of the Śaka era was begun after Śaka year 500 then the above Śaka dates should be written as (Śaka) Samvats 258, 265, 284, 297 and 298, and we see that these dates are quite near the other dates 259 and 276 of Bhoja. Thus there is every chance of the epoch of the so-called Harsha era being identical with Śaka year 500 when a new counting was begun.

Now let us see how far this is corroborated by other available evidence.

Rājaputra Vikramasena figures as the *dūtaka* in the Nepāl inscription dated year 535 and also in the inscriptions of Sam. 32 and 34. This supports the assumption that Sams. 32 and 34 are a shortened way of writing 532 and 534. Thus Sam. 518 of the inscription of Śivadeva (I) mentioning the feudal chief Amśuvarman might also have been written (5) 18.

BENDALL's Sundhārā inscr. of Amśuvarman is dated 'Sam. 34, *prathama Pausha*.' If Sam. 34 is really Śaka 534 then this date ought to show *prathama* or intercalary Pausha. Now Śaka 534 current = A.D. 611 (March) and we know that according to the mean sign system the month of Pausha (Nov.-Dec.) was intercalary in A.D. 610. That in this year the month of Pausha was intercalary was also noticed by Mr. SANKAR in his article. But he took the *prathama Pausha* occurring  $2 \times 19$ , or 38 years earlier in A.D. 572 to be equivalent to the *prathama Pausha* of Sam. 34 and thus placed the epoch of the so-called Harsha era incorrectly in A.D. (572-34, or) 538, the truth of which will be shown shortly. It is thus clear that in Nepāl at that time the year began some six months earlier in Kārttika or Mārgaśīrṣa ('Like all Luni-solar years, the *fasli* takes the number of the next solar *San*. Thus A.D. 1900 was Bengal *San* 1307 current, but the luni-solar *fasli* beginning on *Āswina Krishna pratipad* of A.D. 1900 takes the number of the next Bengal *San* i.e., 1308 current.'—PILLAI's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 54) and that the epoch of the so-called Harsha era is Śaka 500 current = A.D. 576-77.

From Dhruvadeva and Jishnugupta's inscr. dated Sam. 48 we infer that Amśuvarman was dead before this date. Now (Śaka) (5) 48 current calculated similarly is equivalent to A.D. 624-25 and this date is quite in accordance with Hiuen Tsiang's statement concerning Amśuvarman.

The inscription of Narendradeva's son Śivadeva (II) of Nepāl dated Sam. 119 (month Phālguna) is, therefore, equivalent to Śaka 619 current = A.D. 696. Sylvain LÉVI has shown from Chinese sources that Narendradeva of Nepāl received a Chinese envoy in A.D. 646 and sent envoys himself in A.D. 651. This Narendradeva is apparently Śivadeva II's father. The date A.D. 646 seems to fall in the first part of Narendra's reign and A.D. 696 to fall in the last portion of Śivadeva II's reign. From Jishnugupta's inscription of Sam. 48 (= A.D. 624-25) we know that Dhruvadeva was the Licchavi king of Nepāl at that time. Hence Udayadeva, son of Dhruvadeva seems to be the reigning Licchavi king of Nepāl mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

We know from Śivadeva II's son Jayadeva's inscription that Śivadeva II (Sam. 119 = Śaka 619 = A.D. 696) married the grand-daughter of Ādityasena of Magadha one of whose inscriptions is dated Sam. 66. From Ādityasena's inscription we also know that his father Mādhvagupta was a contemporary of Harsha of Kanauj whose inscriptions are dated Sam. 22 and 25. Thus there cannot be any doubt that the dates in the above inscriptions all belong to the same epoch. Sam. 66 is, therefore, equivalent to Śaka 566 = A.D. 642-43 i.e., during the last days of Harsha and also of Hiuen Tsiang's visit.

The Korean pilgrim Hwui Lun (mentioned by I-tsing) who visited India

after Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 645) and prior to A.D. 689 says 'Recently a king called Sun Army (Ādityasena) built by the side of the temple (near Mahābodhi) another, which is now newly finished.' There cannot thus be any doubt that Ādityasena flourished during the last days of Harsha and after that. Mr. K. G. SANKAR in his article took the epoch of the so-called Harsha era to be A.D. 538, as such the date Sam. 66 of Ādityasena falls in A.D. 604 i.e., in the beginning of Harsha's reign. From Chinese and Indian contemporary evidence such an early date for Ādityasena cannot be accepted, for, we know from Ādityasena's inscriptions that his father Mādhavagupta was contemporaneous with Harshavardhana. If, however, Mr. SANKAR thinks that Śivadeva II's date (Sam. 119) is equivalent to A.D. (538 + 119, or) 657 and Ādityasena's date (Sam. 66) is to be referred to the epoch of A.D. 606, i.e., equivalent to A.D. 672, then we find that a grandson's date is much earlier than that of the grandfather ! With Mr. SANKAR's epoch (A.D. 538) Sam. 22 and 25 of Harsha are equivalent to A.D. 560 and 563. These dates of Harsha are simply absurd. Hence the theory of Mr. SANKAR about his epoch (A.D. 538) of the so-called Harsha era having originated with Yaśodharman Vishṇuvardhana is unacceptable. If Yaśodharman Vishṇuvardhana contemporaneous with Narasimhagupta Bālāditya and Mihirakula really flourished only 90 years before Hiuen Tsiang's time, he should not have made the preposterous mistake of stating on various occasions that these flourished several centuries before his time. Hiuen Tsiang could easily have met several aged persons who might have been eye-witnesses of events occurring 90 years before. No one now will make the strange mistake of saying that the Sepoy Mutiny (A.D. 1857) occurred several centuries before A.D. 1936. We learn of Mutiny veterans still living. From the Hārāhā inscription we know that Suryavarman while he had attained puberty repaired a dilapidated Śiva temple in (Vikrama) Samvat 611 (or, more correctly 610-11 = Sam. 589—*vide* Annual Report of the Lucknow Museum for the year ending March, 1915, p. 3 footnote) and that he was born while his father Maukhari Mahārājādhirāja Iśānavarman was ruling. This shows that Mahārājādhirāja Iśānavarman was ruling in about Vikrama Samvat (611-20, or) 591 = A.D. 534 when according to FLEET's epoch Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman Vishṇuvardhana was ruling. Moreover, during the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Iśānavarman Maukhari, Mahārājādhirāja (Kumāra-) gupta (III) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty was ruling in (Gupta) San. 224 = A.D. 543 on FLEET's epoch. All this shows the incorrectness of FLEET's epoch (A.D. 319) of the Gupta era and the date of Yaśodharman Vishṇuvardhana which forms the basis of Mr. SANKAR's epoch.

The inscription of Harsha dated Sam. 22 is equivalent to Śaka 522 = A.D. 599. This date seems to be the first year of Harsha's reign. Hiuen Tsiang says that Harsha after his accession to the throne proceeded eastwards and invaded the states that had refused allegiance and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had subjugated Northern India and then reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon. That this is true will be evident from the inscription of Gurjara Jayabhata III dated K. 486 = A.D. 735 (E.

I. Vols. XXII and XXIII) where it is stated that Dadda I (K. 330, 346 = A.D. 579, 595) protected the Lord of Valabhi that had been defeated by the glorious Harshadeva. Now Dadda I's son, Jayabhata I's only available inscription is dated K. 355 = A.D. 604. Therefore Harsha must have defeated the Valabhi ruler sometime before A.D. 604, showing clearly that Harsha's accession could not have taken place in A.D. 606. Therefore, by A.D. 605 he had consolidated his power and this was practically the date from which people acknowledged him to be an Imperial Sovereign. This was the date in the Kashmirian calendar where it was written that Śrī Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. Hiuen Tsiang says that from this date Harshavardhana lived in peace for thirty years (i.e., upto 634 A.D.) without raising a weapon. Curiously, the Aihole inscription of Cālukya Pulakeśi II dated Śaka 556 elapsed (= A.D. 634) speaks of Harsha as having been forced to retire discomfited and in Pulakeśi's subsequent inscriptions his defeat of 'the glorious Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the regions of the North' finds specific mention with legitimate pride. Now, Pulakeśi ascended the throne in Śaka 532 = A.D. 609, and in his earlier records there is no mention of his having defeated Harsha. Vincent SMITH, *therefore*, could not accept FLEET's date of A.D. 612 for Pulakeśi's defeat of Harsha and advocated A.D. 620. But in doing so we have to reject the explicit statement of Hiuen Tsiang that Harsha after his subjugation of the North reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon. Hiuen Tsiang visited Pulakeśi's court sometime after A.D. 634 and speaks of Harsha's encounter with Pulakeśi thus : 'Śilāditya-rāja (Harshavardhana, boasting of his skill and the invariable success of his generals, filled with confidence himself marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince (Pulakeśi) —but he was unable to prevail or subjugate him.' (Rev. BEAL, 'The Life of Hiuen Tsiang by the Shaman Hwui Li, p. 147). Dr. G. J. DUBREUIL in his 'Ancient History of the Deccan' (p. 113) advocates a date after A.D. 634 for Pulakeśi's defeat of Harsha.

As for the other longer dates (Sam. 386, 413, 435 etc.) in inscriptions of Nepāl the late Dr. Bhagwanlal INDRAJI has very ably shewn in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XIII, pp. 424-26) that these must be referred to the Vikrama era. From the Kātmāṇḍu inscription of Jayadeva of Nepāl he has shown that from Mānadeva (Sam. 386) to Jayadeva (Sam. 153 = Śaka 653 = v.s. 788,) there were twenty (eighteen, according to Dr. VASAK, *Hist. of North Eastern India*, p. 281) kings. Assuming Sam. 386 to be in the Vikrama era, the interval between this and the date of Jayadeva (Sam. 153 = v.s. 788) is 402 years. This divided by 18 or 20 gives twenty-two or twenty years for an average reign, which is perfectly acceptable. If Sam. 386 be assumed to be in the Śaka era then the interval between this and Jayadeva's date (Śaka 653) is one of 267 years which divided by 18 yield only 15 years for an average reign which is too low. This inscription of Sam. 386 is dated 'on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Jyaishta of Sam. 386 when the moon stood in Nakshatra Rohiṇī, in the excellent muhurta Abhijit.' Sylvain LÉVI took Sam. 386 to be equivalent to A.D. 496 on his epoch of A.D. 110 for a

Licchavi era of Nepāl and calculated the above details to occur on 'Tuesday, May 1, A.D. 496.' But May 1 (Jul.) A.D. 496 was Wednesday and the tithi was Śuklā tritīyā. Śukla pratipad with the above details, however, occurred on Monday, April 29 (Jul.) = Apr. 30 (Greg.) A.D. 496. That Prof. LÉVI's epoch of A.D. 110 is seriously incorrect (in addition to what was shewn by Prof. KIELHORN and stated already) will be shown shortly. In reality Sam. 386 = v.s. 386 = A.D. 328 in which year the above phenomena occurred on the 27th April. It should be remembered that there is no tradition of the use of any other era but the Vikrama and the Śaka in early Nepāl. That these larger dates are in the Vikrama era will be evident from a recently discovered Nepāla inscription of an unknown king dated 'Sam. 449 *prathama Āshāḍha*' (Sylvain LÉVI, *Le Nepāl*, Vol. III, p. 51) and we know that in Vikrama year 449 current = A.D. 391, the month of Āshāḍha was intercalary. (Dr. R. G. VASAK in his *Hist. of North Eastern India*, p. 247 inadvertently dates this in A.D. 392).

We know that Candragupta I (Vikramāditya) married a Licchavi princess (apparently of Nepāl) and with the additional help of the sturdy Nepālese soldiers he effected his conquests through his son Yuvarāja Samudragupta and then introduced his era (the Vikrama era). It was quite natural for Candragupta to have visited his father-in-law's dominions and then after liquidating all the debts of the country he perhaps introduced his era there. The scene depicted in the ruined temple in the Garhwā fort and described by Gen. CUNNINGHAM (*Arch. Sur. of India Reports*, Vol. X, pp.13-15 and plate VII) evidently describes the marriage procession, feasts etc., between the Vaiṣṇava Guptas and the Sun-worshipping (Sūrya-vamśi) Licchavis of Nepāl. Gen. CUNNINGHAM could not identify the scene but his description of the scene read along with the plate is so tempting that I cannot but reproduce a few lines from his description. 'At the left end there is a circular medallion with the sun-god seated in his seven horse chariot' (evidently the sun-god worshipped by the Sūrya-vamśi Licchavis of Nepāl)... 'On the extreme right there is a similar medallion with a king and queen seated together in conversation' (evidently Candragupta I and his queen Kumāradevī). 'In the middle there is a square panel, containing a male figure with six or eight arms, ..... On the ground to the right there is a figure kneeling before him with both hands raised in adoration. This is the principal figure of a long procession. .... Immediately behind the kneeling figure there is an attendant holding an umbrella over him—an almost certain mark of a royal personage; this evidently depicts Candragupta I kneeling before the image of Viṣṇu before he starts for his marriage. Gen. CUNNINGHAM remarks on this six armed figure thus 'As this figure is an object of veneration, it would seem that it must be intended for one of the Brahmanical gods'. Then follows the scenes of musicians followed by a party bearing presents, marriage feasts, dancing girls, etc. A second attendant is bending forward with a second offering, followed by a burly man carrying a curved broad sword like the *Nepālese Kris*.' 'Two soldiers armed with the *Kris* shaped sword bring up

the rear.' All this shows as clearly as possible that these soldiers are none but the Nepālese soldiers carrying *kukris*. It was thus quite natural for Candragupta to have visited his father-in-law's dominions and then after liquidating all the debts of the country, he perhaps introduced his era there. The author of the Nepāla *vamśāvalī* correctly states the tradition that Vikramāditya came to Nepāl but finding that Amśuvarman's inscriptions are dated Sam. 30, 32, etc., he assumed these to be in the Vikrama era and thus made the singular mistake of stating that during Amśuvarman's predecessor's rule Vikramāditya came to Nepāl.

From the Nepāla *vamśāvalī* we also get the tradition that two generations before Narendradeva (A.D. 646), that is, some 50 years before, in about A.D. 595 (= Śaka 518), the Śaka era was introduced in Nepāl (during Nandadeva's rule). 'This Rājā, having heard that the era of Śālivāhana was in use in other countries, introduced it into Nepāl. Some people, however, in gratitude to Vikramajit, who introduced his era by paying off all the debts of the country, were averse to giving up the use of that era. Hence some continued to use Vikramajit Samvat, and others out of deference to the Rājā's wishes, used the Śālivāhana Śaka.' (D. WRIGHT, *Hist. of Nepal*, p. 134). The use of two eras only a few years more than a century (135 years) in interval might cause troubles, hence perhaps the figure of 500 was omitted from the newly introduced Śaka era and a new counting was begun. Thus Sam. 30, 32, etc., of Amśuvarman and others were really in the Śaka era with omitted hundreds and it was wrong for Sylvain LÉVI in face of the above correct tradition to state that the epoch of the smaller dates was Śaka 518 current (= A.D. 595) and not Śaka 500 current (= A.D. 577). Thus from tradition also we have the use of two eras only—the Vikrama and the Śaka in early Nepāla. The chance of Amśuvarman to have started a new era is impossible, as has been ably shown by the late Dr. Bhagwan Lal INDRAJI, for, Amśuvarman in all his inscriptions styles himself a Sāmanta king. Moreover, the new counting was in use not only in Nepāl but in all Northern India.

That the use of FLEET'S Gupta era (epoch A.D. 319) in Nepāl is not supported by traditional or inscriptional evidence will now be put forth.

From the Nepāl inscription of Jayadeva II (Sam. 153) we know that Mānadeva, Mahideva and Vasantadeva were successive kings. For Mānadeva we have inscriptions dated Samvat 386 and 413 and for Vasantadeva dated Samvat 435. The late Dr. FLEET referred these inscriptions to his epoch of the Gupta era and therefore equivalent to A.D. 705 to 754. But we know that during this time Śivadeva II (inscriptional dates Sam. 119 to 143) and Jayadeva II (inscriptional dates Sam. 145 to 153) who were respectively the 14th and the 15th kings after Vasantadeva, as we know from Jayadeva II's inscription, were ruling. This shows that the larger dates cannot be referred to FLEET'S Gupta era. Referred to the Vikrama era (as was rightly done by Drs. INDRAJI and VASAK), the interval between Vasantadeva's (Vikrama) Sam. 435 and Śivadeva II's Sam. 119 = Śaka 619 = Vikrama Sam. 754, is one of 319 years and on an average of 25 years for each reign

we get 13 kings ruling in the interval. Strangely, in Jayadeva II's inscription the names of eleven kings after Vasantadeva are not mentioned, the twelfth was Udayadeva, the thirteenth, his son Narendradeva and the fourteenth, the latter's son Śivadeva II. Hence the meaning of verse 11 of Jayadeva's inscription as accepted by Dr. VASAK and others seems to be the correct one. Dr. VASAK, however, believing in FLEET's epoch of the Gupta era intends to read the dates, 'Sam. 510, 518, 519, 520 and 535 of Bhagwan Lal INDRAJI and Sylvain LÉVI as 310, 318, 319, 320 and 335. That this reading is incorrect will be evident from the following : Śivadeva I and Amśuvarman's last available date is then Sam. 320=A.D. 639, according to Dr. VASAK. (The inscription which Dr. VASAK intends to read as '335' also belongs to Amśuvarman but as the portion containing the name of the king is illegible nothing should be discussed now). But the above date (A.D. 639) for Amśuvarman is incorrect for Yuang Chwang who visited Nepal not later than A.D. 637 states 'Lately there was a King called Amśuvarman' showing clearly that Amśuvarman was dead before A.D. 637. Hence those that believed in FLEET's epoch of the Gupta era meant to say that Yuan Chwang may not have actually visited Nepāl and therefore his statement on Amśuvarman is incorrect. Even assuming for argument's sake that Amśuvarman was still living after A.D. 637 we find that in A.D. 639 Amśuvarman and Śivadeva I were ruling. Śivadeva I was succeeded by Dhruvadeva who was followed by Udayadeva. Udayadeva's son was Narendradeva who we know from Chinese sources was ruling in A.D. 646. Hence A.D. 639 might be the date of his father Udayadeva but can under no circumstances be the date of Śivadeva I. The date of the inscription which Dr. VASAK wants to read as Sam. 335 is, in his opinion equivalent to A.D. 654-55 i.e., during the reign of Narendradeva. The *dūtaka* of this inscription is *Rājaputra* Vikramasena, the same as the *dūtaka* of the inscription of Sam. 32 and 34 of Amśuvarman and Śivadeva I. Hence Dr. VASAK intends to take the inscription of Sam. 335 to belong to Śivadeva I or his son Dhruvadeva. But as already shown Dr. VASAK should have taken the inscription to belong to the reign of Śivadeva I's great grandson Narendradeva. In that case one has to admit that the same *Rājaputra* Vikramasena was *dūtaka* and a *Rājaputra* from the time of Śivadeva I to his great grandson Narendradeva ! Sylvain LÉVI intends to take the epoch of these longer dates as A.D. 110. Hence his Sam. 535=A.D. 645 i.e., only one year before Narendradeva's known date (A.D. 646). Again, his Samvat 520=A.D. 630 on his epoch. Hence this date might belong to Narendradeva's father Udayadeva ; whereas, we know that this inscription belongs to Udayadeva's grandfather Śivadeva I. This shows that Sylvain LÉVI's epoch of A.D. 110 is hopelessly in error.

On Sylvain LÉVI's epoch of A.D. 595 for the smaller dates Sam. 45=A.D. 640. After this, in Sam. 48=A.D. 643 (according to LÉVI), we find Dhruvadeva as king. But we know that only three years later in A.D. 646 Dhruvadeva's grandson Narendradeva was reigning. Again, on the epoch of the so-called Harsha era (A.D. 606), Sam. 39=A.D. 645. The *dūtaka* in this



inscription of Sam. 39 was Yuvarāja Udayadeva, evidently the son of Dhruvadeva. Whereas we know that only one year later in A.D. 646 Udayadeva's son Narendradeva was reigning in Nepāl, thus vanishing the reign of Udayadeva. Hence Dr. FLEET had no other option but to say that this Udayadeva was not the Licchavi (king) of that name but probably a Thākuri prince of that name. Again, Sam. 45 of Anśuvarman is equivalent to A.D. 651 on the epoch of A.D. 606. Anśuvarman ruled jointly with Śivadeva (I) for sometime who was followed by Dhruvadeva who ruled jointly with Jishnugupta in Sam. 48=A.D. 654. Thus on the epoch of A.D. 606 either Śivadeva (I) or Dhruvadeva was ruling in A.D. 651. Whereas, from Chinese sources we know that from A.D. 646 to 657 at least, Dhruvadeva's grandson Narendradeva was ruling. All this shows the utter incorrectness of the epochs A.D. 606 and 595 for the so-called Harsha era. From another consideration the incorrectness of the above epochs will be evident. The date of Jayadeva II's inscription of Samvat 153 is equivalent to A.D. 759 (on the epoch of A.D. 606). In this inscription Jayadeva describes Harshadeva of Kāmarūpa as 'a very powerful King, Lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kalinga and Kosala. Now, Yaśovarman of Kanauj sent an embassy to China in A.D. 731, evidently when he became Lord Paramount of Northern India after his conquest of Gauḍa and Bengal. This Yaśovarman was defeated by Lalitāditya of Kashmir and the Gauḍa King captured, taken to Kashmir and then killed by him seems to be this Yaśovarman. Evidently, after this, Lalitāditya received investiture as King by the Emperor of China in A.D. 733. From this time there was anarchy in Gauḍa and Bengal, there being no ruler there. To end this anarchy the people elected Gopāla (who became the first King of the Pāla dynasty) as their ruler from about A.D. 750. Thus Harshadeva of Kāmarūpa was Lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kalinga and Kośala before A.D. 731. (The defeat of this Harshadeva by the Kamāṭaka army, evidently of Cālukya Vikramāditya II about A.D. 735 is mentioned in the Shamangaḍ inscription of Dantidurga Rāshtrakūta dated Śaka 674=A.D. 752). Thus Harshadeva of Kāmarūpa was no longer Lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra etc., after A.D. 731, because the very laudatory reference to him could not have been made in Jayadeva's inscription if on the date of the inscription he was no longer the Lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra etc. This shows that the date of Jayadeva's inscription cannot be A.D. 759 (on the epoch of A.D. 606 for the so-called Harsha era) and the same is in error by more than (759-731, or) 28 years i.e., the true epoch of the so-called Harsha era should be about A.D. (606-28, or) 578=Śaka 500. In reality Sam. 153=Śaka 653=A.D. 730, on the true epoch of the so-called Harsha era.

It will thus be seen that Amśuvarman's inscriptions are dated in Śaka 510, 518, 520, (5)30, (5)32, (5)34, (5)39 and (5)44 or (5)45 = A.D. 587 to 622, and this date of Amśuvarman is quite in accordance with Hiuen Tsiang's statement concerning him. Rev. BEAL also remarked 'From Hiuen Tsiang's allusion one should be inclined to place Amśuvarman's reign about A.D. 580-600.' (*Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 81 fn.).

The date of an inscription of Jishnugupta and Mānadeva (II) has been

read as Sam. 500 by Sylvain LÉVI, the correctness of which is very much doubted by Dr. VASAK. We have the inscription of Jishnugupta and Dhruvadeva dated Sam. 48 = Śaka 548 = Vikrama Sam. 683. It seems that the date of the inscription of Jishnugupta and Mānadeva (II) is really (Vikrama) Sam. 700 = Śaka 565 = Sam. (5)65 = A.D. 642 i.e., just before Narendradeva. The above Mānadeva (II) seems to be a brother of Udayadeva whose name occurs in the Nepāla *vamśāvalī* immediately after Udayadeva.

From the above it will be seen very clearly that true to tradition, in early Nepāl only the Vikrama era was in use till about A.D. 577 = Śaka 500 when the Śaka era was introduced. But the simultaneous use of two eras with a difference of a few years was causing trouble, hence a new counting with omitted hundreds of the Śaka era was introduced. So that the epoch of the so-called Harsha era is really Śaka 500 current = A.D. 576-77.

It will thus be seen that the conclusion of Dr. FLEET in 1887 "And no objection could be taken by the Early Gupta kings to the adoption of the era of a royal house (the Licchavis of Nepāl), in the connection with which they took special pride; I think, therefore, that in all probability the so-called Gupta era is a Licchavi era." (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro. p. 136) is just the reverse of what he expected. In reality there has been found distinct proof of the Licchavis of Nepāl using the era of the Gupta Vikramādityas which began from 58 B.C. and no proof of the use of the Valabhi era (epoch A.D. 319) which Dr. FLEET erroneously called the epoch of the era of the Gupta Vikramādityas. Hence incidentally I request real seekers after truth to decide how far the origin of the era of the Gupta Vikramādityas from a study of the Nepāla inscriptions as shown above, true to Dr. FLEET's expectations 'But the question of the origin of the (Gupta) era is one, of course, on which further discoveries, especially if any could be made in Nepāl, may be expected to throw more light.' (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro. p. 136) has been traced.

I now append a synchronistic table with inscriptional dates for clearness.\*

In conclusion, I acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Mr. Jogendra Chandra GHOSH of Calcutta from whom I received much help in writing this paper.

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\* See next page for table.

## SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE WITH INSCRIPTIONAL DATES

		(Nepāl) Mānadeva (I) (v.s. 386 to 413 = A.D. 328 to 355)   Mahideva   Vasantadeva (v.s. 435 = A.D. 378)   (Nine kings)
		Sivadeva (I) and Amśuvarman. Śaka 510 to 520 = A.D. 587 to 597. Amśuvarman—Śaka (5)30 to (5)45 = A.D. 606 to 621. (Śaka 535 = A.D. 612). 
Harshavardhana of Kanauj. Śaka (5)22 to (5)25 = A.D. 599 to 602.	Mādhavagupta.   Ādityasena. Śaka (5)66 = A.D. 643.   daughter.   Vatsādevi =	Dhruvadeva and Jishnugupta. Śaka (5)48 = v.s. 683 = A.D. 625.   Udayadeva.   Manadeva (II) and Jishnugupta (v.s. 700 = A.D. 642).   Narendradeva A.D. 646 to 651 (from Chinese sources) = v.s. 704 to 709.   Sivadeva II Sam. 119 to 143 = Śaka 619 to 643 = v.s. 754 to 778 = A.D. 696 to 720.   Jayadeva (II) Sam. 145 to 153 = Śaka 645 to 653 = v.s. 780 to 788 = A.D. 722 to 730.
Cālukya Pulakeśi II. (Śaka 532 = A.D. 609).		
	Harshadeva of Kā- marūpa. (Upto c.A.D. 730.)  Yaśovarman of Kanauj. (Upto c. A.D. 731).  Lalitāditya of Kashmir. (c. A.D. 732—)  Anarchy in Gauḍa and Bengal.  Gopāla, the first Pāla king. (c. A.D. 750—)	
		P. M. P. BHOJADEVA OF KANAUJ. 1. v.s. 893 = Śaka 758 = A.D. 834-35. 2. Sam. 259 = Śaka 759 = A.D. 835-36. 3. v.s. 900 = Śaka 765 = A.D. 841-42. 4. Sam. 276 = Śaka 776 = A.D. 852-53. 5. v.s. 919 = Śaka 784 = A.D. 860-61. 6. v.s. 932 = Śaka 797 = A.D. 873-74. 7. v.s. 933 = Śaka 798 = A.D. 874-75.

## REVIEW

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*The Early History of Bengal* (From the earliest times to the Muslim Conquest) Vol. I, by Prof. Pramode Lal PAUL, M.A. with a Foreword by Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University; Indian Research Institute (*Indian History Series, No. 2*), 170, Maniktala Street, Calcutta, 1939 : Pp. viii+158, Price :—Rs. 4 (Inland) ; 7s. (Foreign) ; Size :—6¼"×9¾".

There was a time when the history of different Indian provinces and States recorded in Government Gazetteers was looked upon as God's word in the fields of history touched by them. With due deference to this European nursing of Indian History and the impetus given by it to historical studies in the last two decades of the 19th century we must say that the history of provinces recorded by Government Gazetteers was necessarily imperfect as many sources of history were unknown to them. During the last 50 years so much material has been brought to light that the Provincial Governments ought to establish separate offices for revising all their ponderous tomes of Gazetteers with the help of experts well trained for this work. In the old Gazetteers also we find better work done and recorded in cases where the Gazetteers had the benefit of expert scholars like BHANDARKAR and others but where these Gazetteer histories were written by administrative officers the history recorded by them was too tentative in conception and execution.

Sir R. G. BHANDARKAR wrote his *Early History of the Deccan* for the *Bombay Gazetteer* but still his work is found authoritative as he combined the accuracy of the Western method of study with the profundity of a Sanskrit Pandit par excellence. Of recent years scholars in different provinces have set themselves to the task of writing Early Histories of their provinces and brought forth more reliable works than the accounts in the Government Gazetteers. The work before us though it does not pretend to be a comprehensive history of early Bengal provides an excellent outline for such a history and we are sure that the author himself will give us someday a comprehensive history of Bengal in several volumes from the earliest times to the present day.

Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, who has already given us several volumes of the history of Greater India, has trained many students in the art of handling sources of history and the present volume by Prof. P. L. PAUL prepared under the guidance of Dr. MAJUMDAR and blessed with his Foreword would be found very useful to the students of the early History of Bengal. In this volume Prof. PAUL gives us the political history of early Bengal up to the Muslim Conquest. He hopes to bring out shortly the second volume of this study containing religious, cultural and social history of Early Bengal.

The volume before us contains seven chapters :—I—*From the Earliest Times to the Gupta Period* ; II—*From the Fall of the Guptas to the Rise of the Pālas* ; III—*The Pāla Dynasty* ; IV—*The Pāla Dynasty (Contd.)* ; V—*Independent Dynasties in Vaṅga and Rāḍha* ; VI—*The Sena Dynasty* and VII—*Administrative System*. These Chapters are followed by four Appendices on the Pāla Chronology, Sena Chronology, Lakṣmaṇa Sena Era and Doubtful Invasions of Bengal. We believe Prof. PAUL will give us an exhaustive Index to both the volumes in the second volume promised by him.

There is no mention of any part of Bengal in the Ṛgveda. The ancient name of northern Bengal was Puṇḍravardhana. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* refers to Puṇḍras, Andhras and Śabarās. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* mentions Vaṅgas, Vagadhas

(=Magadhas) and Cers. It seems that in the later Vedic period Bengal was inhabited by tribes of a different stock of population from the Brahmanical writers of the above texts and these tribes were avoided by them as far as possible. The *Mahābhārata* mentions Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Aṅga. The Buddhist literature also mentions Aṅga. The history of Bengal from the fall of the Mauryas to the rise of the Guptas is almost dark. Northern Bengal was under the Gupta emperors almost up to the middle of the 6th century A.D. About this time the Gupta Empire broke up into independent dynasties, some of which fought among themselves and thus invited foreign invasions from neighbouring potentates, including one by Harṣa-deva, who is called King of Gauḍa in an inscription of A.D. 759. The history of the Pāla and Sena Dynasties (pp. 33 to 110) i.e. from the 8th century to the 12th century A.D. is more rich in details than the earlier history of Bengal—This in brief is the history of Bengal touched by the author and reconstructed on the strength of available materials. Written in a clear style and well documented on all important points the present outline of the *Early History of Bengal* by Prof. PAUL would be found attractive even to a lay reader not interested in the dry bones of chronology, the rattling of copper-plates or the vacuous vagaries of the Purāṇas, which breed controversies in which the public finds no interest as they are inconclusive. We congratulate the author and the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta on this useful publication.

P. K. GODE.

### THE LATE SIR E. DENISON ROSS

It is with the deepest regret that the Editors and Publishers of the *New Indian Antiquary* have to announce the death of Sir E. Denison Ross, the noted Iranian scholar, in September this year. It was only recently that a Volume of Studies organised by the *New Indian Antiquary* in his honour was published, and a specially bound presentation copy was being sent to him. It is all the more regrettable that the only Volume which was completed, whether in India or Europe, before the war clouds spread over the Western world, could not reach his hands. It is now doubtful if a Presentation Volume will be organized, as intended, by the School of Oriental Studies in London, of which he was the first Director. Thus the *Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies* remains the unique symbol of the regard and esteem which he inspired in his colleagues, students and admirers.

## SOME RARE PORTRAITS AND WASLIS<sup>1</sup>

By

HIRANANDA SASTRI, Baroda.

Collections of specimens of art are of three kinds ; those housed in museums, those made by the rich dilettante, and those made by the lover of art. Personally I am not in favour of private collections in spite of being a collector myself. For when paintings, writings, etc., are deposited in museums they become available to the public, and reproductions of them can be obtained, even if with some difficulty. But when they go to the drawing-room of rich amateurs they are beyond the reach of ordinary people or are not even known to exist. They are lost to the student at large. The case however is different where lovers of art are concerned, for they are always ready to encourage art by placing their collections before genuine students and glad to allow them to study the specimens they possess and publish the results of their investigations for the information of the votaries of the muse of art. Such personages might even lend their acquisitions to museums for exhibition, thus making them readily accessible and hence useful to the student and connoisseur alike.

The small art collection in the possession of Sir V. T. KRISHNAMA CHARI comes under the third of the categories I have enumerated above, for it is always available to scholars for study. The collection consists of paintings and *waslis*, or specimens of calligraphic writing. The *waslis* are beautifully written. Some of them are signed and dated though the date is expressed symbolically. It is my intention here to publish a few of these specimens.

The Delhi Museum of Archæology is said to have specimens by more than one hundred calligraphists in its collection. A number of these were made known to the public by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar HASAN, B.A., in a memoir of the Archæological Department of India and in a note on Muslim calligraphy in the *Journal of Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. IX, pp.60 ff. The 'Nastāliq'<sup>2</sup> and the 'Shikasta' and the other specimens in the collection under notice are fair examples of some Muslim calligraphic systems. They are reproduced here for comparative study. Such comparison with other specimens will enable us to see how the art developed and declined. Similar specimens are also to be found in other collections also which the late Dr. SMITH mentioned in his *History of Fine Art in India*, etc. The *waslis* require study—a patient study, for some of them, particularly those written in the Shikasta style, defy even an expert decipherer !

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1. This article has been written in collaboration with Mr. V. H. BHANOT, B.A. (Hons.) (Cantab), M.A., of the Education Department, Baroda.

2. These terms are explained in the sequel.

It would be well to give a few general remarks on the history of the Indo-Persian or Mughal School of painting and the technical names of the calligraphic systems of Persian or Arabic writings.

The Indo-Persian or Mughal School of painting might well be considered to have started in the reign of Akbar. His grand father Bābur is known to have been an admirer of Bihzād, the famous painter of Herat, who was Bābur's contemporary (A.D. 1487-1524). Akbar seems to have been greatly influenced by the paintings of the said Kamāl-ud-dīn Bihzād, and of his pupil Āghā Mirah of Tabriz. They led him to establish the school of painting generally known by the name of Indo-Mughal.

Though opinions differ, we make bold to assert, with Abu-l Fazl, the Boswell of Akbar, that the Indian disciples of this school produced works which surpassed those of the foreign *ustāds* themselves. Indeed one of these Indian painters is said to have touched up and finished a painting by the great *ustād* Bihzād himself. This was Khwāja Abdul Dāwūd, who was the favourite of Akbar and the *ustād* of Daswanth the Kahār painter of Akbar's court. Khwāja Dāwūd was a master calligraphist as well. Abu-l Fazl gives a list of calligraphic experts, among whom the most eminent in Akbar's time was Muhammad Hussain of Kashmir. These calligraphists followed various styles or systems. Abu-l Fazl has enumerated eight such systems, which were current during the 16th century in Iran, Turan, Turkistan, Turkey and India. These are all distinct styles and can be distinguished from one another by differences in the proportion of straight and curved lines. Akbar's favourite script was Nastālīq, which consists almost entirely of curved strokes. The letters of the Arabic alphabet in which Persian is also written lend themselves to artistic treatment, and the masters of the calligraphic art have been able to produce specimens which win admiration from all and sundry.

The eight calligraphical systems current in the time of Akbar are, according to Abu-l Fazl, as follows :—

(1) The Suls, (2) the Tauqi'a, (3) the Muhaqqaq, (4) the Naskh, (5) the Raihān, (6) the Riqā'a, (7) the Ghubār and (8) the Tā'alīq. The main styles of Muslim script, however, are four, i.e., (1) Kūfic (2) Naskh (3) Nastālīq and (4) Shikasta. Of these the first two are used chiefly for Arabic, and the other two, for Persian.

The first six styles in Abu-l Fazl's list were derived in A.H. 310 by Ibn-i-Muqlah from the Maqali and the Kūfic characters. The Ghubār system is also attributed to him. Many ascribe the Naskh method to Yāqūt. The Tā'alīq way of writing is believed to have been derived from the Riqā'a and the Tauqi'a.<sup>3</sup>

The main difference in the form of a letter in these systems lies in the proportion of straight and curved strokes. The Kūfic character consists of one-sixth curvature and five-sixth straight lines, the Maqali has no curved lines at all—that is why the inscriptions found on ancient buildings

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3. *Ain-i-Akbari* (BLOCHMANN), Vol. I, pp. 99 ff.

are mostly written in this script. The Suls and the Naskh each consist of one-third curved lines and two-thirds straight lines. Of these the former, i.e., Suls is described as *Jali* i.e., clear, bold, while the other as *Khafi* or hidden, thin. The Tauqi'a and the Riqā consist of three-fourths curved lines and one-fourth straight lines—the former is *Jali* and the latter *Khafi*. The Muhaqqaq and Raihān each consist of three-fourths straight lines; the first of these is *Jali* and the second is *Khafi*.

Akbar's favourite mode of writing seems to have been the eighth in Abu-l Fazl's list, i.e. the Nastāliq. It is a round script and seems to have been evolved from the Naskh and the Tā'aliq scripts which it gradually replaced. The majority of *waslis* i.e., specimens of calligraphy beautifully illustrated and mounted on cardboard, are written in this style. It would appear from Abu-l Fazl's writings that Akbar much preferred calligraphy to painting. "Pictures are much inferior to the written letter inasmuch as the latter may embody the wisdom of bygone ages, and becomes a means of intellectual progress." But Akbar was highly interested in the art of painting also, in spite of his predilection for beautiful writing. The encouragement he gave to the art of painting produced some master-painters who even excelled their own *ustāds*. Witness Abu-l Fazl, "More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, whilst the numbers of those who approach perfection, and of those who are middling, is very large. This is specially true of the Hindus; their pictures surpass conception of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them."

These remarks are indicative of the interest which painting must have attracted during the rule of Akbar. The Emperor himself is said to have remarked once that "there are many men who hate paintings but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God, for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase his knowledge."

Evidently it was this exalted attitude of the great Mughal that made possible the masterpieces of painting and calligraphic art to be so numerous during his reign. Like painting, calligraphy was regarded as a fine art worthy of the most serious study, and masters of this skill enjoyed fame throughout Asia in those days. They were careful to sign and date their work, and thus added to the value of their productions. As Vincent SMITH has stated, many of the albums in the London collections containing miniatures include hundreds of specimens of beautiful writings in various styles and of different periods, which often seem to have been more valued than the drawings and paintings associated with them. Indeed a long catalogue of calligraphists might be compiled from the collections in England, if anybody would but take the trouble.

Both these arts, especially the art of calligraphy, require patronage to flourish, though this is to some extent true of every fine art. Proper appre-



ciation is necessary in order that it might prosper. Akbar and his two immediate successors patronised this art very liberally, and the *waslis* produced in their reign are the objects of unstinted praise. The art began to deteriorate later on for want of patronage. Only recently we have again become aware of the beauties of the art. Much of the credit for this must go to Tagore and Havell, who have done splendid service in bringing specimens of Indian painting to the notice of the general public and in revealing the mystic and other meanings connected with them. European art critics and those who follow in their wake take Havell as an extremist in his admiration of Indian art. How far they are justified in this we do not feel tempted to decide. We can only say here that Havell was one of the foremost admirers or connoisseurs of Indian art to whose appreciation of its merits and symbolical interpretation the care bestowed on it in Europe and America is largely due.

It would be out of place to discuss the history of Indian painting here. But that the art has existed in India from very ancient times it is hardly necessary to prove. One must, however, refute any contentions that "the history of painting came to an abrupt stop with the Ajanta Series in A.D. 642" or that "the history of Indian painting between the close of the Ajanta Series in A.D. 642 and the importation of Persian art by Akbar about A.D. 1540, a period of more than nine centuries, is almost a blank." The art was not extinct on Indian soil at any time. Fine specimens of paintings belonging to different periods between these nine centuries have been published and can be shown as evidence vitiating such statements. As regards coinage, too, it would be incorrect to assume that the art of striking *mudrās* deteriorated and ceased developing in the early mediæval period in India. Vincent SMITH and others have made such assertions as the above, and I cannot help remarking that they must be held to be prejudiced and hasty. In Gujarāt and Rājputānā at least, the art continued to flourish, and specimens bearing dates before the advent of the Mughals in this country are known to exist. One must admit, however, that painting was liberally patronised by Akbar and his two immediate successors and some great masterpieces were produced in consequence.

#### PLATE I (a).

As remarked above the art of painting in India can be traced to hoary antiquity. But this is hardly the case with calligraphy. Indeed, I am not aware if calligraphy as an art was developed in Hindu India as it did in Musalmān countries or in India under the Mughals. Excepting the autograph of the great Harshavardhana engraved in the Banskhera copper-plate, (Plate I (a)), and the royal signatures which frequently occur in Mysore inscriptions (Archæological Survey Progress Report, 1911-12, pages 109 ff.), hardly any calligraphic specimens worth the name, such as we see written in the systems enumerated by Abu-l Fazl, are known in the case of Devanāgarī at least. Of course, neatly written documents and manuscripts are legion, but they are



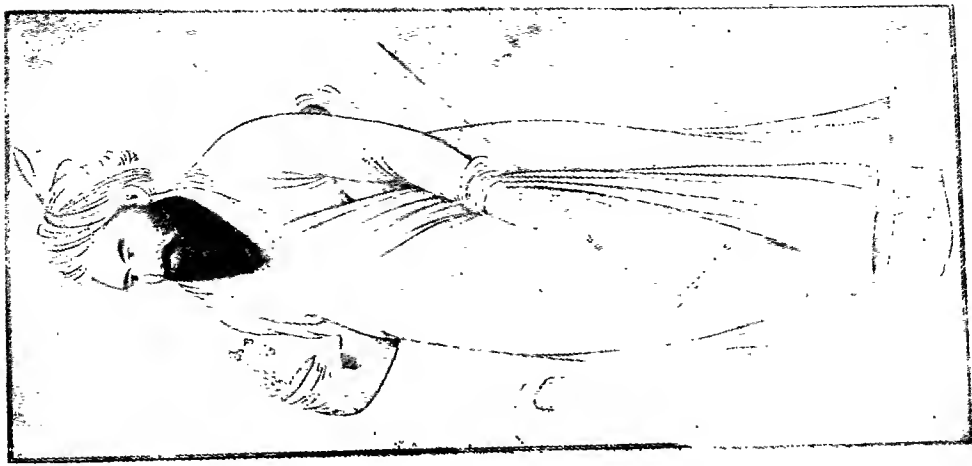
AUTOGRAPH OF HARSHAVARDHANA.

(a)



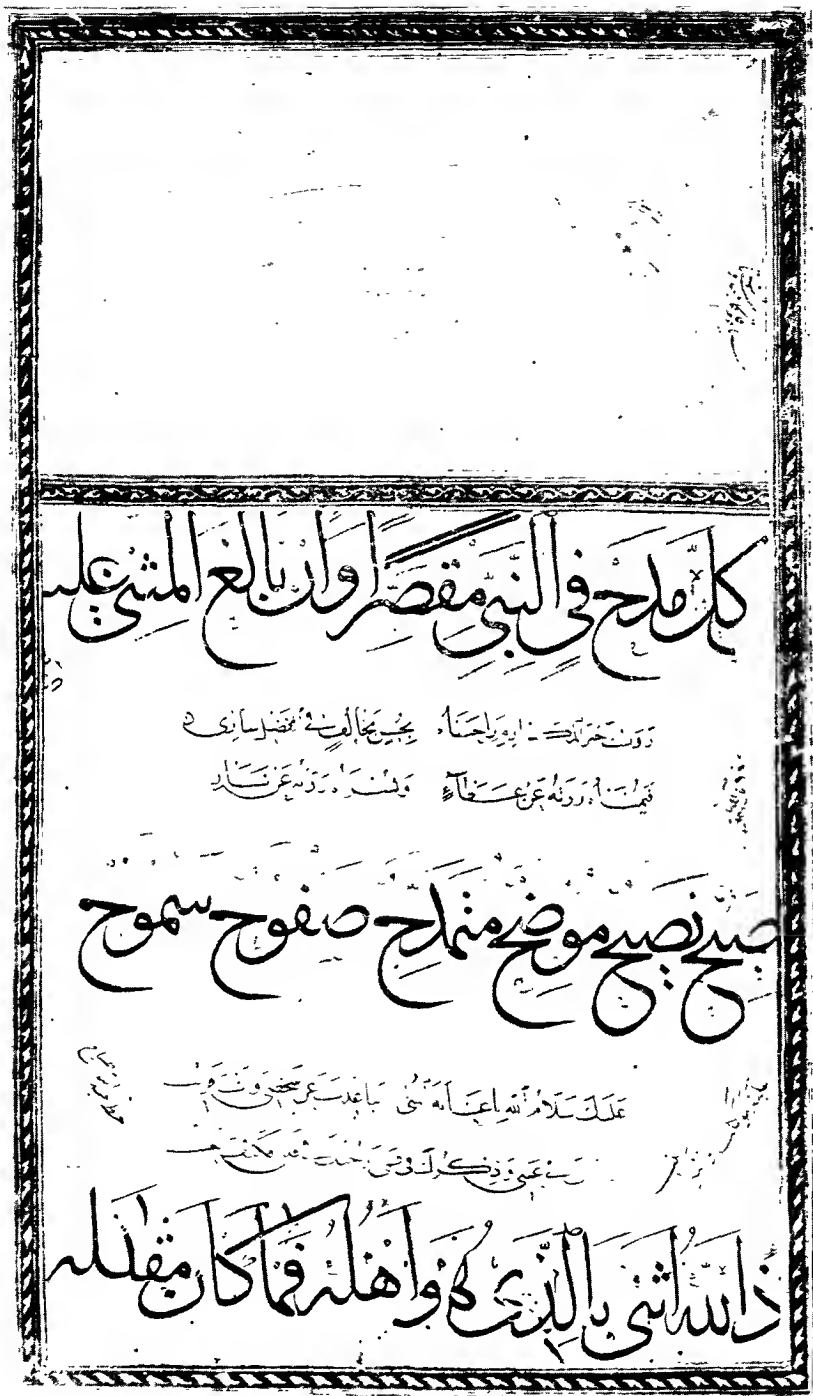
DEITIES CONNECTED WITH THE SYLLABLE OM.

(b)



JAMI (c).

(c)



not analogous to the Tughrā, the Nastālīq and other ways of writing invented by Musalmāns.

Different modes of writing were known in ancient India, such as the Citra-lipi or the Mudrā-lipi. Yet excepting the way of writing on *mudrās*, i.e., coins or seals, specimens of other modes are not known. This may be due to the fact that the Brāhmī-lipi and the scripts derived from it were not suited to the requirements of the modes invented by Musalmān calligraphists, who often wrote in a crooked way, so much so that their writing became very difficult to read if not unreadable. The qualifications of good penmanship according to Hindu ideals are, as stated in the *Matsya* and the *Garuḍa-Purāṇas*, or in the *Sāraṅgadhara-paddhati* quoted in the *Lekha-paddhati*, as follows :—The letters should always be equal, of equal headlines, that they should be round and thick and well connected with the *mātrās* or vowel marks :—

समानि समशीर्षाणि वर्तुलानि घनानि च ।

मात्रासु प्रतिबद्धानि यो जानाति स लेखकः ॥

These characteristics are contrary to the features of calligraphy noticed in the *Ā'm-i-Akbari*.

Later specimens of what may be called Citra-lipi are known to exist. They are rather pictures of the subjects of the *aksharas*. For example, the syllable *Om* is considered to consist of three component parts, *a*, *u*, and *m*. The letter *a* stands for Viṣṇu, *u* for Śiva and *m* for Prajāpati. Figures of these divinities may consequently be seen written in the diagram of the *Om*, as in a picture in my collection which I reproduce below (Plate I (b) ). But that is hardly the kind of calligraphy we see in the *waslis*.

#### PLATE I (b).

*Waslis* require a careful and patient study as many of them are extremely tortuous and difficult to read. Sayings like *likhe Mūsā paḍhe Khudā* are indicative of the undecipherable nature of such writings. One has to familiarise oneself with them by seeing as many specimens as one possibly can. For this he must have access to specimens, either directly through museums and private collections or through learned publications.

We turn now to the paintings and *waslis* in the collection under notice. The best pictures in it are by painters of the Indo-Persian School, excepting one which I would call Persian. This is a portrait of Jāmi, the celebrated poet of Persia who flourished in the 15th century A.D. Jāmi is a *nom-de-plume*, the real name being Nūr-ud-dīn Abdul Rehmān. He was born on the 7th November 1414 A.D. (23rd Sha'abān 817 A.D.) at a village called Jām in Herāt. His mastery of the Persian language and his knowledge were reputed to be unequalled throughout the Persian Empire, and he enjoyed great respect for his erudition from the Princes of his time. More than 44 works were written by him—his poem on the loves of Yusuf and Zulekhā is one of the finest compositions in the Persian language. Jāmi died at the advanced age of 81 lunar years, on Friday the 9th November 1492 A.D. (18th Muharram 898 A.H.).

## PLATE I (c).

This picture (Plate I (c) ) bears some texts written on it. They are as follows<sup>4</sup> :—

Jāmi's portrait. Top and bottom lines :

قصده شهرت جامی را نبود      کین همه نظم انداز نو است

"Jāmi had no desire for fame,

All this verse is in new style."

Right and left margins—

فقلت' مالك لا تذكر اباك فقال ان ربي رجلاً يخال نفسه وان امن (اُمي) امرأة  
ضعيفه ٥ قبل لعارف خذ لحظك من الدنيا فانك فان

I said, "How is it that thou dost not say anything about thyself?" He replied, "My father is a person who is proud of himself, but my mother is of lowly spirit.<sup>5</sup> It was said to a learned man that he should take his share from the world, for he will pass away."

Most of the inscriptions written in such miniatures, it may be remarked here in passing, have little to do with the pictures they are written upon. In the case of Jāmi, too, this remark holds good to a certain extent. He was a great Sūfi, and the words *قصده شهرت جامی را نبود* could apply to him. But the writings in the margin, however, would not. He was a well-known person. His father was Maulānā Muhammad or Ahmad Isfahāni. He was remarkably polite, of a very gentle disposition, and endowed with extensive learning. Even princes who were themselves men of erudition and exalted talents have lavished the most unbounded praise upon Jāmi. A scholar and profound Sūfi like Jāmi would not describe his mother as is done in the inscription on the painting. This means that the writing cannot be contemporaneous with the portrait.

The figure has a marked resemblance with the portraits of Persian dignitaries which are published elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> We have no means of ascertaining whether the picture is a genuine portrait of Jāmi or not, apart from the name *جامی* written in the top line. Judging from the evidences of style, dress, etc. there would seem to be little against accepting it as an actual portrait. In all cases, however, it will be a matter of belief or opinion and we might leave the point there.

Some of the texts of these *waslis* are of the nature of what we call *subhāshitas* in Sanskrit, i.e. apophthegms. They may aptly be used as quotations for adorning a speech. The stanzas written on the accompanying representation of a youth of unknown identity are of this kind. There is no label on it. The inscription in small letters above the head of the young

4. I am indebted to Mr. G. YAZDANI, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, for these readings and their translation.

5. See postscript.

6. I am told of another portrait of Jāmi which differs from the present one in many details. I have not, however, been able to see this portrait.





DARBĀR OF BĀBŪR.



SHAH SHUJA





NAWAB SHĀISTA KHĀN.

man simply says that it is the result of Indian penmanship in black. The verses are written in *Thulth* characters and in Arabic. The three lines in bold *Thulth* characters are in praise of the Prophet and the intervening lines in small letters are general expressions. The short line written towards the right corner is also of the same nature. Evidently it is addressed to God. The opposite side gives the name of the scribe saying, "It is in the handwriting of 'Abdulla Tabhak<sub>h</sub>'". Who this person was I am unable to establish. No date seems to be given anywhere on the picture.

## PLATE II.

(١) كل مدح في النبي مقصرا و ان بالغ المثنى عليه

(٢) صبح نصيح موضح متدح صفوح سوح

(٣) ذا الله اثنى بالذى هو اهله فما كان مقابله

### Translation.

- (1) "Every praise in respect of the Prophet falls short even if the person who is praising may exaggerate ;"
- (2) "Bright, sincere, transparent, winner of praise, conniver, valiant"
- (3) "Verily God has praised him according to his worth ; he has no match."

## PLATE III.

Another noteworthy picture is a portrait—a very lifelike representation of some Musalmān dignitary. The label on the top in Persian calls (Plate III) him (Ba)hāyuddaulah, but does not throw any light on his identity. The label in Persian says it is drawn in India. The picture occupies the top portion. Below it there are two panels containing fourteen lines of Arabic verse, seven lines to each panel. In the margin opposite to the right leg of the portrait there is a name which might be read as Nisad Khān. Whether it stands for the calligraphist or for some other person it would be hazardous to opine.

## PLATE IV.

There are four more pictures in the collection requiring special notice. They are reproduced below. One purports to represent the Darbār (Plate IV) of Bābur. His name is written in the Persian script at the top. The phrase *Kār-i-Hind* is also given towards the right corner at the top. These words are meant to indicate that the picture was drawn in India. Who the painter was is not stated. The picture must be the work of some master painter whose name I am unable to find. That the picture is an early Indo-Persian work cannot be doubted. The central figure seated under a canopy and on a couch represents some royalty probably early Mughal. It bears a resemblance to the portraits of Bābur in several of the pictures that are reproduced in "*The Memoirs of Baber*" by F. G. TALBOT, published

in London in the year 1909. At the same time it must be admitted that our picture does not resemble some of the other portraits in this very book. The translator of "The Memoirs of Baber" avers, however, that the portraits of Bābur shown in the illustrations of his book must be accepted as authentic, as there is sufficient resemblance between the several pictures to warrant such acceptance. We shall have to admit that such representations might not have been drawn in front of the person sought to be portrayed, as is usually done nowadays by giving sittings to the painter. They might sometimes have been drawn from memory. The same is the case with the portraits of Nūrjahān, the famous Mughal Empress, for instance. All her pictures differ from one another and would lend support to the view that the Mughals did not give sittings for their portraits in violation of the injunction of the *Qur'ān*.

#### PLATE V.

Another picture in the collection purports to represent Shāh Shujā'a, (Plate V) as is shown by the labels on it. This Shāh Shujā'a (شاه شجاع یا شجاع الملک) must be the youngest son of Taimūr Shāh, the son of Ahmed Shāh Abdālī. He was sent to Kashmir by his brother Muhammad Shāh and imprisoned in the Koh-i-Mīrān fort in A.D. 1812 whence he was released in 1814 by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and detained in Lahore as a prisoner till he escaped to the British territories. He was placed on the throne of Kabul by the British Government in 1839 but was murdered by his nephew in A.D. 1842. I do not think he should be identified with the Sultān of the Muzaffarians or any other ruler of this name.

#### PLATE VI.

Then comes the picture of Nawāb Shāista Khān (Plate VI) on horseback. It is full of vigour and quite lifelike but for the pose of the leg, which looks shorter than what it should be. The label calls the subject of the painting Shāistā Khān and if it names him correctly he must be identical with the Mughal Subedār of Deccan who was attacked by Shivaji in his camp at Poona and fled through a window. Vincent SMITH also reproduces a portrait of him, but the present picture bears no resemblance to SMITH's picture. This would strengthen our view that the Mughals and other Musalmāns were unwilling to sit for portraits which were consequently drawn from memory only.

#### PLATE VII.

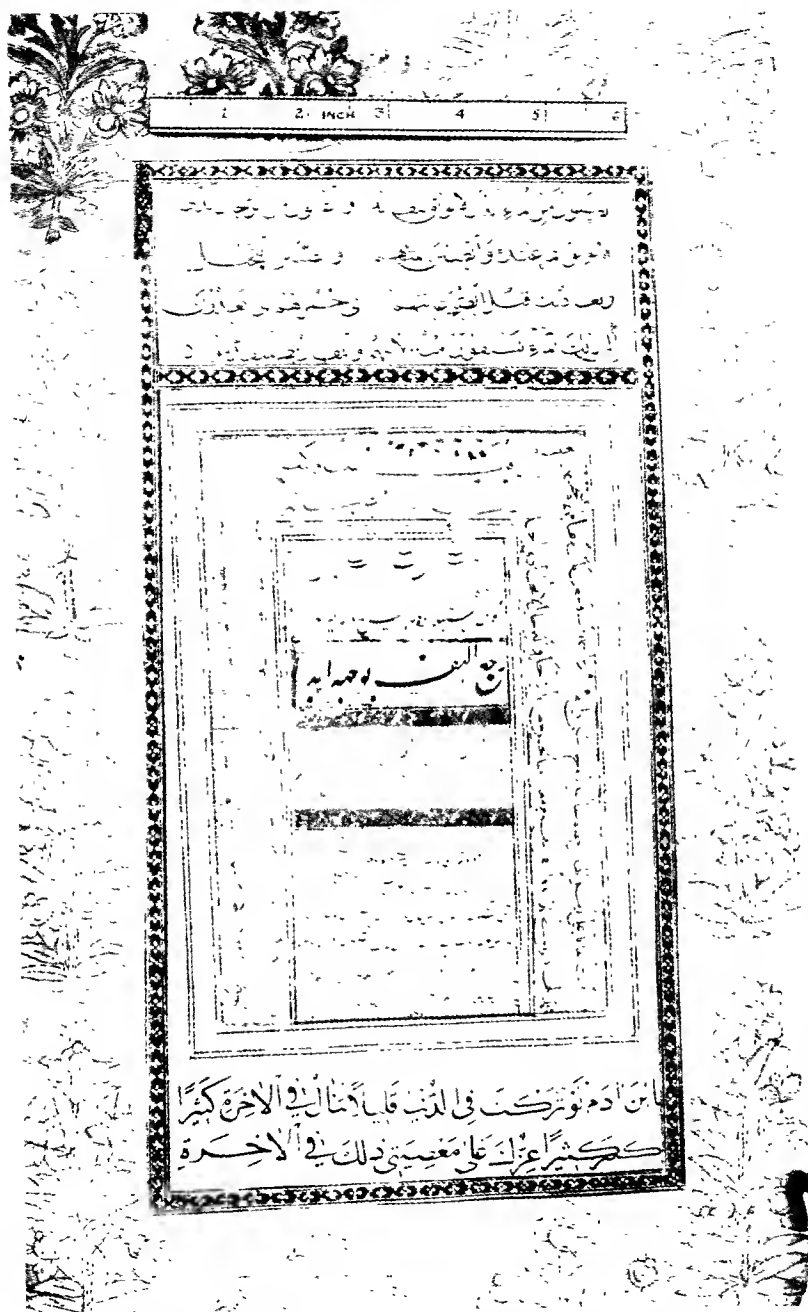
The last picture we should like to mention here is of a young prince of Arabia (Plate VII), if one is to be guided by the labels. Whether he is an imaginary figure or stands for some historical person we have no means to determine. But that it is an artistic and well-executed drawing cannot be denied though the face is too boyish for the long whiskers we see on it. The figure stands between two texts written above and below. The left corner at



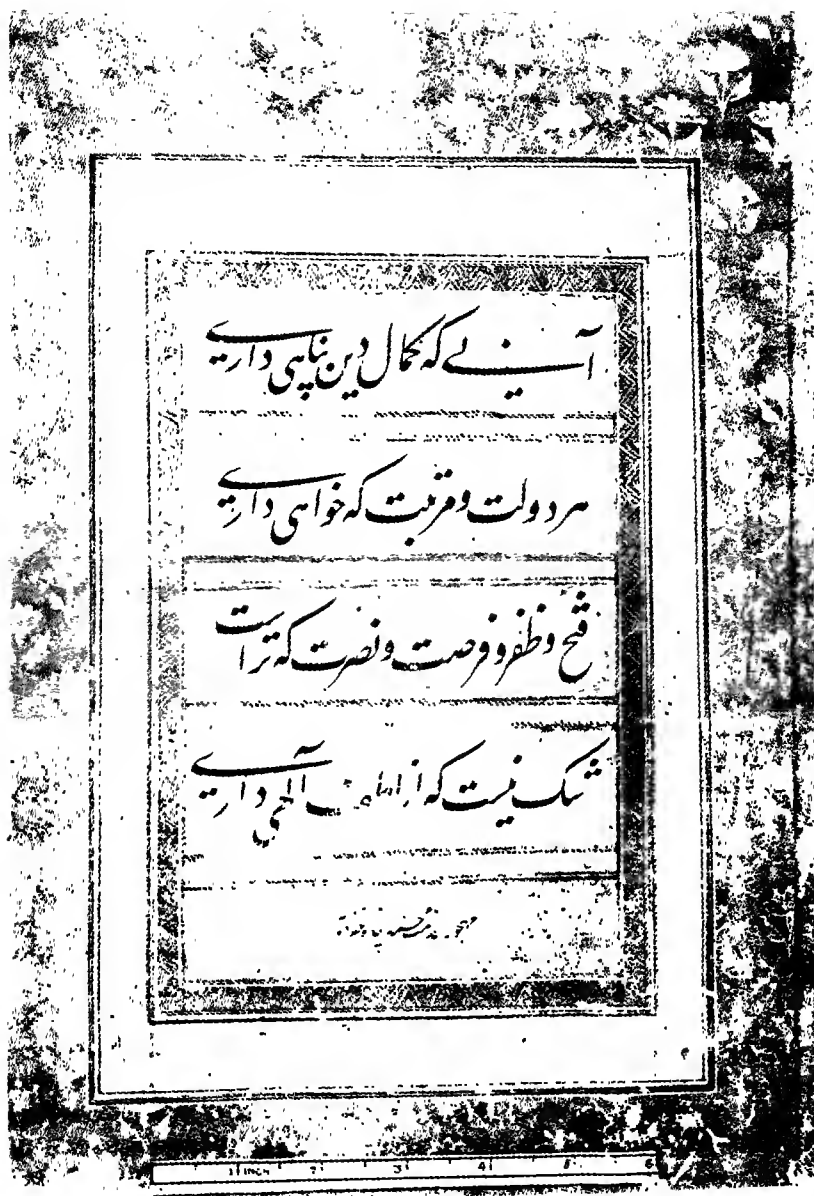
A PRINCE OF ARABIA (?).



A SPECIMEN OF CALLIGRAPHIC WRITING.



ANOTHER SPECIMEN OF CALLIGRAPHIC WRITING.



THIRD SPECIMEN OF CALLIGRAPHIC WRITING.

the top gives the name of the poet which seems to read Shāh-Mīr. Both the texts are written in Shikasta.

#### PLATES VIII & IX.

As to the *wasli* proper, that is, the calligraphic writings as such, of which three (Plates VIII to X) are reproduced here, one (VIII) seems to give the date in the words دفتر کردند which according to the *Abjad* way of reckoning would mean 962 (A.H.) i.e. 1554-55 A.D. Below the date is written the name of Muhammad Kāzīm who might have been the calligraphist or the composer of the Persian verses written in beautiful *Nastālīq* mode. The second *wasli* (Plate IX) is written on the back of the picture of what the label calls Bābur's Darbār.

#### PLATE X.

The text of the third *wasli* (Plate X) has two couplets in Persian and according to the subscript, was written by one Muhammad who describes himself as *Mehjūrul Khidmat* (?) i.e. one who is away from service.

If this note can persuade persons who possess such collections to bring their art treasures to the notice of scholars interested in the subject we shall consider ourselves to be amply rewarded. Many States as well as private individuals in this vast country are known to possess them. They very often keep them to show to select personages in order to earn their good-will. Numbers of them are sold for high prices and go to distant lands, never to be heard of again. And only genuine love of art, true devotion to the Muse of learning, can check it and keep these treasures within the reach of the votaries of knowledge.

#### Postscript—

While correcting the final proofs of this article I had an opportunity of consulting Sayyid Mahmudmiyan Ahmadmiyan KAZI, M.A., Professor of Persian in the Baroda College. He has kindly made two suggestions which I consider valuable and should like to place before scholars in the form of this postscript. I think he is right and I would gladly change my remarks accordingly. The epithet of ضعیفہ , etc., he takes in the sense of "a frail old woman." This does not imply any insinuation but would be quite appropriate especially when a *sūfi* like Jāmi is speaking of his mother. In that case my remarks about the contemporaneity of the text will have to be modified. As to the *wasli* reproduced in plate VIII he will calculate the date from the words عالم بنظام and not from دفتر کردند. In that case the date would be 1134 A.H. i.e. 1721 A.D.



## JUXTAPOSITION ET COMPOSITION DANS LE RGVEDA

By

LOUIS RENOU, Paris.

L'un des traits qui marquent la langue du RV. est qu'on y trouve juxtaposés des éléments nominaux entre lesquels la relation attendue est celle qui existerait entre un substantif et son épithète, entre un nom déterminant et un nom déterminé. Le cas qu'on peut prendre pour type est l'expression *sóma in máde* I 80 1 "dans le soma, dans l'ivresse", c'est-à-dire "dans l'ivresse du soma", cf. *máde sómasya* I 85 10 et passim.

Des cas analogues ont été relevés notamment par PISCHEL et par GELDNER ; PISCHEL les rangeait sous la rubrique de l'hendiadyoin (cf. Ved. Stud. I, Sachverz.), GELDNER inclinant vers la notion de composés ouverts "offenes, loses Compositum" (Ved. Stud. II et III, Sachverz. ; Kommentar, Index ; notes à la traduction du RV., passim). L'un et l'autre terme sont inadéquats. L'hendiadyoin est une figure de style d'un emploi limité, la juxtaposition védique est un trait de langue général ; l'hendiadyoin suppose en quelque manière la fragmentation d'une expression unitaire, le type *sóme máde* se réalise seulement (comme l'a noté OLDENBERG Noten ad VI 66 11) là où chaque membre pris à part donne un sens valable et suffisant. Quant à la composition "ouverte", elle implique cet enseignement que le type *sóme máde* repose sur d'anciens composés dont éléments se seraient dissociés. Ce ne peut être exact, dans la majorité des emplois, pour la langue du RV., étant donné que les composés de même structure que ces formations ne sont attestés le plus souvent qu'à une date ultérieure. Il faut voir bien plutôt dans un juxtaposé comme *sóme máde* les témoins d'un stade pré-compositionnel.

Les formes en question sont passablement nombreuses. Un examen minutieux du RV. à cet égard en ferait sans doute ressurgir d'autres : il est visible qu'en maints endroits l'interprétation de formes juxtaposées comme types pré-compositionnels facilite l'intelligence d'un passage.

Bien entendu, il ne faut retenir, dans l'immense masse des emplois juxtaposés, que ceux dont les éléments comportent entre eux un rapport de dépendance ou de détermination. Le cas normal est que l'un des deux termes précise l'autre : nous sommes sur le plan de ce qui donnera dans la langue postérieure au RV. (WACKERNAGEL II 1 p. 250) des karmadhāraya : cf. GELDNER Ved. Stud. II p. 280 qui rapproche cl. *duḥkḥayantra* = *duḥkḥam eva yantram*. On peut citer avec des nuances diverses et des probabilités également diverses *ghṛtām ānam* II 35 14 "nourriture consistant en beurre" *haviṣā ghṛtēna* II 10 4, *sómam āśīram* X 49 10 (contesté OLDENBERG Noten I p. 411 n.) La coexistence d'expressions comme *ghṛtāvad dhavī* X 14 14 indique quel est le rapport des deux termes en présence,

A *sóma in máde* précité se laisse joindre *rānāya...mādāya* ("pour l'ivresse réjouissante" PISCHEL Ved. Stud. I p. 66) III 47 1, cf. *mādo rāntyah* X 29 3.

Un groupe s'établit autour de la notion de *gír-* "chant" ou analogues : *dúvo gírah* I 14 1 ("Lobreden" GELDNER), *arcíṣā...gírā* V 17 3, *ṛicā gírā* VIII 27 5 ; *víprobhiḥ...mánmabhiḥ* I 127 2 VIII 60 3 = *víprāṇāṃ ma°*. Cf. aussi *ślókam ghóṣam* X 94 1, *trīṣṭúbham íṣam* VIII 7 1, 69 1 "une force (i.e. un chant) consistant en *trīṣṭúbh*", cf. PISCHEL I, p. 197 n. 1 qui allègue encore *arkās trīṣṭúbhaḥ* IX 97 35. *Vípo rātnā* III 3 1 est sans doute à entendre avec GELDNER "Redeperlen". On peut rapprocher *mánma...vayúnāni* II 19 8 "prière (qui suit) les voies rituelles" (analogue Pischel I p. 301).

Le mot *gír-* se juxtapose aussi avec *barhánā* IX 10 4 "avec la force annihilante, avec le chant", cf. RÖNNOW BSOS. IX p. 65, et le même mot *barhánā* avec *śávas* I 52 11, RÖNNOW p. 58.

Cet état de choses aboutit parfois à des locutions stables, ainsi *yajñām adhvarām* qui désigne le sacrifice sous son double aspect oratoire et pratique (NEISSER Wörterb. s. v. *adhvarā-*).

Le phénomène n'intéresse pas uniquement les noms d'action ; des noms d'agent y sont concernés, ainsi *devám ṛtvijam* I 1 1 (et ailleurs), *devó dūtāḥ* X 98 2 "messenger des dieux" SIEG Sagenst. p. 138 n. 4, *druhyāu á jáne* VI 46 8 et autres locutions analogues. C'est ici qu'interviennent les expressions *gávo dhenávaḥ*, proprement "des vaches qui sont des laitières", ou *staryò gávaḥ* TS. *ávir vaśā* citées WACKERNAGEL II p. 250 : nous sommes à l'origine des composés du type *dhenuṣṭarī-*, *vaḍabadhenu-*, qui entrent dans la langue à partir du YV.

GELDNER II p. 280 a noté la fréquence de l' "asyndète" avec le mot *tāmas-* : le cas le plus notable est *tāmasi harmyé* V 32 5 "dans la demeure des ténèbres" (mort ou enfers, GELDNER ZDMG. LXXI p. 338 n. 1).

Cf. encore *átyena pājaśā* II 34 13 "sous la forme d'un cheval" : un tel juxtaposé ouvre la voie aux innombrables composés en *°rūpa-* du classique ; *māricīḥ pravātaḥ* X 58 6 "espaces pourvus de rayons lumineux", *śrīyá hīraṇyaiḥ* I 122 2 (PISCHEL II p. 199, qui renvoie à son article de GGA. 1895 p. 448), *énasaḥ...ūrvāt* IV 12 5 "prison consistant en (ou : résultat de) péché" (GELDNER II p. 280 OLDENBERG ZDMG. LV p. 318), *várūthe gābhaṣtau* II 18 8 (GELDNER III p. 180), *vayúnāni bhōjanā* X 44 7 "jouissances consistant en les voies rituelles" (PISCHEL I p. 303, qui cite *gātrā vayúnā* I 162 18). *Gotrá...gāḥ* III 30 21 "troupeaux de vaches", cf. avec la détermination grammaticalement exprimée *gávām gotrām* II 23 18 *gotrá gávām* VI 65 5. *Budhné...yónau* IV 1 11, 17 14 (PISCHEL II p. 214), *kṣāma budhnām* IV 19 4 ("Erdboden" GELDNER), *pastyāsu...yónau* X 46 6 "au sein des demeures" (cf. la double construction juxtaposée ou subordonnée avec *mádhyā-* : *mádhye...samudré* VII 68 7, *apām mádhye* VII 89 4), *dúrah dṛlḥā* VI 17 6, *váyó 'śvāsaḥ* VI 63 7, *śūṣmaiḥ...jāmbhebbhiḥ* VII 7 2 (GELDNER I p. 114) *śácyaṃ...ājau* X 61 1 (PISCHEL I p. 76), *iráyāṃsī*

...*rājāṃsi* X 75 7 "l'étendue des terres" (cf. GELDNER II p. 266), *ánirām* ...*kṣūdham* VIII 60 20 (GELDNER II p. 291), *sūdam*...*rāsam* (= *rāsavan-tam*) TB. I 2 1 3 (PISCHEL I p. 72). Des faits de ce genre dispensent de chercher dans *devān* juxtaposé à *jánma* I 71 3 (en dépit d'Oldenberg) VI 11 3 autre chose qu'un accusatif pluriel au sens d'un génitif déterminant.

Un petit groupe se forme autour de noms d'armes : *iṣuḥ*...*asanā* X 95 3 et *sáryām asanām* I 148 4 (GELDNER I p. 266 II p. 280) ; cf. aussi *sáyakam*...*vájam* I 32 3, 84 11, *ketīm táviṣim* X 142 3 (PISCHEL II p. 207), *tápuṣim ketīm* III 30 17 VI 52 3, peut être *gābhastim aśānim* "une main (qui est comme) une fronde" (cf. GELDNER, OLDENBERG) I 54 4.

Dans plusieurs cas cette juxtaposition, quelle que soit la valeur originelle des termes en présence, aboutit à associer deux synonymes : *kṣām*...*prthivīm* I 67 5, *bhūmim prthivīm* V 85 4 (et analogues), *adrayaḥ parvatāḥ* X 94 1 (et ailleurs), *pārvato girīḥ* I 37 7 ; cf. aussi *grāvā*...*ādriḥ* AV. V 20 10 et BLOOMFIELD ad loc. Cette association se présente exclusivement aux cas directs.

La constatation d'emplois ainsi définis n'est pas sans importance quand il s'agit de discriminer la valeur adjectivale et la valeur substantivale d'un nom. A parcourir le dictionnaire de GRASSMANN, à suivre certains traducteurs, on serait amené à conclure qu'un grand nombre de mots qui en vertu de leur emploi normal ou des conditions morphologiques sont des substantifs peuvent aussi de façon occasionnelle fonctionner comme adjectifs. Or, lorsqu'on observe le contexte on s'aperçoit que la plupart du temps ces fonctions d'adjectif sont instaurées par méconnaissance d'un emploi juxtaposé. Ainsi GRASSMANN confère au mot *vīp-* "incantation" l'acception de "begeistert" pour le seul passage V 68 1. Il y a là, simplement, un emploi de substantif juxtaposé : *vīpā girā* "le chant, à savoir l'incantation". De même *túj-* "élan" signifiera "l'élan du chant" dans *tujā girā* V 17 3, non "mit kräft" gem Liede" ; *tán-* "durée" vaut comme substantif dans *tānā girā* I 38 13 II 2 1 "la durée du chant" c'est-à-dire "un chant comportant une durée". De même *sūktā-* dans *sūktāya vācase* IX 90 6 est l'équivalent sous forme de juxtaposé de ce qu'est en tatpuruṣa *sūktavākā-*, en bahuvrīhi *sūktāvāc-*.

*Suśma-* n'a nulle part le sens de "stark" que lui attribue GRASSMANN : on a cité précédemment la juxtaposition *sūśmaḥ*...*jāmbhebhiḥ* ; *sūśmaḥ*...*mādaḥ* IX 79 5 "l'ivresse en tant que force" ; *sūśmāḥ* I 52 4 est un nom d'action pluriel sujet, comme on a si souvent dans le RV., notamment dans la catégorie des noms en *-ti-* : *ūtāyaḥ*, *rātāyaḥ*, *abhīṣṭayaḥ*, *abhīmātīḥ*. La notion de nom d'action est vaste dans les mantras ; ces noms sont en mesure de fonctionner librement comme sujets, sans qu'il faille pour autant multiplier les emplois d'agents ou d'adjectifs. Les Marut sont les "ébranlements" (du ciel) *dhūtayaḥ* ; on nous parle des "faveurs" (*rātāyaḥ*) et des "défaveurs" (*ārātayaḥ*) comme d'entités personnelles (cf. I 29 4). Les noms-racines féminins du type *dvīṣ-* *nīd-* *rīṣ-* *drūh-* etc. sont des "hostilités" agissantes : la traduction par "ennemis" peut être une commodité pour nos langues, elle ne répond à l'instauration d'aucune catégorie grammaticale dis-

tincte. De même *tápus-*, qui est juxtaposé à *aghá-* ou à *vṛjināni* “le mal” comme il est composé avec *vadhá-* dans *tápurvadhá-* “dont l’arme de mort est un feu qui brûle”. Le mot *aghá-* lui-même est substantif, non adjectif, et le composé *aghásamsa-* “dont la parole est le mal” se trouve résolu en *aghát...* *śámsāt* I 166 8 (cf. GELDENER ad loc.).

*Ṛtá-* n’a pas d’emploi adjectif authentique, du moins dans le RV. ancien (cf. NEISSER Wörterb. s. v.) : encore une locution comme *ṛtás kavīḥ* VIII 60 5 (*ṛtāḥ kavīḥ* IX 62 30) avec son *-as* final laisse-t-elle supposer un semi-composé \**ṛtaskavi-* comparable à *ṛtasṣate* La locution *śárdhāya...* *ṛtāya* IV 3 8 n’est pas distincte de *śárdhām ṛtāsya* VIII 7 21 et on ne gagne aucun avantage à rendre *ṛténa ṛtāṇi nīyatam* IV 3 9 avec GELDNER “die durch den Ritus bestimmte, gesetzmässige (Milch)”: il est visible que le lait est le *ṛtá-* de la vache, comme au vers précédent la troupe des Marut est identifiée au *ṛtá-*. Le mot *ṛtá-* se prête précisément à la juxtaposition : *rāyá ṛtāya* V 20 4 *ṛtāṇi dhārūṇam* V 15 2, et cf. *dhárman dhārūṇe* ibid. et X 170 2, etc.

Le *krātu-* “héros” de GRASSMANN est à éliminer : le *krātu-* est une certaine forme de “pouvoir” qui est tantôt considérée comme possédée par telle divinité, tantôt identifiée à cette divinité même, type *sá hí krātuḥ sá máryaḥ sá sādhuḥ* I 77 3 “il est la force, il est le jeune homme, il est le bon” (ou = *sá hí \*sādhukratuḥ?*).

Lorsqu’on a réalisé l’importance de la juxtaposition, il devient facile d’interpréter les infinitifs datifs apposés du RV., soit (avec un datif nominal sujet et un autre datif régime) *indrāya...* *ṣṭāṭave mādāya* IX 11 8 “pour qu’Indra boive le breuvage enivrant.” On voit à quel point il est défectueux de parler d’attraction. Nous sommes en présence d’un type particulier de juxtaposition, en situation favorable. On sait que cette juxtaposition est attestée non seulement avec les infinitifs caractérisés en *-tave* (*-tavi*) *-e* *-mane* (*-vane*), mais encore avec les pseudo-infinitifs en *-taye* (*indrāya ṣṭāṭaye* IX 32 2) et les pseudo-datifs en *-adhyai* (*sáhase sáhadhyai* VI 1 1); de même on a le génitif apposé à l’infinitif en *-toḥ* l’ablatif apposé à l’infinitif en *-aḥ*, DELBRÜCK Ai. Syntax p. 88 et 418 LUDWIG Infinitiv p. 32 GAEDICKE Accusativ p. 253.

Une autre forme de juxtaposition est celle qu’on trouve en phrase comparative : le type *síndhur ná kṣódaḥ* I 65 6, 66 10, 92 12 II 25 3 “comme le bouillonnement du fleuve” a été identifié dès BERGAIGNE Mél. Renier p. 93. Déterminant et déterminé sont au même cas, en l’occurrence au nominatif. Les emplois relevables sont *apó ná kṣódaḥ* I 180 4 (identique à *síndhur ná k°* précité, et montrant à quel point il serait vain de poser comme font certains un génitif sing. *apáh* ; sur l’existence d’une flexion sing. de *áp-* v. BERGAIGNE op. c. p. 96 n. 11 NEISSER Wörterb. s. v.), *váyo ná śréṇīḥ* V 59 7, *girír ná bhújma* I 65 6, *áyur ná prāṇaḥ* I 66 1, *páyo ná dhenúḥ* I 66 2 (cf. OLDENBERG), *gávo ná vrajám* I 92 4 (mais cf. OLDENBERG), *gávo ná yúthám* VIII 46 30 (*yúthéva paśvāḥ* IV 2 18 V 31 1 VI 19 3, en soi équivoque, *paśvāḥ* pouvant être génitif sing. ou accusatif plur., est sans doute à agréger à cet

ensemble), *rátho ná vāyúh* III 49 4, *úro ná ráthaḥ* IX 94 3 (cf. OLDENBERG), *giráyo ná ápaḥ* VI 66 11 (contesté OLDENBERG), *śūryo ná cáksuḥ* V 59 3. *śūrya ivopadīk* IX 54 2 VIII 91 15 : ces deux derniers emplois éclairent à leur tour d'une part *śūro ná samdīk* I 66 1 (où théoriquement *śuraḥ* pourrait être le génitif de *svār-*), d'autre part *svār ná jyótiḥ* (où *svār* pourrait également avoir valeur de génitif, WACKERNAGEL III p. 314 ; sur le cas de *svār dīśke*, v. OLDENBERG *Noten* I p. 73) ; enfin *usṛāḥvā rāśyaḥ* VIII 85, 8, *ālméva válaḥ* I 34 7. Il y a là un procédé de style auquel certains ṛṣi semblent s'être amusés ; il suffit de voir l'usage que fait de ces formules Parāśara, auteur de I 65 et 66. et comment il combine ce type avec le groupement substantif + épithète, ainsi I 66 1 avec *rayir ná citrá nītyo ná sūnūḥ, tákvā ná bhūṛṇiḥ*.

On ne retiendra pas l'hypothèse de GELDNER *Ved. Stud.* III. p. 32 qui voit dans le juxtaposé *áhutam ṛñjjasānām* I 96 3 un avant-coureur des karma-dhāraya class. due type *snātānulipta-*.

Mais un tout autre aspect de juxtaposition se laisse percevoir dans les mantra : on formule au moyen d'un substantif accompagné d'une épithète ce que la syntaxe de la phrase conduirait à formuler au moyen d'un bahuvrīhi. Le fait a été noté par WACKERNAGEL II p. 288 (repris MACDONELL *Ved. Gr.* p. 175) qui voit là à juste raison les débris d'un stade pré-compositionnel. Une association de mots telle que *varāhām...tveṣām rūpām* I 114 5 "le sanglier, (sa) forme menaçante" donne l'exact équivalent de ce que sera \**tveṣarūpam* en classique. De même *tvācam kṛṣṇā* I 130 8 IX 41 1 "les hommes à la peau noire", cité déjà par OLDENBERG *Religion d. Veda* p. 154 auquel renvoie SCHULZE *Schriften* p. 656 n. 2 (moins directement, on a aussi *kṛṣṇām ca vārṇam aruṇām ca* I 73 7, cf. *kṛṣṇāyoni-* épithète des *dāsi-*) ; *dīnā dākṣaḥ* IV 24 9 "les hommes aux capacités faibles" (cf. OLDENBERG et le bahuvrīhi *dīnādakṣa-*). Sur *urūḥ kākṣaḥ* VI 45 31, v. WACKERNAGEL et OLDENBERG.

Des faits de ce genre sont certainement assez nombreux ; il n'est pas certain que les poètes védiques ne les aient pas sentis comme une expression parfaitement normale, tant est intense dans le RV. le pouvoir "personnel" des mots abstraits ou des noms d'object.

Souvent la forme sous laquelle se présentent ces pré-bahuvrīhi est un peu différente : l'emploi du groupement substantif + épithète forme une sorte de rupture syntaxique : ainsi *aruśástūpo rūsad asya pājāḥ...ajaniṣṭa* III 29 3 "il est né, ayant une rouge crinière, éclatante est sa forme". On voit ce que gagne en vigueur ce glissement vers l'expression analytique. De même *śyenāsya pakṣā harināsya bāhū (...te)* I 163 1 (cf. *Kommentar*), *hīraṇya-śṛṅgō 'yo asya pādā* 9, *prśadaśvāso 'vānayo ná ráthāḥ* I 186 8, *anantām anyād rūsad asya pājāḥ* I 115 5, *suparṇām vaste mṛgō asyā dāntaḥ* VI 75 11, *rūruśīrṣṇy ālho yāsya āyo mūkham* 15, *piśāṅgarūpaḥ...aindrāḥ śūsmaḥ* AV. IX 4 22, peut-être *kṛṣṇām niyānam (hārayaḥ...divam út palanti)* I 164 47, cf. *āsitavarṇāḥ* au passage correspondant de TS., et cf. *kṛṣṇāyāma-*. La locution *hīraṇyanirṇig āyo asya sthūnā* V 62 7 semble bien d'abord faire corps avec les précédentes (et cf. *āyasthūnam* 8), mais comme le substantif *sthūnā* est le sujet du verbe qui suit, il vaut mieux entendre *āyo asya sthūnā*

comme une juxtaposition du type karmadhāraya "sa colonne (faite d') airain".

Cf. encore *vīréṇyaḥ krātuḥ* (īndrah) X 104 10, *krātuḥ nā bhadram* IV 10 1, *ékam krātuḥ* VI 9 5, *bṛhān kṣāyaḥ* VIII 15 9 (que significativement BR. proposait de corriger en \**bṛhātṣaya-*. Une expression à part est celle du v. I 108 4 *barhīr u tistirāṇā* "vous à qui on étend le barhīs" : elle semble avoir décomposé maladroitement un \**tistirāṇabarhis-*, qui toutefois ne serait guère admissible dans la langue du RV. que sous la forme \**stīrṇabarhis-* : ce n'est pas un hasard si *barhīr u tistirāṇā* est précédé dans le texte d'une part par *ānāṇā* d'autre part par *yatāsrucā*.

Toutes les formes qu'on vient de passer en revue attestent à notre avis plutôt des emplois libres de juxtaposés que des composés "résolus" à la manière où l'entendait GELDNER. Des "résolutions" authentiques de composés, il n'y en a qu'un fort petit nombre dans le RV. Il faut naturellement mettre à part le cas des devatādvandva où l'autonomie de chaque membre (type *dyāvā yajñaiḥ pṛthivī* VII 53 I, v. les exemples chez WACKERNAGEL II p. 151) a été préservée par sa finale même et par la coexistence du "duel elliptique" : *mitrā* ou *pṛthivī*. Dans bien des cas, loin d'être une "résolution" de dvandva, la forme juxtaposée est plus ancienne que la forme composée, ainsi dans *krátve dākṣāya* I 111 2 et passim (à côté de la relation de dépendance *krátvā dākṣasya* III 23 3) à quoi succède *krátūdākṣau* VS., *dakṣkratū* TB. ; analogues WACKERNAGEL II p. 154, 156.

Hors des dvandva, on a identifié comme composés scindés *śúnaś cic chépaṃ* et *nārā ca śámsam* (*nārā vā ś°*) : le premier membre avait son autonomie désinentielle et accentuelle, et l'élément scindant n'est qu'une particule atone qui tendait naturellement à occuper la seconde place. La résolution est donc minime. Des cas un peu plus remarquables sont *ṛjúr ic chāmsaḥ* II 26 1, scission d'un bahuvrīhi \**ṛjuśamsa-*, et *droghāya cid vácasa* VI 62 9 "dont la parole est trompeuse" (cf. *droghavác-*).

Il est probable d'autre part que plusieurs noms propres résultent d'une scission analogue : *pajrāya sámne* VIII 4 17, 6 47 (cf. OLDENBERG), *rúśato vápsasaḥ* I 181 8 (id.), *járatāḥ kárṇam* X 80 3 (id.), peut-être *varo suśámne* VIII 23 28 et ailleurs (id.) : ceci préluant aux fantaisies des kāvya du type *daśa-pūrvavatam* Ragh., *hiraṇyapūrvam kaśipum* Śís. (et cf. South Ind. Inscr. I p. 166 n. 6).

On trouve encore les formes suivantes : *vajra sāyaka* X 83 1, 84 6, c'est-à-dire \**vajrasāyaka* "toi qui as le foudre pour arme de jet" (cf. *sāyakam...* *vājram* précité) : la correction, qui ne porte que sur le padapāṭha, est à vrai dire aisée, cf. OLDENBERG.

*Mánaso javéṣu* X 71 8 semble une mauvaise résolution pour *mānojaveṣu* "rapides comme la pensée" : le glissement a pu être facilité par le fait que le comparatif de *manojā- mānojāva(s)-* était normalement *mánaso jāvíyān* (aucune forme composée n'est attestée lorsque le dernier membre serait un adjectif en *-(ī)yāms-*).

OLDENBERG admettrait pour expliquer *divi kṣāyam* III 2 13 X 63 5 un emploi adjectif de *kṣāya-* : cet emploi est peu vraisemblable puisqu'il se limiterait à cette locution qui se présente d'autre part sous l'aspect d'un bahuvrīhi dans *divikṣaya-*, cf. WACKERNAGEL II p. 289. *Divi kṣāyam* (cf. encore *kṣāyo divi* VIII 64 4 *divikṣīt-* X 92 12 *divi kṣāyantā* VII 64 1) représente la scission de *divikṣaya-*. Dans le cas de *divo ná sādmanakhasam* I 18 9 *divi sādmanabharīṣaḥ* I 52 4 (cf. OLDENBERG) "ayant pour *makhā-* ou *barhī-* un siège céleste", où ce qui devrait être un premier membre de composé (*divi*) demeure hors de la composition, on s'achemine vers les cas de rection extérieure, presque tous post-rgvédiques, amplement décrits chez WACKERNAGEL II p. 31. Sur *divā ā pṛṣṭhayaśvane* V 54 1, *tirāś cid aryayā* V 75 7, v. OLDENBERG (sur ce dernier ex. aussi THIEME Fremdling p. 85).

Tantôt supposant une composition déjà faite, tantôt et plus souvent précédant le sta de compositionnel, les formes du RV. sont en tout cas les précurseurs des phénomènes de résolution que M. Helmer SMITH a notés en pali sous la désignation imagée de split-compound (Critical Dict. I p. XXVI BSL. XXXIII p. 172 n. 1). Les textes bouddhiques en skt mixte en abondent ; nous fondant sur les notes de WELLER Zum Lalitav. nous trouvons pour ce texte *uṣṇāni saṃsparśāni (gātrāṇi)* 17 13 (*sītasamsparsā* 14), *khādanīyam bhojanīyam āsvādanīyākālpikānām* 2 22 (cf. 58 5, 123 17) ; mise à l'extérieur d'une épithète se rapportant à un premier membre de composé 127 5, 256 1 ; résolution dans des expressions contenant des noms de nombre 31 10, 61 19 (cf. 63 1), 84 1 et 7 ; cf. enfin 429 8 et 13. D'ailleurs l'adjectivation des noms des dizaines, de cent et de mille dans toute la tradition skte (type *vimśatyā ...hāribhiḥ* RV. II 18 5 et avec égalisation de nombre *śatā pūrah* I 53 8, WACKERNAGEL III p. 362, 373) est un phénomène qui s'explique en fonction de la tendance générale à la juxtaposition.

Pour le MhVU, WELLER p. 14 renvoie à I 3 12 (cf. la note de SENART), 29 3 (note), 31 12 (ou SENART renvoie encore à 199 7), 60 14 (note) et passim. Les expressions du Lal. que SENART cite I p. 396, *mahāpadmo yathodbhavaḥ* et *gaṅgā yathā vālikā* sont identiques au type *sīndhur ná kṣōdah* du RV. Cf. encore SENART I p. 466, 499 etc.

## INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD\*

By

D. B. DISKALKAR, Poona.

UNA

No. 107]

v.s. 1652.

[12-11-1595.

The following inscription is found in one of the *deris* in the Shahabāg at Unā, the principal town of a mahal of the same name in Junagadh State. It measures 1'-4" by 1'-1" and is in a good condition.

The inscription opens with the date, Wednesday, the fifth day of the dark half of Kārtika of v.s. 1652. It then mentions that the Emperor *Akbar*, hearing of the great fame of the Jagadguru, the Jain Ācārya *Hiravijayasūri*, invited him to Delhi and received him with great respect. After listening to his lectures on Jain religion he presented him with a collection of books and issued the following edict : "No one should fish in the tank called 'Dāmar'. For six months in a year animals should not be killed. The tax levied on each individual (*per capitā mundi vero* Guj.) on the Śatrunjaya hill is discontinued for ever. The *Jhijhia* tax is repealed. In the whole empire the property of a deceased (without an heir) should not be confiscated to the crown. Imprisonment should always be avoided (as far as possible). Truth and other virtues should be inculcated in the minds of all the people." Thereupon *Hiravijayasūri* made a pilgrimage to the Śatrunjaya along with the whole Saṅgha, and left his ethereal body on the eleventh day of the bright half of Bhādaravā (of v.s. 1651). Meghā caused his footsteps to be set up in a *Derī*, the consecration ceremony of which was performed by Vijayasena-sūri, on the date mentioned at the beginning i.e., in v.s. 1652.

In the reception given to *Hiravijayasūri* by the Mughal Emperor Akbar the Jains seem to have considered too great an honour to their religion. For in a number of inscriptions of this period, wherever the name of *Hiravijayasūri* occurs this fact is recorded with a special pride.

### Text

- 1 ॥ ७१० ॥ स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १६५२ वर्षे कार्तिक वदि ५ बु [ धे ]
- 2 येषां जगद्गुरुणां संवेगवैराग्यसौभाग्यादिगुणगण
- 3 भवणात् चमत्कृतिर्महाराजाधिराजपातिसाहित्री अकम्बराभि
- 4 धानैः गुर्जरदेशात् दिल्लीमंडले सबहुमानमाकार्य धर्मोपदेशा
- 5 कर्णनपूर्वकं पुस्तकभंडारसमर्पणं ढाबराभिधानमहासरो मत्स्यवं
- 6 धनिवारणं प्रतिवर्षं षण्मासिकामारिप्रवर्त्तनं सर्वदा श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थो
- 7 दकाभिधानकरनिवर्त्तनं जिजिआभिधानकरकर्त्तनं निजसकलदेशे दा

\* Continued from p. 210 of Vol. III.



- 8 गमृतस्वमोचनम् सदैव बंदग्रहण (?) निवारणं । सत्यादि धर्मकृत्यानि सकल  
 9 लोके प्रतीतानि कृतानि [ प्रकटितं ? ] श्रीशत्रुंजयसकलदेशसंघयुतकृत  
 10 यात्राणां भाद्रपदशुद्धैकादशीदिने जातनिर्वाणातां शरीरसंस्कारस्नानासन  
 11 फलितसहकारः एवं श्रीहीरविजयसूरीश्वराणां प्रतिदिनं दिव्यवाद्यनाद  
 12 श्रवणदीपदर्शनाह्निके (?) जयपताकः स्तूपसहिताः पादुकाः कारिता  
 13 मेघेन भार्या लाडकीप्रमुखकुटुंबयुतेन प्रतिष्ठिताश्च तपागच्छाधिराजैः भ-  
 14 द्दरकश्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः ओं । श्रीविमलहर्षगणि ओं । श्रीकल्याण  
 15 विजयगणि ओं । श्रीसोमविजयगणिभिः प्रणता भव्यजनैः पूज्यमानाश्चि  
 16 रं भवतु ॥ लिखिता प्रशस्तिः पद्मानंदगणिना श्रीउन्नतनगरे शुभं भवतु ॥

## SATUNJAYA

No. 108]

v. s. 1652

[1595

This inscription is engraved round a pair of pādūkās in a small temple to the west of Ādiśvara Bhagavān temple. It was once edited by Dr. BÜHLER in the *Epi. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 59 (No. XIII).

## Text

ओं स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १६५२ वर्षे मार्गे वदि २ सोमवासरे पुण्यनक्षत्रे निष्प्रतिमसंवेगवैराग्य  
 निःस्पृहतादियुगैरजितेन साहिश्रीअकबरनरेंद्रेण प्रतिवर्षं धाम्नासिकसकलजंतुजात  
 भयदानप्रवर्तनसर्वकालीनगवादिबधनिवर्तनजीजिआदिकरमोचनमुंडका  
 मिधानकरमोचनपूर्वकश्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थसमर्पणादिपुरस्सरं प्रदत्तबहु २ मानानां नानादे  
 शीयसंघसमुदायेन सह श्रीशत्रुंजये कृतयात्राणां जगद्विख्यातमहिमपात्राणां सं १६५१ व  
 र्षे भाद्र सितैकादश्यां उन्नतदुर्गे अनशनपूर्वकं महोत्सवेन साधितोत्तमार्यानां तपागच्छाधिराजभट्ट  
 श्रीहीरविजयसूरीणां पादुकाः कारिताः स्तंभतीर्थीय सं उदयकरणेन प्रभ  
 श्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः । महोपाध्याय श्रीकल्याणविजयगणयः यं धनविजय  
 -णिभ्यां स-प्रणमंति ॥ एताश्च भ. . .  
 ...राध्यमानाश्चिरं  
 नंदतु ॥ श्रीः ॥

## HĀMPAR

No. 109]

v.s. 1656.

[4-2-1599.

Hāmpur is a small village in the Rājasītāpur mahal of the Dhrāngdhra State. In the temple of Bhīḍa Bhanjana Mahādeva to the east of an old well, the following inscription is found engraved below the inscription of v.s. 1588 noted above. The inscribed portion measures 2'-5" in length and 6" in breadth.

It records that Umābai and her sons belonging to the Solanki family caused the temple of Śiva in Hāmpar to be built on Sunday, the fifth day of the dark half of Māgha in v.s. 1656 when MAHĀRĀṆĀ CANDRASENJI was ruling (at Halvad).

Though the wording of the record shows that the temple was built (newly) it was in fact repaired by the lady. For just above this are two

records of v.s. 1588 which speak of the repairs of the temple in that year. It seems therefore that the temple was once more repaired in v.s. 1655 by Umābai.

*Text*

- 1 संवत् १६५५ वर्षे माघमासे कृष्णपक्षे ५ रवौ
- 2 महाराणा श्रीचंद्रसेनजी श्रीह्वामपोर । सोलंकी दासा भार्या बा
- 3 इ उमा सोलंकी रात जसा तथा देभा जीवा तथा पूजा तथा छाला
- 4 देहेरीप्रासाद कीधो श्री:

DHRĀNGDHRA

No. 110]

v.s. 1657.

[28-4-1601.

This inscription is inscribed on a stone slab bearing the representations of the sun and the moon above the inscribed portion. It is preserved in the Huzur Office at Dhrāngdhra. The inscription measures 1'-8" in height and 13" in breadth and is broken in two parts in the fifth line. It records that on Tuesday the 5th of the bright half of Vaiśākha of v.s. 1657 the king (of Dhrāngdhra) granted 95 acres of land in the village *Pimariyāḍi* to one Prāgi of the Nanduvāṇa family at the suggestion of Rao Bhārmalji.

The king Rāo Bhārmalji is probably the Cutch king of the name who ruled from v.s. 1642-1688. But his relation with the Zālā king is not exactly known.

*Text*

- 1 राओ श्रीभारामलजी
- 2 वचनात मोजे पीमरिय
- 3 डी ? ग्रामे नंदुआणा पी
- 4 तांबर तस्य पुत्र अंबाजी
- 5 .....त्र प्रागजी
- 6 ९५ अकरे आ राजाने आ
- 7 पी शेठेहमल जेसंग बा
- 8 ल आपि पुत्रपौत्रा हक आ
- 9 पो आंचं-राक आपि संव
- 10 त १६५७ वरषे वईशष सू
- 11 द ७ भौमे आपि सही आपि
- 12 बाई श्रीकमाजी आपी

KONDHA

No. 111]

v.s. 1663.

[1-5-1607.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab built in a niche of the *Kondheśvara Mahādeva* temple to the east of the village *Kondha* at a distance of fourteen miles to the south-west of Dhrāngdhra.

The inscription, which is very useful for the history of the Zālā rulers of *Zālāvāḍ* opens with the date, Thursday, the fifteenth day of the bright half

of Vaiśākha of v.s. 1663 or Śaka 1529. Then after an invocation to Gaṇeśa, the goddess of speech and the ancient preceptors, the poet goes on to describe the Zalla i.e., Zālā family. The first king mentioned is Raṇamalla, from whom by his wife Līlādevi, Śatruśālya was born. His son by his wife Mīnaladevi was Jita. The latter's son was Raṇavīra, whose son was Bhīma. The latter had by his wife Primaladevi a son named Vāgha, whose son was Rājadhara. Rājadhara's son by his wife Ahikaradevi was Rāṇa, i.e. Rāṇiga. Rāṇa's son was Varasīṇha, who by his wife Amṛtadevi had a son named Bhīma. The latter by his wife Kaśmīradevi had a son named Udayasīṇha, whose son by Līlādevi was Kalyāṇa. In the reign of this king, who belonged to the Zālā family, which was one of the thirty-six royal families, Kaśmīrdevi, wife of Mahārāṇa Bhīma, (and grandmother of the king Kalyāṇji), caused the temple of Kuhunḍheśvara Mahādeva to be built in the year 1663 of the Vikrama era. Kaśmīrdevi was also called Vihinabai and was the daughter of the Jādejā king Muḥṭa, son of Meheramaṇa and grandson of Raṇamalla.

The Halvad inscription of v.s. 1583 published above gives the genealogy of the rulers of Zālāvād from Raṇmalla to Rāṇigade, together with the names of their queens. This inscription gives the same genealogy. But after the king Rāṇiga names of four successive rulers are given, who are not found in the main line which was continued with the king Mānasimhaji, the son of Rāṇiga by his wife Kalyanadevi. This inscription thus shows that Rāṇiga had another son named Varasīṇha from whom another line ran in which Kalyāṇji was born. The ruler in the main line at the time of this inscription was Candrasīṇhaji, whose name is not mentioned in this record probably because Kalyāṇji was more or less an independent ruler.

The name Kuhunḍheśvara of the Mahādeva seems to have been given after the name Konḍha of the village, where the inscription was found, or it may be that the village was called Konḍha after the name of the Mahādeva.

### Text

- 1 ओं नमः श्रीमहागणपतये ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीर्जयो मंगलमभ्युदयश्च ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्पुत्रविक्रमा
- 2 कंसमयातीत संवत् १६६३ वर्षे शाके १५२९ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायने (गे) वसंतऋतौ  
महामांगल्यप्रदे वैशाख(ख) मासे
- 3 शुक्लपक्षे पूर्णमास्यां तिथौ ऋगुदिने विशाखा(खा) नक्षत्रे वरीयानयोगे शुभकरणे एवं  
पंचांगशुद्धौ ॥ गणेशमाद्यमी
- 4 श्रीं निरं गुरुन् परा[गमान्] । प्रणम्य सम्यगीरयेद्य झल्लवंशमुत्तमं ॥ १ ॥ अगरोयं  
गुणालि-मवशेष-मगमावनिभृत्कुला
- 5 वतंसोऽसमभूजगतीशवदिता[तो?] रणमल्लो-तटिनिखात[यू?]पः ॥ २ ॥..... मे  
रणमल्लादजनि श्रीशत्रुशाल्यः ॥ त्रिभु[वन?]
- 6 भूपशरण्यां पादयुग्मः । कुले [गा]हिनीव लीलदेवी ॥ ३ ॥ मीणलदेव्यां कुलना...  
श्रीशत्रुशाल्यस्थित आवि... स्थानो...
- 7 करीद्रुम्भो नरदेवसिंहः ॥ ४ ॥ भूपभूषणमणी रणवीरः शौर्यशैर्यविलया... देव्यां । सम्भ-  
भूव जितराजजिताख्यो वर्तिनी कुलविभूषितमेकः ॥ ५ ॥ राण

- 8 श्रीरणवीर भूपवनिता भीमं... नामतः प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालपंकज... भूषा... [धौरेयः ?]  
सुषुवे प्रतापतपनः संशोषिताः सागरा मन्ये यदिपुवंद
- 9 भूपवनितानेत्रांबुधिः पूरिताः ॥ ६ ॥ प्रीमल्लदेव्यां किल भीमभूपो वाघाभिधः... स्तदा  
सीत् ॥ रणांगणे गर्जति वाघराजे यस्मिन् द्विषे(षा)णां गिरिकंदरा
- 10 शाः ? ॥ ७ ॥ वाघभूपवनिता सुषुवे तं राणराजधरसंज्ञ मथादः (?) यत्प्रतापतपना-  
दिनबन्ही मुंचतो न गिरिराजसमुद्रं ॥ ८ ॥ रणाभिधानस्तनयो
- 11 बभूवाहंकारदेव्यां नृपवाघसूनोः ॥ अवाप्य भूपं पृथिवी प्रभुं यं धार्मिक... जहाय  
नित्यं ॥ ९ ॥ आसीद्राणरणाभिधा[क्व] वरसिंहः
- 12 श्रोत्रियाणां वरः शौर्यौदार्यविवेकधैर्यनिलयो भूपालभूषामणिः ॥ योगं याश्रयति क्षितिक्षिदु-  
चिताचारैर्नियोगं वरन् । जेवंता जननी
- 13 तदेव जगति क्षावावतीर्णो वृषः ? ॥ १० ॥ कपालीहरीगोत्रभिद्वज्रहस्तः कलंकीनिशेशो र...  
दश्च ॥ फःणीक्षान्वये कालकूटिन्ययासौ कथं कल्प
- 14 वृक्षैः सदोषैर्विदोषः ॥ ११ ॥ तस्माद्भूवामृतदेविकायां भीमोरिसार्थं कृतनामधेयः ।  
मन्ये महीमंडलमंडनाय कामोवतीर्णो वरसिंहदे
- 15 वः ॥ १२ ॥ कश्मीरदे सुतं प्राप भीमादुदयसिंहकं । यस्मादजीजनल्लिलादेवी  
कल्याणभूपति ॥ १३ ॥ अकारयद्भूपतिराजिरात्रे ? कश्मीर
- 16 देवी कुहदेवशस्र ॥ कल्याणराणे जयतीशतुष्टयै श्रीविक्रमाद्रामरसांगचंदे ॥ १४ ॥ रण-  
मल्लतनूजमिहिरामणात्मजसुतमुहु
- 17 टप्रभुनदिनी ॥ कुलपद्मे... करिका ? व्यरचयत् शिववासमनुत्तमं ॥ १५ ॥ य उभयकुल-  
मुक्त्यै...
- 18 -दुरमुदारं... स्य. . . . . वानं तदुभयकुलमेतद्भूवद्भावमेति ॥ १६ ॥
- 19 षट्त्रिंशद्राजकुलमध्यात्.....धीशमहाह्वलुवंशोद्भवमहाराणश्रीकल्याणजीविजयराज्ये  
महारा
- 20 णश्रीभीमधर्मपत्नी... द्रवंशोद्भवजाडेजाश्रीमुहुटपुत्रीबाईश्रीविहिनबाई एकोत्तरश
- 21 तत्कुलो... प्रीतये कुहुंदेश्वरप्रसादः कारापितः ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥ श्रीः ॥ त्रिवाडिवंश
- 22 . . . . .

## JAMNAGAR

No. 112]

v.s. 1666.

[18-4-1610.

This inscription is found in the Nāgeshvara temple at Jamnagar.

It records that NĀKUBAI, wife of Kumāra Śrī JASAVANTSIMHJI, son of Mahārāja Jām Śrī ŚATRUŚALYAJI made a grant of four 'parajas' (?) of land in the village Gaḷapādar to the temple of Nāgeśvara on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1666. The land was purchased from Mak-vāṇā Mahiā for 1680 'Mahamudi' coins.

Another inscription dated v.s. 1670 Vaiśākha Sud 11 Bhauma found in the same place states that 'Bai Nākubai purchased some more lands and bestowed them upon the Nageśvara temple. A third inscription dated v.s. 1670 Magasir Sudi 2 Gurau says that a *deri* was built there by Damodar Gora for 520 koris.

*Text*

- 1 संवत् १६६६ वर्षे वई[शा]ष सूद ५ दिने माहाराजा श्रीजाम
- 2 श्रीसञ्जसल तस्य कुमार श्रीजसवंत तस्य मीरापोरन (?) कीआ
- 3 तस्य भार्या बाई नाकु श्रीनागेस्वरने प्रसादे भोमी पराज (?)
- 4 ४ मोजे गलपादरमधे आपी सही आचंद्राअरक आपी
- 5 अे सीवनी भोमी हीदुआणे गाथि त्रकाणे सुअरः ॥ बहुभी
- 6 वसुधा दत्ता राजभी सगरादिभि यस्य यस्य यदा भूमी
- 7 तस्य तस्य तदा फल । मकआणा महीआनी धरती लीधी वेवाती
- 8 ममुदी १६८० माटे लीधी गारास वधि धर्मादा
- 9 ...शि आपी शुभं भवतु० श्रीः ॥

## GĀLĀ

No. 113]

v.s. 1668.

[23-2-1612.

Gālā is a village at a distance of eight miles to the east from Dhrangdhra. In a niche in the left hand wall of the Jain temple there is fixed a stone slab containing the following inscription. The stone is broken into two pieces but the loss caused thereby is very little. The writing portion measures 15½" by 11½".

The record opens with an invocation to Sarvajña, which shows that it is a Jain record. Then the date is given which is the second day of the bright half of Phālguna of v.s. 1668 or Śaka 15[33]. Then the name of the emperor of Delhi, whose name is missing but who must be Jehangir, also called SALIM as in the next inscription, is given followed by the name CANDRASENJI who was evidently the Zālā ruler of Zālāvāḍ. Then follows a succession list of Jain Ācāryas, which is thus—Sudharmasvāmi—Ānandavimalasūri—Vijaya-senasūri—Hiravijayasūri, (who was honoured with the epithet Jagadguru by the Emperor Akbar), Vijayasenasūri. Under instructions from this last Ācārya Mehetā Dharmadāsa and his brothers, residents of the town Gālā in Zālāvāḍ, and belonging to the Śrīmālī community and Vṛiddha Śākhā, caused the temple of Pārśvanātha to be built, on the abovementioned date.

Though Gālā is an insignificant village now there is no doubt that it was once a flourishing town even upto the time of the present inscription. For an inscription of v.s. 1193 belonging to the reign of the powerful Caulukya sovereign Siddharāja Jaisimha and two inscriptions of v.s. 1201 and 1249 of Kumārapāla and Bhima II respectively are found in a ruined temple outside the village. (See JBBRAS. XXV. p. 322 and Poona Orientalist Vol. I, p. 40 and Vol. II, p. 44).

*Text*

- 1 ...। श्रीसर्वज्ञ[िय नमः] ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीविक्रमात् [ सं ]वत् १६६८ वर्षे शाके १५
- 2 ३३ प्रवर्तमाने । उत्तर[यने ( जे ) गते श्रीसूर्ये फाल्गुन[मासे] शुक्लपक्षे द्वितीयातिथौ
- 3 उत्तरभद्रपदनक्षत्रे शुक्लनाम्नियोगे शुभलभे । विजितानेकक्षितिपालभूपाल पातशा

- 4 हि श्री ६ [ सेलिम\* ]शाहि विजयिनि राज्ये । त...नृपति श्री ६ चंद्रशेनजी  
 5 विज...[ प्र ]सादतः । श्रीमन्महावीरती[र्या]धिराजपट्टे श्रीसुधर्मस्वामि तत्परं  
 6 -यात्-मत्तपागणगगनांगणनलो मणिश्रीमदानंदविमलसूरि तत्पट्टे श्री ६  
 7 विज[यदा]नसूरिपट्टे पातशाहि श्रीअकब्बरप्रदत्त जगद्गुरुबिस्वधारक श्री ६  
 8 [ हीरविज]यसूरिपट्टेदयाचलभानुमा-भट्टारक श्री ६ विजयसेनसूरिश्वरानुपदे  
 9 ...झालावाडीदेशे गालाग्रामवास्तव्यश्रीश्रीमालिङ्गातौ वृद्धशाखायां मं.  
 10 ...भार्या वीरादे सुत मं० चंद्रा भार्या कनकादे सुत मं. अषई भार्या नवरंगदे  
 11 ...मं धर्मदास भार्या धर्मदादे मं. धर्मदास लघु भ्रातृ मं. गिरा भार्या जिमणादे । मं.  
 12 ...कर्णजी सुत इंद्रजी लघु भ्रातृ वाल्हा । मं० इंद्रजी भार्या संपूरां प्रभु  
 13 .....वे परिवारयुतेन मं. अषईनाम्ना श्रीपार्श्वदेवप्रासादः कारितः  
 14 .....श्रीबोधाजीसुतगोविंदजीसुत सिंघजी बालोजीः ॥ श्रीकुण-  
 15 पुरवास्तव्य सूत्रधार लाका लषीत श्रीरस्तु ॥

## DĀDAR

No. 114]

v.s. 1669.

[12-2-1613.

This inscription is found in a Śiva temple in the village, Dādar, under Navānagar State. It measures 2'-1" by 9".

It opens with the date, Friday, the third day of the bright half of Phālguna in v.s. 1669 and refers to the rule of the emperor *Salim Shah* and of his feudatory (Mahāmaṇḍlika) Jām *Satruśalyaḥ*. On this date Sadāśiva, son of Thākur Khīmā and his wife Karamāde caused a Śiva temple to be built.

## Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः [ ।\* ] संवत् १६  
 2 ६९ वर्षे फाल्गुनमासे शुक्ल  
 3 पक्षे त्रतीया शुक्लवासरे  
 4 पातसाह श्रीशलमसाह  
 5 विज्ये राज्ये माहामंडली  
 6 क गोब्राह्मणप्रतिपालक  
 7 जामश्री सत्रसलजी  
 8 राज्ये ॥ नंदवाणाज्ञाती  
 9 य शांडलिश गोत्रे ठाक  
 10 र भीमा भार्या वा० कर  
 11 मादे तस्य सुत सदाशी  
 12 व सेवक प्रसाद कृतार्थ [ ।\* ]  
 13 ठा० । वाशा भार्या बा०  
 14 [ कु ]डादे । भ्रातृ ठा० वं [ जा ]  
 15 ठा० । विष्णुदास । वाशा  
 16 सुत माहादेव ॥ सदा

\* Or perhaps Jehangir.

- 17 शीव प्रसादात्
- 18 शोमपराज्ञातीय
- 19 शल्पी कांहजी
- 20 कृत शुभं भवतु
- 21 कल्याणमस्तु । श्री

## GOGHĀ

No. 115]

v.s. 1672.

[18-1-1616.

This inscription is found in the Kālikā temple, in the western part of the port Goghā.

It records the building of the Kālikā temple on Thursday, the tenth of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1672 or Śaka 1537 by Kūkī, wife of Soni Haridāsa, son of Vejā, in the time of the emperor *Selimshaha Bāmaṇi* and of the Pancakula in the port Goghā, consisting of Vazir Kasamkhān, his Thānādara Thakur Uddhavadās, Kāji Shah Muhammad, Girāsia Akherājji, Desai Somaji, Vādhelia Hamir, Vyavahari Visā Kalyānji and Thakur Virji, Dhruva Premji and Haraji, etc. The lady also made regular arrangements for the permanent administration of the temple.

## Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीमहाकाली महालक्ष्मी महासरस्वती
- 2 प्रसादात् स्वस्ति श्रीज्योमंगलाभ्युदयश्च ॥ पातसाह श्रीश्री
- 3 वामणिसाह श्रीसलेमानसाहविजयराज्ये अयेह श्रीघोघा वेला
- 4 कुले अम्यल हवाले वजीरपान श्रीकाशमषान चरणसेवक
- 5 थाणे ठाकुरश्रीउधवदास काजायकाज्य ? शाहा महमद गरासीआ
- 6 राजश्री अपीराजजी देसाई महं सोमजी वाढेलीया हमीर वेहे
- 7 वारीया विसा कल्याणजी तथा ठकुर वीरजी तथा दूमेमजि तथा
- 8 हरजी एवं पंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ दीर्घायत प्रासादे द्रव्य षर्चता-
- 9 ण लिक्ष्यते ॥ संवत १६७२ वर्षे तस्यत शालिवाहनशाके १५३७ प्रव-
- 10 र्तमाने उत्तरायनि गते श्रीसूर्य शशिरक्तौ माहामांगल्यप्रदमाघमा
- 11 से शुक्ले पक्षे १० दसम्यां तिथौ गुरुवासरे अत्र दिने श्रीश्रीमालङ्गा
- 12 तीय सोनी वेजा तसुत सोनी हरिदास तस्य भार्या बाई कीकीकेन
- 13 अयं प्रासाद कारापिता बाई कीकीनी माता बाई वरबाई पिता सोनी
- 14 राम भ्रातृ सोनी योभण अस्मिन् प्रासादे द्रव्य षचितं ते संक्षीति ॥
- 15 बादसाही-सादी १६०७ सोलशिसात एतत्संक्षाप्रमाणं ॥ अस्मिन् प्रासादे श्रे
- 16 ष्ट वासणः सेवकोस्ति श्रीरस्तु ॥ लेषकपाठकयोः कल्याणं भूयात् ॥
- 17 मोढज्ञातीय लिखितं व्यास ककासुतमूलीया ॥ श्री ॥
- 18 अस्मिन्प्रासादे नित्य सप्तशतीपाठत्रयब्राह्मणा तस्मिन् नामानि लिषि
- 19 यंते पंच्या नरहरि तथा दवे काक तथा आचार्य भीमजी.....
- 20 श्रीविपत्यगतं ? श्रेष्ठ जसवंत श्रेष्ठ तलसीदास त वेलजी
- 21 श्री श्री ॥ समस्तानि कलाणमस्तु
- 22 ... सोनी माहा व सोनी रावल सोनी सीसदास

## VARTEJ

No. 116]

v.s. 1674.

[25-10-1617.

This inscription is engraved on a *pālio* lying near the Darbargadh at Vartej near Bhavnagar. The inscribed portion measures 12" by 8".

The object of the inscription is to record the death of a *Sati* belonging to the Kaṇḍolī Brāhmaṇa community on Saturday, the first day of the bright half of Kārtika in v.s. 1674 or Śaka 1539. In the eighth line of the record the name of Rāwal *Dhunāji* seems to be engraved. He granted a sum of rupees for raising a memorial stone and a *deri* over it in honour of the Brahmin lady.

Dhunāji was son of Visoji, the Gohel chief of Sihor to whose family the Maharaja of Bhavnagar belongs. Dhunāji was killed in a fight with the Kathis in 1619 A.D.

This inscription was formerly published on p. 165 of the *Pkt. and Skt. Inscr. of Kathiawad*.

## Text

- 1 स्वस्ति श्रीर्जुयो मंगलाभ्युदयश्च
- 2 संवत् १६७४ वर्षे शाके १५३९ प्रवर्त्तमा
- 3 ने...नाम्नि संवत्सरे गृहगुण...श्रीसूम्
- 4 शरदस्तौ मांगलप्रदकार्तिकमासे शुक्ल
- 5 पक्षे ६ तिथौ शनिवासर दने...दष
- 6 घटीसमये श्रीकंडोलजातीया...
- 7 पावकपरिवर्त्तनप्रारंभं श्रुत्वा तस्या भुवना
- 8 दिस्तंवे [ च ] बुद्धा [ राओळा धुनाजीरू ]या दत्ता
- 9 मन...नियमं कृत्वा...
- 10 स्वर्ग.....वर्षदत्तौ

## ŚATRUNJAYA

No. 117]

v. s. 1675

[7-4-1619.

This inscription is engraved on the north wall of a temple near the Hathipola in the Vimalavasahi Tūṅk. It was once edited by Dr. BÜHLER in the *Epi. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 64 (No. XXI).

## Text

- 1 ओं । स्वस्ति श्रीवत्सभर्तापि न विष्णुश्चतुराननः । न ब्रह्मा यो वृषांकोपि न रुद्रः स जिनः  
त्रिये ॥ १ संवत्
- 2 १६७५ वर्षे शाके १५४१ प्रवर्त्तमाने । समप्रदेशशृंगारहाल्लारतिलकोपमम् । अनेकेभ्य-  
गृहार्कीर्ण नवीनपुरम्
- 3 तमं ॥ २ अभ्रलिहविहाराम् । ध्वजांशुकहृतातपम् । रूप्यस्वर्णमणिव्याप्त । चतुष्पथविरा-  
जितम् । ३ । युग्मम् तत्र राजा
- 4 प्रशास्ति श्रीजसवंताभिधो नृपः । यामश्रीशत्रुशल्याहकुलांबरनभोमणिः ॥ ४ यत्प्रतापामि-  
संताप संतप्त इव ताप



- 5 नः । निम्मोति जलधौ नित्यमुन्मज्जननिमज्जने । ५ युग्मं बभूवुः श्रीमहावीरपट्टानुक्रमभूषणाः ।  
श्रीअंचलगणा
- 6 तीशा आर्य्यरक्षितसूरयः । ६ तत्पट्टपंकजादित्याः सूरिश्रीजयसिंहकाः । श्रीधम्मैषोषसूरीद्रा  
महेंद्रात्सिंहसूरयः
- 7 । ७ श्रीसिंहप्रभसूरीशाः सूरयोऽजितसिंहशाः । श्रीमदेवेंद्रसूरीकाः श्रीधम्मप्रभसूरयः । ८  
श्रीसिंहतिलकाह्वाश्च श्रीम
- 8 हेंद्रप्रभाभिधाः । श्रीमंतो मेरुतुंगाख्या बभूवुः सूरयस्ततः ॥ ९ समप्रगुणसंपूर्णाः सूरिश्रीजय-  
कीर्तयः । तत्पदेथ सुसाधुश्री
- 9 जयकेशरिसूरयः श्रीसिद्धांतसमुद्राख्यसूरयो भूरिकीर्तयः । भावसागरसूरीद्रस्ततोऽभूवन्  
गणाधिपाः ॥ श्री
- 10 सङ्गुणनिधानाख्यसूरयस्तत्पदेभवन् । युगप्रधानाः श्रीमंतः सूरिश्रीधम्ममूर्तयः । १२ तत्पट्टो-  
दयशैलाग्रप्रोद्यत्तरणिसे-
- 11 निभाः जयंति सूरिराजः श्री । युजः कल्याणसागराः । १३ श्रीनव्यनगरे वास्युपकेराज्ञाति-  
भूषणः । इभ्यः श्रीह
- 12 रपालाह्म असीलालगोत्रकः । १४ हरीयाख्योऽथ तत्पुत्रः सिंहनामा तदंगजः । उदेसीत्यथ  
तत्पुत्रः पर्वताङ्गस्त
- 13 तोऽभवत् । १५ वच्छनामाऽथ तत्पत्नी चामूद्राछलदेविका । तत्कुक्षिमानसे हंसतुल्योऽथाऽ  
मरसंज्ञकः । १६ लिंग
- 14 देवीति तत्पत्नी तदौरस्यास्त्रयो वराः । जयंति श्रीवर्द्धमानचंपसीपद्मसिंहकाः । १७ अतः  
परं विशेषतः साहिवर्द्धमान
- 15 साहिवर्द्धसिंहयोर्वर्णनम् । गांभीर्य्येण समुद्राभौ दानेन धनदोषमौ । श्रद्धालुगुणसंपूर्णौ  
बोधिना श्रेणिको
- 16 पमौ । १८ प्राप्तश्रीयामभूपालसमाजबहुलादरौ । मंत्रिश्रीवर्द्धमानश्रीपद्मसिंहौ सहोदरौ । १९  
महेला वद्धे
- 17 मानस्य । वन्नादेवीति विश्रुता । तदंगजावुभौ ख्यातौ । वीराख्यविजपालकौ । २०  
वर्णिनी पद्मसिंहस्य । रत्नगवर्भा
- 18 सुजाणदे । श्रीपालकुरपालाङ्गरंमल्लास्तदंगजाः । २१ एवं स्वतंत्रयुक्ताभ्या । मनल्योत्सव  
पूर्वकम् । साहिश्रीवर्द्धमानश्री
- 19 पद्मसीभ्यां प्रधाररात् । २२ प्रागुक्तवत्सरे रम्ये । माधवाज्जुनपक्षके । रोहिणीभनृतीयायां  
बुधवासरसंयुजि
- 20 । २३ श्रीशान्तिनाथ मुख्यनां । जिनानां चतुस्तारा । द्विशतीः प्रतिमा ह्यया । भारिताश्च  
प्रतिष्ठिताः । २४ । युग्मम् ।
- 21 पुनर्निजबहुद्रव्य । सफलीकरणकृते । श्रीनव्यनगरेऽकारि प्रासादः शैलसंनिभः । २५ द्वास-  
प्ततिजिनौ
- 22 कोभि । व्वंष्टितश्च चतुर्मुखैः । कैलाशपर्वतोत्तुंगैरष्टाभिः शोभितोऽमितः । २६ युग्मम् ।  
साहिश्री
- 23 पद्मसिंहनाऽकारि शत्रुंजयोपरि । उत्तुंगतोरणः श्रीमान् । प्रासादः शिखरोन्नतः । २७ यं  
दृष्ट्वा भविकाः स

- 24 वें । चितयंति स्वचेतसि । उच्चैर्भूतः किमेषोदि । ईश्यतेऽप्रलिहो यतः । २८ येन श्रीतीर्थ-  
राजोयं राजते सा  
25 वतंसकः । प्रतिमाः स्थापितास्तत्र श्रीश्रेयांसमुखाऽर्हताम् । २९

## SATRUNJAYA

No. 118]

v. s. 1675

[16-4-1619.

This inscription is engraved on the round *pādukās* in a small temple in the north-west of the Kharataravasi Tunk. It was once edited by Dr. BÜHLER in the *Epi. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 60 (No. XV).

## Text

सं. १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ तिथौ शुक्रवारे\* सुरत्राणनूरदीनजहांगीर सवाईविजयिराज्ये । श्री  
अहम्मदाबादवास्तव्यप्राग्वटज्ञातीयलघुशाखाप्रदीपक सं माईआ भार्या नाकू पुत्र संजोगो भार्या  
जसमादे  
पुत्ररत्न सकलसुश्रवककर्तव्यताकरणविहितयत्न सं सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्र संघपति रूपजीकेन  
भार्या  
जेठी पुत्र चि उदयवंत बाई कोडिंकुंअरिप्रमुखसारपरिवारसहितेन स्वयंकारितसप्राकारेश्री  
विमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारकश्रीयुगादिदेवप्रतिष्ठायां श्रीआदिनाथपादुके  
परमप्रमोदाय  
कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते च श्रीबृहत्खरतरगछाधिराज श्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिशिरस्तिलकैः ॥ प्रणमति भुवन-  
कीर्तिगणिः ॥

## MĀTHAK

No. 119]

v.s. 1677.

[4-1-1621.

This inscription is engraved on one of the two *pāliās* standing in a *deri* situated in the north-west boundary of the village Māthak in the Caradvā mahāl of the Dhrāngdhīā State. The inscribed portion measures 16" by 14½".

It records the death of Kumāra Śrī *Bhojarājaji*, son of Mahārāṇā Śrī *Candrasenji* and his queen *Bhagatābai* coming from the *Paramāra* family, on Thursday the seventh *tithi* of the dark half of Pauṣa in v.s. 1677 or Śaka 1542. Thereupon *Bhōjarāja's* wife named *Vhālibai*, daughter of *Cāvḍā Ratanji* and his wife *Kanakabai*, became a *Sati*.

Kathiawad Gazetteer (p. 426) gives names of only six sons of Mahārāṇā Candrasenji, but this inscription states that he had a seventh son by his wife born in the Paramāra family. *Bhojarāja* died in the lifetime of his father.

\* There are six more inscriptions engraved on different places on the hill which are of the same date, refer to the rule of Akbar and record the same kind of Jain endowments.

*Text*

- 1 स्वस्त श्रीमंनृपविक्रमाऽर्कसम
- 2 यातीत संवत १६७७ वर्षे श्रीशालि
- 3 बाहननृपतिशाके १५४२ प्रवत
- 4 माने उत्तरांगते [ श्रीसू ] र्वे शीशी
- 5 रक्तु महामांगल्यव्रतप्रद
- 6 मासोत्तमपोषमासे कृष्णपक्षे
- 7 ७ सप्तम्यां पुण्यतिथौ गुरुदि
- 8 न ॥ माहाराण श्रीचंद्रसेनजीवि
- 9 जयराज्ये तस्य भार्या परमा
- 10 र बाई श्रीभगतांबाई तस्य
- 11 सुत कुअर श्रीभोजराज देव
- 12 लोक प्राप्ता चाओडा श्रीरतन
- 13 जीग्रहे भार्या बाई श्रीकनकबाई
- 14 तस्य सुता चाओडी बाई श्रीवाहालबा
- 15 ई साहागमन कीधू देवलोकप्राप्तिरस्तु

## VĀNKĀNER

No. 120]

v.s. 1679.

[31-3-1623.

This inscription is engraved on one of the two *pāliās* standing side by side near the temple of Mahālakṣmī in Vānkāner. The right hand palia, which contains this inscription, has a male figure evidently of Rāṇā Sartānji, whose death is recorded therein, and the left hand palia has the female figure, evidently of the queen.

It records the death of Mahākumāra *Śri Sultānji* (Sartānji), son of Mahākumāra *Śri Prithvirājji*, son Mahārāṇā *Śri Candrasenji*, son of Mahārāṇā *Śri Raisimhji*, son of Mahārāṇā *Śri Mānji*, on Monday, the 10th day of the bright half of Caitra in v.s. 1679 or Śaka 1545. Thereupon Mahākumāra Saratānji's wife named Prāṇavatibai, daughter of the Rāthod king Kalyāṇamalla, son of Nārāyaṇāśa, of Idargaḍh, became a *Sati*.

This inscription is important as it records the death of Sultānji, founder of the ruling family of Vānkāner, Mānji, Raisimhji and Candrasenji were the rulers in the main line of the Zālās ruling at Halvad. Candrasenji's son Prithvirājji by his queen from Bhādli, was the rightful heir to the throne being the eldest. But his step brothers Āskaranji and Amarasimhji desirous of supplanting him called in the aid of the Ahmedabad Subadar and imprisoned Prithvirāj. He was taken to Ahmedabad, where he died. His son Sultānji with the aid of the Jam conquered the paragana of Vānkāner from the Mahias and Bābrias and founded the line. In 1623 A.D. when he was starting for Idar to fetch his wife he was attacked by the Halvad force, and was slain fighting valiantly.

Kalyāṇamalla, the father-in-law of Sultānji was the fourth son of Nārā-yandās, who succeeded Arjundās on the *Gadī* of Idar.

*Text*

- 1 स्वस्ति श्रीमंनृपविक्रमार्कसमयाती[त]
- 2 संवत् १६७९ वर्षे श्रीशालीवाहननृपाल
- 3 शाके १५४५ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायन
- 4 [ग]ते श्रीसूर्ये वसंतऋतौ माहाभाग
- 5 [ल्य]प्रद मासोत्तम चैत्र सुदि १० सोमे
- 6 महाराणश्रीमानजीसुत महाराणश्री
- 7 रायशंघजीसुत महाराणश्रीचंद्रसेन
- 8 जीसुत महाकुंअरश्रीप्रथीराजजीसु
- 9 तमहाकुंअरश्रीशरतानजी...
- 10 ...दिवांगत पाम्या ॥ गृहे भार्या राठ
- 11 डय बाई श्रीप्राणावंती बाईये सह
- 12 गमन कीधू। गढ ईडर रायश्री
- 13 नारायणदासजी सुत रायश्री
- 14 कल्याणमल्लजीनी पुत्री प्रण
- 15 वती बाई माहाकूवर सरतानजी साथि
- 16 स्वरग पधर। गजधर रीडा सूत राम
- 17 जीअे देहरी करी तथा गजधर रूपा सुत षीमा

KALAVAD

No. 121]

v. s. 1682.

[20-9-1625.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the Śiva temple near the Sitalā Mātā's temple in Kālāvaḍ, which is a walled town in the Navānagar State at a distance of 28 miles to the south-east of Jamnagar. The inscribed portion measures 17½" by 10½".

It opens with the date, *viz.* Tuesday, the 14th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada in v.s. 1682 or Śaka 1547 and refers to the victorious rule of *Mahājām Lākhāji* born of the *Yadu* family and of *Jām Vibhāji*, the brother, and heir apparent of the former, when a Brāhmaṇa Upādyaia named Vāsāṇi belonging to the Nandvāṇa community caused to be made, in company with several members of his family, a temple of Śiva and Viṣṇu and one of Hanumān the god of celebrates. The inscription then gives a verse wishing long life to the temples, followed by the date expressed again in words.

As we know that Ranmalji succeeded Jām Lākhāji (see p. 570 of Kathiawad Gazetteer) to the gadi the mention in our inscription of Lākhāji's brother Jām Vibhāji as his heir apparent is to be considered merely as a

formal way of speaking that the king was looking after the State business in consultation with his brother.

### Text

- 1 स्वस्ति श्रीर्जयो मंगलाभ्युदयश्च ॥ श्रीमन्पुत्रविक्रमार्कसमयातीत संवत् १६८२ वर्षे शाके  
१५४७ प्र
- 2 वर्तमाने दक्षिणायने शरदृतौ भाद्रपदकृष्णपक्षे चतुर्दश्यां तिथौ घटी २६ भौमवासरे उत्त
- 3 राफाल्युनी घटी ३८ ब्रह्मन्नाम्नि योगे घटी ५७ शकुनिकरणे घटी २६ एवं पंचांगशुद्धौ  
श्रीमद्यदु
- 4 वंशोद्भवमहाजामश्रीलाषाजीविजयराज्ये तस्य भ्राता कुमारपदे श्रीविभाजीवीजय  
राज्ये नंदवा
- 5 णाज्ञातीय गौतमकृषिकुलोद्भव उपाध्यायश्रीदासा तत्सुत उपाध्याय श्रील्लणा तस्य भार्या  
बाई पद्मा तत्सुत खो
- 6 खा तथा भूदर तथा बाई मेही तथा पीतांबर खोखात्मजवासुदेव भूदरात्मजकृष्णदा
- 7 स तथा लक्ष्मीदास एवंविध पुत्रपौत्रवान् उपाध्याय वासणि श्रीविष्णुशिवानी अज्ञाय
- 8 की श्रीब्रह्मचारीश्वरानुं तथा श्री हनुमाननुं प्रासाद संपूर्ण कीधुं संपूर्ण करि नि श्रीविष्णु
- 9 शिवना चरण पामा ॥ श्रीगणेशगोत्रदेव्योः प्रसादात् पुण्याद दीर्घमायुरस्तु गृहे वृद्धिशता
- 10 नि भवतु । उत्तरे कर्मण्यनिर्विघ्नमस्तु ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ सूत्रधार सदाफलकर्ता ?
- 11 प्रासादनुं नाम राज्यदः (?) ॥ सकलवारिधिभिः सहिता धरा क्षितिधरैरखिलैश्च विराजते
- 12 गगनमंडलमत्र रवीन्दुमज्जयति तावदयं हि विराजते ॥ १ ॥ संवत् नेत्रगजेरसंदुस
- 13 हिते मासे नभस्ये सिते चांत्ये रिक्ततिथौ कुजेन सहितेत्रतूतरे ह्यादिमे ॥
- 14 योगे ब्रह्मसमाह्वये च करणे ह्याये स्थिरे राज्यदं प्रासादं च शिवस्य पूर्णधे
- 15 करोच्छ्रीवासणाख्यो द्विजः ॥ २ ॥ ब्रह्मचारीश्वरस्यास्य प्रासादस्य च
- 16 रक्षिता ॥ यो हि स्वर्गं प्रयात्वत्र यो नरकं यात्वरक्षिता ॥ ३ ॥

### KUA

No 122]

v. s. 1682

[26-11-1625

This inscription is taken from one of the *pālās* standing in a line in the compound of the Śiva mandir, which is behind the masjid in the town Kuā, also called Kankāvṭi in the Dhrāṅghrā State.

It records the death in a fight while protecting cows, of Zālā Gopālji, son of Surāji, son of Lākḥāji on Saturday, the seventh day of the bright half of Māgasar in v.s. 1682. The deceased was only a Girasia of the ruling family of the Zālās of Dhrāṅghrā.

### Text

संवत् १६८२ वरषे मागसर  
सद ७ सनै झाला श्रीलाषाजी सू  
त मूराजी सूत गोपालजी गा  
यिनी बाहारे स्वरगी यिआ

## SATRUNJAYA

No. 123]

v.s. 1683.

[30-1-1626

This inscription is fixed in a niche in a temple in the Vimalavasā Tuahik on the left hand between the Vāghānapoḷa and Hāthi-poḷa. It was first edited by Dr. BÜHLER in the *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 68 (No. XXVIII).

## Text

- 1 संवत् १६८३ वर्षे । पातिसाहजिह्वागिरश्रीसलेमसाहभूमडलाखंडलविजयरा[ज्ये] ॥
- 2 श्रीचक्रेश्वरी नमः । ओं । महोपाध्याय श्री ५ श्रीहेममूर्तिगणिसद्गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्री
- 3 ओं नमः । स्वस्ति श्रीः शिवशंकरोपि गणमान् सर्वज्ञशत्रुंजयः । शर्वः शंभुरधीश्वरश्च  
भग[वा]
- 4 न् गौरो वृषाको मृडः । गंगोमापतिरस्तकामविकृतिः सिद्धैः कृताऽतिस्तुतो । रुद्रो यो न परं  
श्रियै स
- 5 जिनपः श्रीनाभिभूरस्तु मे ॥ १ उद्यच्छ्रीरजडः कलंकरहितः संतापदोषाऽपहः । सौम्यः  
प्राप्तस-
- 6 याऽमितकलः सुश्रीर्मुग्धांकोऽव्ययः गौरानोमृतसूरपास्तकलुषो जैवातृकः प्राणिनां । चन्द्रः  
[ कर्म ]
- 7 जयत्यहो जिनपतिः श्रीनैश्वसेनिर्महान् । २ त्यक्त्वा राजीमतीं यः स्वनिहितहृदयानेक-  
पत्नीः...
- 8 पां । सिद्धिस्त्रीं भूरिरक्तामपि बहु चकमेऽनेकपत्नीमपीशः । लोके ख्यातस्तथापि स्फुरदति-  
शय[वान्]
- 9 ब्रह्मचारीति नाम्ना । स श्रीनेमिजिनेन्द्रो दिशतु शिवमुखं सात्वतां योगिनाथः । ३ चंच-  
च्छारं चंद्रचार\*
- 10 दनश्रेयोविनिर्ग्यद्वचः । पीयूषौघनिषेक्तो विषधरेणापि प्रपेदे=दुतं । देवत्वं सुकृतैकलभ्य[ म]
- 11 तुलं यस्यानुकंपानिधेः । स श्रीपार्श्वजिनेक्षितास्तु सततं विघ्नाच्छिदे सात्वतां । ४ यस्य  
श्रीवरशासनं
- 12 क्षितितले मार्तण्डबिंबायते । यद्वाक्यं भवसिंधुतारणविधौ पोतायते देहिनां । यद्दयानं [ भु ]
- 13 विपापपंकदलने गंगानुधारायते । श्रीसिद्धार्थनरेंद्रनंदनजिनः सोस्तु श्रिये सर्व्वदा ॥ ५...  
संवत् १६८३ वर्षे मार्गे सुदि त्रयोदशी तिथौ सोमवासरे श्री  
चंद्रप्रभस्वामीजिनमंदिरजीर्णोद्धारः कारितः ।

## HALVAD

No. 124]

v. s. 1683.

[11-5-1626

This inscription is copied from a pillar of a *deri* to the east of the Bhavāni Mātā's temple in Halvad.

The inscription records that Mahārāṇā Candrasenji, son of Mahārāṇā Raisimhji, and grandson of Mahārāṇā Mānji died on Thursday, the tenth of

\* The Jain Paṭṭāvali is given in the intervening lines.

the dark half of Vaisākha in v.s. 1683 and a *deri* in his honour was built by Mahārājā Amarasinhji.

The rulers mentioned in the record belong to the Zālā family of Halvad.

*Text*

- 1 संवत् १६८३ वरषे
- 2 वइशाख वद १० ग
- 3 रबासर महारां
- 4 ण श्रीमानंजीसूत
- 5 माहाराण=श्री रासं
- 6 षजी सूत माहाराण
- 7 श्रीचंद्रसनजी हरी
- 8 सणं पांमा तेनी देरी
- 9 माहाराणा श्रीअमर
- 10 संघटीअ करावी
- 11 गतधर रामजीअ
- 12 देरी करावी

(To be Continued).

# POST-VYĀSARĀYA COMMENTATORS (NON-POLEMICAL)

By

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA, Annamalainagar.

## 1.—RAGHŪTTAMA TĪRTHA (1557-96)

We turn now to the host of influential commentators, who have, in their own way, contributed to the growth and spread of the Dvaita Vedānta and its literature. Their number is much greater as already observed, than that of the polemical writers noticed in the preceding section. While the latter worked so hard to make Dvaita Vedānta known as a powerful limb of Indian Philosophy, the commentators now to be mentioned played an equally valuable part in making the works of Madhva and his early followers, better known and understood within the fold of the Ācārya and kindling popular interest therein by writing lucid commentaries and glosses on the works of their predecessors, and rendering them less tiresome and more easily assimilable. One such early writer was Raghūttama Tīrtha.

Raghūttama is one of the honoured Saints of the Madhva calendar. Nothing is known about his parentage or early life, save that he was recruited to the Sannyāsa-āśrama directly from his Brahmācāryāśrama. He succeeded to the Pontificate of the Uttarādi Mutt in 1557-8, which he occupied for thirty-nine years till his death in the cyclic year of Manmatha. He was thus a close contemporary of Vijayindra and Vādirāja. He was obviously a Kannaḍa-speaking Deśastha<sup>1</sup>-Brahman of Bombay-Karnatak and possibly a native of the Bijāpur district.

Raghūttama is said to have studied for some years after his ordination under a learned Pundit of the name of Varadaṛājācārya<sup>2</sup> at Maṇūr.<sup>3</sup> The

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1. I use the term "Deśastha" in its true, original and only correct sense of an inhabitant of the Desh as opposed to the Konkan—in which sense it is invariably used and understood in the Bombay Presidency—whence it came to the South. It has *absolutely no linguistic connotation but only a geographical one*. There is thus no justification for the loose and altogether vicious use of the term in the Madras Province now, to denote only a Mahrāṭṭi speaking person. This was due originally to sheer ignorance of facts which has lately developed into a desire to monopolise the term, on the part especially of most of those Mādhva Brahmins who now speak a debased Mahrāṭṭi in the South but whose original mother-tongue at the time of their migration from the North (in the 17-18th centuries) was demonstrably Kannaḍa. From Raghūttama down to present Pontiff Satyadhyaṇa Tīrtha, the Svāmīs of the Uttarādi Mutt have *without exception* been recruited from the Kannaḍa-speaking "Deśasth" Brahmin families of Bombay-Karnatak.

2. This Pundit was the first of the Ādya family of scholars, whose descendants now enjoy "first honours" at the Uttarādi Mutt. For the works attributed to Varadāchārya see Appendix III.

3. A village on the southern bank of the Bhimā river, on the Nizam's border of the Inḍi taluq of the Bijāpur district, which I was able to visit on 11-1-38.



Pundit's treatment of his disciple seems to have terminated the studies rather abruptly.

Tradition ascribes to Raghūttama certain innovations in the Mutt routine and additions to Pontifical paraphernalia. He seems to have spent the latter part of his life at his Mutt on the S. Pennār at Tirukoilūr (South Arcot Dt.) where he passed away and where his mortal remains lie entombed. To this day special reverence is paid to his memory and hundreds visit his tomb at Tirukoilūr. He was a scholar of great weight and taught many disciples among whom were (1) Rāmācārya, the author of the *Taraṅgiṇī* and (2) Vedēśa Bhikṣu a prolific commentator.

#### Works.

Raghūttama's works are seven in number. They are all of them extant though only two have so far been printed. They are all in the nature of commentaries on the earlier works of the system. "Bhāva-bodha" is the general title of a majority of his works and Raghūttama himself is usually called "Bhāvabodhācārya" or "Bhāvabodhakāra."

#### (1) *Viṣṇutattvanirṇaya-Ṭikā-Bhāvabodha* (m)

This (Mysore O. L. C. 1906) is Raghūttama's gloss on the VTN-commentary of Jayatīrtha, in about 1200 granthas. The author quotes from the *Pramāṇa Paddhati* of Jayatīrtha and culls pratikas regularly from the original commentary of Jayatīrtha.

#### (2) *Tattvapraśāsikā-Bhāvabodha* (m)

This is a super-commentary on the TP of Jayatīrtha, which is preserved both at Mysore (O. L. C. 323) and at Madras (O. L. R. No. 878). It is a voluminous commentary running to nearly 8100 granthas. The gloss is quoted and criticised by Jagannātha Tīrtha in his *Bhāṣyadīpikā*.<sup>4</sup> The author quotes also the passages of the *Nyāyavivaraṇa* commented upon by Jayatīrtha in his TP without introducing the actual words thereof, and from the *Candrikā*.<sup>4a</sup>

#### (3) *Nyāyavivaraṇa-Ṭikā*. (p)

This direct commentary on the *Nyāyavivaraṇa* of Madhva, in the continuation of Jayatīrtha's commentary on the same from B.S. i, 3, 1 onwards has been printed and published from Uḍipi.

#### (4) *Nyāya-ratna-sambandha-Dīpikā* (m)

A Ms. of this is preserved in the Mysore O. L. (C. 1557). It runs to some 1200 granthas and is in the nature of a commentary on the AV showing at the same time, the inter-connection between the words of Madhva and the

4. See *Bhāṣyadīpikā* (Madras) p. 237 and *Bhāvabodha* i, 1, 3; and p. 438 and *Bhāvabodha* ii, 1, 18.

4a. See 1, 2 p. 48b (MS).

sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. It also indicates the Pūrvapakṣa and Siddhāntanyāyas involved at each step. The scope of the work is thus indicated :

अनुव्याख्योक्तयुक्तीनां भाष्याधिकरणेष्वलम् ।

जयमुन्युक्तमाश्रित्य वक्ष्ये श्रुतिसमुद्भूतम् ॥

(5) *Vivaraṇoddhāra* (m)

This is a gloss on those passages of the *Nyāyavivaraṇa* which have been commented upon by Jayatīrtha in his *TP* without introducing the actual words thereof, into the body of his text.<sup>5</sup> A Ms. is preserved at the Tanjore Palace Library (XIV. 7841).

(6) *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-Bhāṣya-Tīkā* (p)

Raghūttama's *magnum opus* is his commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya* of Madhva, in 9000 granthas, published as early as the year 1907. He gives both the "bhāṣyārtha," and the Khaṇḍārtha of the Upaniṣad i.e., to say, he has commented upon the bhāṣya of Madhva as well as upon the passages of Upaniṣad itself, independently and in a connected way. The most striking feature of the commentary is the large number of quotations from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara which Raghūttama gives in order to contrast the interpretations of his school with those of the Advaita which are sometimes criticised by him (P. 41) :—

Bhāvabodha

Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on Bṛh. Up.  
(Ānandāśrama edn).

P. 7	..	..	..	..	..	..	P. 20
10	..	..	..	..	..	..	33
12 b	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
12	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
14	..	..	..	..	..	..	37
35 b	..	..	..	..	..	..	127
35 b	..	..	..	..	..	..	129
36 b	..	..	..	..	..	..	145
39	..	..	..	..	..	..	148
207	..	..	..	..	..	..	479
274 b	..	..	..	..	..	..	630

He has incorporated into his work many passages from the commentaries of Jayatīrtha on the *Kathālakṣaṇa* (see Raghūttama, pp. 199-200), AV (see R. 308 and *Sudhā* 115 b) and the *Īśa Up.* (see R. p. 348). He makes an interesting reference to the views of his teacher Raghuvarya Tīrtha on the interpretation of the term "गोष्ठ" (Bṛh. iii, i, p. 166, line 17): गोष्ठे यज्ञवाटसमीप इति स्वाभिः

5. See the colophon : इति श्रीमज्जयतीर्थचरण प्रदर्शित-तत्त्वप्रकाशिकागत-न्यायविवरणोद्धार ..... | Vide also the remarks of Rāghavendra in his *TP-Bhāvadīpa* 25, lines 22-23 ; ii. 4, 13, p. 233 (Bombay). The editor of the T. P. L. Catalogue has not properly understood the scope of this work of Raghūttama.

(7) *Gitābhāṣya-Prameyadīpikā Bhāvabodha* (m)

This is the author's gloss on *Jayātīrtha's* commentary on the *Gitā-Bhāṣya* of Madhva. A Ms. is preserved of this work in the Mysore O. L. (116 Nāgarī) and extracts from the gloss have been given in Pandit T. R. Kṛṣṇācārya's edn. of the *Gitābhāṣya-Bhāvaratnakośa* of Sumatīndra Tīrtha.

## 2.—VEDEŚA BHIKṢU (C. 1570-1620)

Vedeśa Bhikṣu describes himself in his works, as a disciple of both Raghūttama and his successor Veda-vyāsātīrtha. The latter has been confounded with the famous author of the *Nym.* by KEITH<sup>6</sup> and AUFRECHT.<sup>7</sup> But a careful scrutiny of the introductory verses and colophons to the works of Vedeśa would make it clear that he had nothing to do with Vyāsātīrtha of *Nym.* fame :

1. रघूत्तमगुरुप्रोक्तो भावो जयमुनेरिह ।  
वेदेशभिक्षुणा बालबोधायाम्ततयेरितः । (Kathālakṣaṇa gloss)
2. सक्तान्तःकरणान् रघूत्तमयतीनानम्य ; विद्यागुरुन् वेदव्यासयतींश्च.....॥  
(Gloss on *Pramāṇapaddhati*)
3. इति श्रीमच्छान्दोग्यभाष्यस्य टीकायां वेदव्यासतीर्थपूज्यपादशिष्यवेदेशभिक्षुचिरचितायां  
× × × (Colophon to the c. on *Chān. Up. bhāṣya*)
4. गुरुरघूत्तमयोगिमुनिक्षितो जयमुनेरभिसन्धिरयं मम ।  
प्रकटितोऽलवबोधहृदम्बुजस्थितरमापतितृप्तिमभीप्सता ॥  
(Gloss on *Tattvodyota-ṭīkā*)

Nothing is however known about the personal history of Vedeśa. The epithet Bhikṣu taken up by him shows that he was a Sannyāsin. Like his teacher Raghūttama and Vedavyāsa, he too was doubtless a Kannaḍa-speaking Deśastha Brahmin. He lies entombed at Maṇūr, where Raghūttama himself and his predecessors are known to have prosecuted their studies earlier. He has nine works to his credit which are all of them illuminating commentaries, some on the Upaniṣad-bhāṣyas of Madhva and the rest on a few of Jayātīrtha's works. All save three of his works have been printed.

(1) *Tattvodyota-Pañcīkā-Gloss* (Ṭippaṇa) (p)<sup>8</sup>

This is a gloss on Jayātīrtha's c. on the *Td.* of Madhva, running to 1650 granthas. It throws fresh light on many pages of the original. Vedeśa quotes several times from earlier commentaries in the field<sup>9</sup> and sometimes criticises them.<sup>10</sup> He has quoted also from the *Samkṣepa-Sārīraka*<sup>11</sup> (1,167)

6. MILL Mss. 90 (Bodlien Cat. p. 62, Col. 2).

7. *Catalogue Cat.*, p. 619.

8. Bombay 1898 and Belgaum.

9. Pp. 11, lines 10, 22, 17, 10-12 ; 23, 13-14 ; 24, 4 ; 25, 14 ; 40, 5-10 ; 43-4.

10. P. 8, lines 7-11 ; p. 13, 7-15 ; 16, 24-26.

11. P. 39, 4.

and the *Saptapadārthī* of Śivāditya and also possibly a commentary thereon.<sup>12</sup>

Similar glosses on (2) Jayatīrtha's commentaries on the *PL* and the (3) *VTN*. have been attributed to Vedeśa but so far, no Mss. of these have been brought to light. (4) The gloss on the *KL* has been published (1900).

(5-8) *Glosses on the Upaniṣad-bhāṣyas.*

Vedeśa has commented on four of the Upaniṣad-bhāṣyas of Madhva ; the *Aitareya*, *Chāndogya*, *Kaṭha* and *Talavakāra* (p).

The first is available only in Mss.<sup>13</sup> That on the *Chāndogya* entitled "*Padārthakaumudī* (p) is the biggest running to 6000 granthas. The gloss on the *Kaṭha* (Bombay 1905) quotes from and criticises the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on this Up.<sup>14</sup> These references are valuable not only for comparative study of the two rival bhāṣyas but also for establishing the genuineness of the c. ascribed to Śaṅkara. The author gives both the Bhāṣyārtha and the Khaṇḍārtha of the Upaniṣad.

(9) *Pramāṇapaddhati-Vyākhyā* (p) D.

In the course of this gloss on the *Pramāṇapaddhati* of Jayatīrtha, in 1400 granthas, Vedeśa is found to quote nearly seven times<sup>15</sup> from Vijayīndra Tīrtha's commentary on the *Pramāṇapaddhati* and criticise it thrice.<sup>16</sup> He refers also to another commentary on the original (pp. 40 and 131) which is yet to be identified.

Vedeśa's works are all of them well-written and afford valuable help in understanding the originals. He has every right then to be regarded as one of the leading commentators of the Dvaita school.

3.—VIŚVEŚVARA TĪRTHA (C. 1600)

There is reason to identify Viśveśvara Tīrtha, the author of a commentary on the *Aitareya-Bhāṣya* of Madhva, with the fourteenth Svāmi of the Pejāvar

12. तच्च 'प्राक्संबद्धस्वाभावविरहपत्वम्' इति । प्राक् संबद्धस्वाभावः प्रागभावः तद्विरहश्च प्रवृत्तः तत्स्वरूपत्वं वर्तमानत्वमिति तत्प्रकारार्थः । (39, 7).

13. Hanumantacar, Pejavar Mutt, 219, Tulu, palmleaf.

14. P. 3, 6-19, i, 1, 20 ; P. 8, 8, 9 ; 1, 2, P. 17 ; 28 ; 36, 11, 18 ; 41, 11.

15. (a) केचित्तु—'आकाङ्क्षादेर्दोषाभावात्वेनोपयोगाभावालक्षणान्तरमाह, इत्याहुः (iii, 1), (b) केचित्तु—'ननु पक्षाभासस्यानुमितिप्रतिबन्धकत्वं वदता तस्य हेत्वाभासत्वमवश्यमुपेयम् । अनुमितेः हेत्वाभासमात्रप्रतिबद्धत्वनियमादित्यत आह—साधनमिति । तथा च तयोरेव नियमभङ्ग इति भावः' इत्याहुः ॥ (ii, 78) (c) केचित्तु—हेतुसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिविरोद्धभावप्रतियोगिसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं इत्यर्थः अतो न नियमस्य व्याप्तित्वेन आत्माश्रयाशङ्का' इत्याहुः । अत्र व्यधिकरणे नदीपूरादौ अव्याप्तिः कथं परिहरणीयेति चिन्त्यम् ॥ (iii, 1) (d) 'रश्मिद्वारे' त्यस्य तत्तदिन्द्रियैकदेशद्वारेत्यर्थ इति केचित् (P. 102 cf. Vij. p. 148)

16. (a) एतेन तदपि निरस्तं यत्केनचिदुक्तम्—'तथा तथा प्रतिपन्नत्वमज्ञात्वापि विप्रतिपत्ति-वाक्यस्थपदैः कोट्युपस्थितौ सत्यां, मानसंशयासंभवात् कथमेतत् । नहि साधारणो धर्म एवात्र नास्तीति ब्रूमः, येन तदुपन्यासः सार्थकः ; किं तु, तदा तस्यापरामर्श एवेति ॥ P. 66 Cf. Vij. p. 65 (b) ii, i. and (c) Vedeśa P. 122, 14-17.

Mutt of Udipi. He was presumably a contemporary and disciple of Vādirāja Svāmin of the Sode Mutt.<sup>17</sup> That he was considerably later than Jayatīrtha is proved not only by the existence of an epitome of the latter's *Nyāyasudhā* by Viśveśvara (Pejāvar Mutt Mss 330, Nagari Palm-leaf) but by the striking resemblance which the fourth introductory verse in his *Aitareya*-gloss (Mysore O. L. C. 1048) bears to the second one of Jayatīrtha's NS<sup>18</sup> :—

Cf. (Viśveśvara)  
 नाम्नायार्थविचारणे कुशलिनो नो शब्दवारांनिघौ  
 स्नाता न्यायविचारदूग्धतयः शीक्षानिरुक्तातिगाः ।  
 अप्येवं सुरवर्यदैशिकमहाचार्यप्रसादान्महा-  
 भाष्यार्थग्रहं गाय भाष्याविवृतौ यत्नं वयं कुर्महे ॥  
 न शब्दाब्धा गाढा न च निगमचर्चासु चतुरा  
 न च न्याये प्रौढा न च विदितवेद्याऽपि वयम् ।  
 परं श्रीमत् . . . . . (Jayatīrtha)

Viśveśvara does not refer to any earlier commentary on the *Aitareya-bhāṣya*. His is a clear and forcible style and his explanations are always brief and to the point. His commentary is therefore eminently readable, though for some inscrutable reason it has fallen into complete oblivion. More than three Mss. of it are available in the T.P.L.

#### 4.—YADUPATI ĀCĀRYA (c. 1580-1630).

Yadupati alias Yādava Ācārya, was a distinguished pupil of Vedeśa Bhikṣu.<sup>19</sup> He wrote several commentaries on the earlier works of his school the chief of which is the one on the NS. called Yādapatya after the author. The commentary is very popular in Pandit circles.

Yadupati was a Kannaḍa speaking Deśastha<sup>20</sup> Brahman of Yekkuṇḍi in the Saundatti taluq of the Belgaum district. His descendants are said to be

17. This is supported by one of the scribe's verses in the Ms. of Vādirāja's *Gurvarthadīpikā* (Mys. C-1057) :—

यद्वादिराजयतिवर्यसुसंप्रसन्न × × हयास्यसुशिष्यसङ्घे ।  
 तस्याङ्घ्रिपङ्कजपरागविचित्रित श्रीविश्वेशतीर्थयतिराइ भवतु प्रसन्नः ॥

18. Needless to point out that KEITH (introd. to *Ait. Āraṇyaka*, Oxford p. 12) is wrong in making Viśveśvara a contemporary and immediate disciple of Madhva himself ! Viśveśvara also imitates Jayatīrtha's phrase : अन्यैरन्यथा व्याख्यातानि... । (TP introd.) in his *Ait.* gloss.

19. Cf. इति श्रीमद्वेदेशतीर्थ पूज्यपादशिष्येण यदुपतिना विरचितायां सुधाटिपाण्याम्, . . . . . (colophon)

वेदेशतीर्थगुरुमानसकंजसंस्थं ×× (gloss on TS).

In his c. on the *Sudhā*, Yadupati mentions the gloss of his teacher Vedeśa on the *Pramāṇapaddhati* : शिष्टं अस्मदाराध्य श्रीवेदेशगुरुकृतायां पद्धतिव्याख्यायां दृष्टव्यम् ॥

(iii, 2, p. 292b).

It will be remembered that Vedeśa was merely a " Biḍi-sannyāsi " ('stray' disciple) and was not the Pontiff of any Mutt.

20. Vide f. n. 1 *ante* for the proper significance of this term that is being so systematically misused in the South,

living. The S.K. gives his father's name at Yādappayya (p. 182). It further states that Yadupati's elder brother Rāmappa received sannnyāsa from Vedavyāsa Tīrtha and that he subsequently became his brother's teacher in Vedānta. This teacher was presumably the same as Vedēśa Bhikṣu the distinguished commentator and acknowledged Guru of Yadupati. The latter was thus a contemporary of Vidyādhīśa Tīrtha of the Uttarādi Mutt.

Not only was Yadupati a distinguished scholar himself, but a trainer of equally able disciples. Among his pupils may be mentioned (1) Bidarahalli Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha, (2) Śarkarā Śrīnivāsa and (3) Umarji Tirumalācārya, who have made lasting contributions to the philosophical literature of the Dvaita.

### WORKS

Nine works of Yadupati are available of which only two have been printed. His (1) gloss on the *Tattvasaṁkhyāna* in 300 granthas, is preserved at the T. P. L., whilst his (2) gloss on the *Tattvodyota* is available at the Mysore O. L. (C7).

#### (3) *Nyāyasudhā-Ṭippaṇi*. (p) D.

As already observed, the c. on the NS. is the most important work of Yadupati. It is an adequate c. on the original bearing the stamp of scholarship and originality on every page. The author shows himself deeply versed in the grammatical learning of his days which he brings to the support of the interpretations of his school. His com. is distinctly anterior to that of Rāghavendra Swāmin and perhaps also that of Vidyādhīśa. He tries to overthrow the objection raised by some critics (presumably Appayya Dīkṣita) alleging misrepresentation of the Mīmāṃsaka view in the AV i, i, 1 by pointing out that the author of the AV., has in view the followers of the Prābhākara school of Mīmāṃsā, who do hold the view attributed to them by Madhva :

अत्र कश्चिदाह—‘भावनाभेदेनैव वाक्यभेदस्य दृष्टत्वात्, प्रकृते च वाक्यभावनाया एकत्वात् नावान्तरवाक्यभेदोऽङ्गीकृत’ इति । तनुच्छम् । न हीदं भाट्टान् प्रत्यापाद्यते ; किन्तु, प्राभाकरान् । तैरन्वये भिन्ने वाक्यं भिद्यत एव इत्यङ्गीकृतत्वात् । यथाहुः—“अन्वितपदात्मकं हि वाक्यं तत्र कथं नान्वये भिन्ने भिद्येतेति ” । अतो न कश्चित् क्षुद्रोपद्रव इति ॥ (i, 1, 1. p. 71)<sup>21</sup>

Yadupati quotes also from a number of earlier commentators on the NS (i, 1, 1, p. 79 ; i, 1, 1, p. 7 ; 1, 4, p. 152 ; and i, 1, p. 37 and 43) as well as from a c. on *Samkṣepaśārīraka* (40).

As an instance of Yadupati's alertness may be mentioned his interesting remarks on the Uṇādi Sūtra. अदिभूत्यां डत् (V, I) quoted by Jayatīrtha in his NS, (i, 4, p. 228, Bombay) in support of Madhva's interpretation of the term “मायामात्रम्” which is sought to be

21. This objection has been met by a number of other commentators also like Vidyādhīśa and Vijayindra.

derived from two roots माह् and त्रैह्. The point is that अदि भुवो इतच् is the reading generally accepted and found in the printed texts of the *Uṇādi Sūtras*. Yadupati is aware of this for he quotes from one of the commentaries on the *Uṇādi Sūtras* (presumably Śvetavana's : vide Madras Uni. Skt. Series, VII, pt. i, p. 210 text B.) ; but points out at the same time that the reading given by Jayatīrtha is the more ancient and genuine one, being found in some Mss. and certain commentaries also. It is however unknown to both Nārāyaṇa and Śvetavana and probably the same was the case with Ujjvaladatta. It is however very unlikely that the reading quoted by Jayatīrtha is a myth for he is a scrupulously honest and very careful writer. Yadupati's remarks are faithfully echoed by Keśavācārya.

Yadupati wrote two works on the Bhāgavata-Prasthāna (4) a c. on the *Bhāgavata-Tātparya* of Madhva of which Mss. are preserved at Uḍipi and in the Mysore O. L. (B. 194 B 200).<sup>22</sup> His c. on (5) chapters I-IX, of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has been printed and published from Dharwar. The Mysore O.L. (C 1866) has a Ms. of his (6) c. on the *Yamaka-Bhārata*. His minor works are four : (7) a c. on the *Sadācārasmṛti* and three Stotras : (8) *Viṣṇu-sotra* ; (9) *Vedavyāsastotra or Gadya* ; and (10) a *Karāvalambana Stotra* in 30 verses (S. M. p. 104-12).

#### 5.—SUDHĪNDRA TĪRTHA (1596-1623).

In Sudhīndra Tīrtha, the disciple and successor of Vijayīndra Tīrtha, we have a different personality altogether from those to whom we have hitherto been accustomed. For one in his position, Sudhīndra was a person of peculiar tastes and equipment. He is one of the few writers in Dvaita Literature who have cared to look beyond their noses into realms other than those of Theology and Metaphysics. Kāvya and Alankāra seem to have been the forté of Sudhīndra on both of which he has left us works of real merit, which stand out like oases in a dreary desert of theological writings. The Dvaitins have often been accused of a lack of interest in anything but their own faith and nothing proves the truth of this accusation so well as the fact that posterity has allowed to sink into oblivion even the few works of purely literary interest left by writers like Trivikrama Paṇḍita, Vijayīndra, Sudhīndra and Sumatīndra.

#### DATE.

As already mentioned Sudhīndra was the successor of Vijayīndra and the Guru of Rāghavendra Svāmin, on the pīṭha of his Mutt. The *Rāghavendra Vijaya* of Nārāyaṇa speaks of him as having been honoured with a Ratanābhiṣeka, by the Vijayanagara King Venkaṭapatirāya.<sup>23</sup> He is also reported in the same work, to have enjoyed the patronage of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore. He died in 1623 at Ānegondi on the banks of the Tungabhadra and his mortal remains lie entombed at Navabṛndāvana alongside the tomb of Vyāsārāya.

22. The MSS. available cover but the first five Skandhas.

23. Vide also the S. M. (p. 308), verse 8, of Vādīndra's *Guruguṇastava*.

## WORKS

Besides two works on *Alaṃkāra* and a drama, tradition ascribes to Sudhīndra a c. on the *Tarkatāṇḍava*, entitled *Yuktiratnāvalī*.<sup>24</sup> This is corroborated by Nārāyaṇa who mentions in his biography of Rāghavendra (VII. 49-50), (1)<sup>1</sup> a c. on the *Tarkatāṇḍava*, (2) com. on II and XI Skandhas of the *Bhāgavata* and a drama, probably the same as *Subhadrā-Dharmajaya* :—

व्याख्याव्याजातर्कनृतस्य मह्यं रङ्गस्थानं निर्ममे श्रीसुधीन्द्रः ।

व्यासेनोक्तं व्याकरोद्यद्वितीयस्कन्धं प्रायो दुर्गमैकादशं च ॥

× × × नाटकं चित्रगद्यम् ॥

(1) *Alaṃkāramāñjarī* (m)

This is a manual of *śabda-Alaṃkāras*,<sup>25</sup> by Sudhīndra of which we have a palm-leaf MS. in the Tanjore P. L. (no. 5129-30). One of the later successors of Sudhīndra, Sumatīndra, wrote a commentary on this work. The commentary is known by the name of *Madhu-dhārā* (alias *Alaṃkāramāñjarī vyākhyā*). Both the commentary and its original are preserved at the T.P.L. But the Editor of the Descriptive Catalogue of the T.P.L. has, in ascribing the *Alaṃkāramāñjarīvyākhyā* to Sudhīndra, *confounded the author of the original with the commentator*. The commentator himself refers to Sudhīndra as the author of the original and speaks of himself as the author of the commentary *Madhudhārā* on it :

श्रीमत्सुमतीन्द्रयतीन्द्रः व्यतनीदनीयसीमसीमगुणाम् ।

व्याख्यां मधुधाराख्यां विवृतालङ्कारमञ्जरीहृदयाम् ॥

× × × अत्रेदानीं तत्रभवान् सुधीन्द्र इति कवीन्द्रः × ×

× × × मङ्गलमाचरति × × × (p. 2972, T. P. L. Cat.).

Sudhīndra deals with bandhas etc., and many passages from this work are quoted by Sumatīndra in his c. on the *Uṣāharṇa*. It would appear from these quotations that Sudhīndra's illustrative verses were in commemoration of the greatness of his Guru Vijayīndra.<sup>26</sup> An express statement to the effect is also made by Sudhīndra in one of the introductory verses :—

अधिकृत्यास्यदाचार्यान् विजयीन्द्रयतीश्वरान् ।

प्रवृत्तेयमनुग्राह्या मून्धालङ्कारमञ्जरी ॥

(4) *Alaṃkāra-Nikāṣa* (m)<sup>27</sup>

This is a treatise on *Arthālaṃkāras* (like *Upamā*, *Rūpaka*, *Dr̥ṣṭānta*, *Viśeṣa* etc.) by the same author, composed most probably as a complement to

24. GVL. Cat.

25. इति × × × शब्दालङ्कारमञ्जरी व्याख्यानं समाप्तम् ॥ (MS)

26. यथा—'विजयीन्द्रवर्य.....' इत्यलङ्कारमञ्जर्याम् ।

एतदर्थस्तु मदीय मधुधारायां द्रष्टव्यः (p. 324, Udipi)

27. Madras O. L. Cat. No. 129776 (Grantha MS). It is the same work as is wrongly entered as "*Alaṃkāra-nikāṣa*" of "Sudhendra", by OPPERT 4797 (Catalogue).



the *Alaṁkāramāñjarī* and as a set off to the *Kuvalayānanda* of Appayya Dīkṣita. The author is called “Kavi-kaṇṭhīra” on the title page of the Ms. The work runs to 2706 granthas and contains verses as well as prose explanations of them. The author wields a fine alliterative style. He says that the work is meant for the use of earnest students of *Alaṁkāraśāstra* :

अलङ्कारशास्त्रभ्यासेच्छूनामत्यन्तोपकाराय सुधीन्द्रयोगिविरचितालङ्कारनिकषाख्योऽयं ग्रन्थः ॥

(5) *Sāhitya-Sāmrājya* (m)

AUFRECHT notices a work of this name (Rice 288) ascribed to Sumatīndra Tīrtha. The Catalogue of the Gopal Vilas Library (of the late Dewan Bahadur R. RAGHUNĀTHA RAU) at Kumbakonam, ascribes it to Sudhīndra. Another Ms. of the work is reported from the Rāghavendra Svāmi Mutt library at Nañjangūd (Mysore Arch. Rep. 1917, p. 17) and (wrongly?) attributed to Sujanendra Tīrtha. There is yet another *Sāhityasāmrājya* (alias *Raghu-nātha-Bhūpālīya*) by Kṛṣṇa Dīkṣita or Yajvan (AUFRECHT. i, 486 and Madras T. C. 659d.)

(6) *Subhadrā-Parīṇaya* (m)

A damaged fragment of a drama of this name, ascribed to Sudhīndra, is preserved at the Madras O.L. (Vol. XXI, D. C. No. 12729). The Ms. (which is in Nandināgiri) runs to 124 pages of 6 lines each and contains some two Acts.

तदन्तेवासिना सुधीन्द्रयतीन्द्रेण विरचितं ॥ × × ×

आर्य—मयेदानीं वलयद्वयनिर्गतवर्णैरवगतं सुभद्रापरीणयनाटकमिति ।

A Vidūṣaka Tumburu, Nārada, Satyabhāmā and Arjuna are some of the characters that figure in the play which contains passages in Prākṛt also.

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- VAHIDUDDIN, V.—Pascal and the Problems of Existence, *PQ* xvi, 129-138.
- VARADACHARI, K. C. Dr.—Śrī Vedānta Deśika on the Lokāyata Doctrine, *ASVOI* i, 137-160.
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- VELANKAR, H. D. Prof.—Hymns to Indra by the Gṛtsamadas, *JUB* ix, ii, 67-96.
- YAMUNACHARYA, M.—The Vedāntic Doctrine of Intuition, *PQ* xvi, 157-163.

## RELIGION

- BHAGVAT, D. N. Miss—Buddhist Monachism and Post-Asokan Brāhmī Inscriptions, *JUB* ix, ii, 97-100.
- GOPANI, A. S.—Characteristics of Jainism, *BV* i, 168-178.

## NOTES OF THE MONTH

It is indeed a matter of satisfaction that the Progress Report of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Andheri for the period covering November 1939 to October 1940 records, despite the conditions of war, a steady progress towards its main objectives. During recent years the need of studying our ancient culture dispassionately in a scientific manner has been realized more and more and the coming into existence more or less simultaneously of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan in Bombay, the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute in Poona, Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute at Tirupati, and the two schemes of research in Gujarati and Kannada antiquities respectively at Ahmedabad and Dharwar, is a welcome augury of this movement. We trust that the conjoint and collaborative efforts of these institutions, when co-ordinated according to plan, will achieve a worthy object and place before the scientific world a synthetic and analytic study of the different phases of Indian Culture.

During the year under report the Bhavan has not only supervised the activities of its constituent institutes like the Shri Mumbadevi Sanskrit Pathasala, but carried on independent research. The English and Hindi-Gujarati journals *Bhāratiya Vidyā* published under its auspices have already made a mark on the scholarly world. The Bharatiya Vidya Series has been inaugurated by publishing *Visuddhimagga* under the editorship of that well-known Pāli scholar Professor Dharmanand KOSAMBI, whose text in Roman script is in print but not yet published in the Harvard Oriental Series. Extension Lectures which form part of the general activities of the Bhavan have been very popular, and some of these have been printed in the Bhavan's journals.

Now that the foundation stone of the permanent headquarters of the Bhavan has been laid we trust that the Bhavan will grow from strength to strength and bring laurels to indological studies and research.

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The University Phonetics Association of the Mysore University is to be congratulated on its new publication: *The Bulletin of Phonetic Studies*, the first issue of which we have just received for October 1940. First founded in November 1938 the Association has been carrying on sure but silent work before launching upon its publishing activities. While Phonetics as a science has made great progress in the West, and was indeed one of the early sciences developed in India as witnessed in the *Prātisākhya*s, recent years have seen its decadence in India. It is therefore a matter for congratulation that the Mysore University is taking a lead in these matters. We are hopeful that the Phonetics Department of the Punjab University started by Mr. FIRTH, the Linguistics departments of the Calcutta University and the Deccan College Research Institute will now co-operate with the Mysore University in bringing up the scientific study of Phonetics to a high level of efficiency.

This inaugural issue of the *Bulletin of Phonetic Studies* contains the following papers: Foreword (1), Report of the Activities of the University Phonetics Association by B. S. KESAVAN, Secretary (2-4), Phonetics and the teaching of English by Prof. W. G. EAGLETON, the President (5-10), English as the Kannadiga speaks it by T. N. SREEKANTAIYA (11-19), and the Vedic Circumflex by N. Sivarama SASTRY (20-31). The *Bulletin* is neatly printed by the Wesley Press and Publishing

House of Mysore, and is priced moderately at Re. 1 per issue. Full Membership of the Association is open to the staffs of the Mysore University institutions. Associate Membership is open to all other persons interested in Phonetics at an annual subscription of As. 8 only. Members receive the copies of the *Bulletin* gratis.

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According to Circular Letter No. 2 issued by the Hon. Secretary of the Fourth (Lahore) Session of the Indian History Congress, the session will assemble at Lahore on Monday the 16th December 1940, and will continue its meetings on the two following days. Two excursions to Taxila and Harappa have been arranged on Wednesday the 18th, and there is a possibility of organising another one to Mohenjodaro if more than twenty members express their desire to go there.

The subscription for membership is five rupees (Rs. 5) and should be sent to the Hon. Secretary, Professor J. F. BRUCE, M.A., University Hall, Lahore.

We take this opportunity of wishing the Congress every success in its manifold activities.

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## REVIEW

*Kaṁsavahō of Rāmapāṇivāda*, Edited, with Introduction, Sanskrit Chāyā with foot notes, Index of verses, Glossary of words, English Translation, Notes and Index of Proper Names, by Dr. A. N. UPADHYE. Crown pp. 42+51+38+5+35+31+47+2.

To a student of Indian linguistics, the importance of the study of Prākṛt works produced by scholars belonging to districts where Non-Indo-Aryan languages are spoken, cannot be overestimated, inasmuch as it may throw considerable light on the development and practice of the language in a different environment. Such a study may be calculated to be even helpful in accounting for points of phonological and semantic interests unrecorded in the literature of its homeland. The Prākṛt works of such an erudite scholar as Rāmapāṇivāda, no doubt, deserve to be brought to light; and Professor UPADHYE has to be congratulated for his laudable efforts in bringing out an excellent edition of *Kaṁsavahō*, hitherto known to scholars only through catalogues and manuscript libraries.

Professor UPADHYE'S Translation and Critical Notes are characterised by earnestness and precision. The Editor will be seen to have handled admirably the limited material that has been made available to him in the matter of the constitution of the text. The observations on the Prākṛt dialect of *Kaṁsavahō* evince Dr. UPADHYE'S elaborate and scientific knowledge of the phonology and structure of the Middle Indian tongues.

It may, however, be pointed out that much of the details about Rāmapāṇivāda set forth by the Editor in the Introduction appears to be a medley of incidents and facts connected with the lives and activities of two different poets namely Rāmapāṇivāda and the great Malayāḷam poet Kuṇjaṇ Nambyār. The confusion seems to have arisen from the Editor's relying to the full, upon the information furnished by Messrs Mahākavi Uḷḷūr S. Parameswara IYER and M. R. Balakrishna WARRIER who cling steadfastly to the view that the two poets are identical. Their opinion is based upon disconnected traditional accounts of little historical value and is wholly unsupported by internal evidences of any kind. In an article contributed by me on the subject to the Malayāḷam Journal *Sahṛdaya*, I have shown that the



Sanskrit passages occurring in Kuñjan Nambyār's productions are, for the most part, defective and impossible, on that score, of being attributed to a Sanskrit Scholar of such a thoroughness as the author of *Rāghaviya* or *Sūtārāghava*. Further, the Prākṛt used by Kuñjan Nambyār in one of his works has also been pointed out by me as being quite different from the one employed by Rāmapāṇivāda. The substitution of Sanskrit *s*, *ś* and *ṣ* by *ś* and of Sanskrit *r* by *ḷ* as *śaḷiḷa-* (Sk. *śatīra-*), *masiṇa-* (Sk. *masiṇa-*) *māṇuṣa-* (Sk. *mānuṣa-*), *dōṣa-* (Sk. *dōṣa-*), *śōḷi-* (Sk. *śauri-*) and *viḷa-* (Sk. *vīra-*) is a regular feature of the Prākṛt of Kuñjan Nambyār while Rāmapāṇivāda's Prākṛt very seldom exhibits a change in this direction. Besides, Kuñjan Nambyār's works form social satires and are replete with side-splitting humour whereas Rāmapāṇivāda's works are characterised by dignity and a high level of seriousness. I am sure if Dr. UPADHYE had cared to make a comparative study of the two authors on the lines indicated, he would have arrived at the same conclusion.

As regards the Editor's observation concerning the Chāyā on page 50 of the Introduction, I do not see my way to believe, as the Editor thinks, that the Chāyā takes some liberty with the verbal forms of the text. The fact that the forms of the Present are substituted by those of the Imperfect and Perfect, is itself sufficient proof to show that the Present forms of the text are used in the sense of the Past. If the poet had only wanted to convey the idea of the Present, he would never employ the Past form of the verb in the Chāyā. The Present forms given as footnotes under the Chāyā, I am afraid, do not serve, therefore, any useful purpose. I may also draw attention to a similar extensive usage of the Present in the Prākṛt poem *Sauricarita* by Śrīkaṇṭha (Travancore University O. Mss. Library, Trivandrum, No. L. 105). See leaf No. 12 front side commentary '*pasavāi prāsūta*' under the verse beginning with *Khalīḥkalam*; leaf No. 12 back, commentary '*vaḍḍai ēvamēvaṇca avarḍhata*' under the verse beginning with *Aha sō vaāmahiṇam*; and leaf No. 14 back, commentary '*na naiṇḍai na anandayat*' under the verse beginning with *tassa kivā*. It will thus be seen that it is not so much the question of the Chāyā not according with the text that deserves notice, as the grammatical problem. The sanction of Prākṛt grammarians for such a usage is a matter to be investigated, and perhaps Dr. UPADHYE is the fittest person to enlighten us on the point.

A word has to be said on the diacritical marks adopted by the Editor in transliterating the Prākṛt words. So long as Prākṛt distinguishes between short and long ए and short and long ओ, I am inclined to think that it will be more scientific to differentiate these in writing. Where there is only long ए and long ओ as in Sanskrit, there may not arise any occasion for confusion. Nevertheless, even in Sanskrit, to be more scientific, one ought to use the diacritical marks indicating length for ए and ओ as *ē* and *ō*. But to write *acchera* (p. 35 Introduction) and *pekkha* (p. 46 Introduction) using the same *e*, and *moha* (p. 35 Introduction) and *koccaṇa* (p. 36 Introduction) using the same *o* does not seem to be desirable. That अच्चेर and मोह are to be pronounced with long ए and long ओ is obvious from the lines *aho kimacchēramiṇaṁ samuggaē* (I, 10) and *gāṇē bāla-diṇēsa-mōha-mōhā* (II, 45).

The appearance of the book is fascinating. May it have the success it so richly deserves!

Trivandrum.

K. GODA VARMA.

## CAKRAVARTIN

By

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, Madras.

Recently I had occasion to examine the rôle of the conception of *Cakravartin* in ancient Indian thought and to point out that Kauṭilya gave a practical turn to this quasi-mythical conception by adumbrating the idea of the *Cakravarti kṣetram* confined to India proper. The idea of *Cakravartin* had, one may well believe, a long history<sup>1</sup> and was the complex result of the coming together of many lines of thought, not all of them exclusively Indian in origin. To distinguish clearly these different lines from one another and to trace the early stages of their evolution or to determine the steps by which the final result was attained may not be easy with the limited data at our disposal. But some attempt may be made to gather the important texts bearing on this interesting conception and see how far they serve to elucidate the antiquity and the origin of a few at least of the different elements that have gone into its make-up.

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* ch. 57 (Ānandāśrama edn.) has a striking passage on cakravartins whom it assigns to the Tretā Yuga, and we may well start with this :

prajāyante tataḥ sūrāḥ āyusmanto mahābalāḥ  
nyastadaṇḍa-mahābhāgāḥ yajvāno brahmavādinaḥ (64)  
padmapatrāyatākṣāśca prthūraskāḥ susaṁhitaḥ  
simhāntakā mahāsattvāḥ mattamātaṅga-gāminaḥ (65)  
mahāadhanurdharāścaiva tretāyām cakravartinaḥ  
sarvalakṣaṇa sampannāḥ nyagrodha-parimaṇḍalāḥ (66)

\* \* \*  
cakram ratho maṇirbhāryā nidhiraśvā gajastathā  
saptātiśayaratnāni sarveṣāṁ cakravartinām (68)  
cakram ratho maṇiḥ khaḍgam dhanūratnaṁ ca pañcamam  
keturnidhiśca saptāite prāṇahīnāḥ prakīrtitāḥ (69)  
bhāryā purohitaścaiva senānī-rathakṛt ca yaḥ  
mantryaśvaḥ kalabhaścaiva prāṇinaḥ samprakīrtitāḥ (70)  
ratnānyetāni divyāni sarvasiddhāni mahātmanām  
mantryaśvaḥ kalabhaścaiva prāṇinaḥ samprakīrtitāḥ (70)  
viṣṇoramsena jāyante prthivyām cakravartinaḥ  
manvantareṣu sarveṣu atītānāgateṣu vai  
bhūtabhavyāni yāniha vartamānāni yāni ca  
tretāyugādiṣvekatra jāyante cakravartinaḥ (73)

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1. See JACOBI on *Cakravartin* in ERE ; and s. v. *Cakkavartī* in *Abhidhāna-rājendra*.

bhadrāṇīmāni yeṣām vai bhavantīha mahikṣitām  
adbhutāni ca catvāri balam dharmah sukham dhanam  
(74)

anyonyasyā'virodhena prāpyante vai nṛpaiḥ samam  
artho dharmasca kāmāsca yaśo vijaya eva ca (75)

aiśvaryeṇānimādyena prabhuśaktiā tathaiva ca  
annena tapasā caiva ṛṣinabhibhavanti ca  
balena tapasā caiva devadānava mānuṣān (76)

lakṣaṇaiścāpi jāyante śarirasthair-amānuṣaiḥ  
keśasthitā lalāṭorṇā jihvā cāsyapramārjanī  
tāmraprabhoṣṭhadantoṣṭhāḥ śrīvatsāścordhvaromaśāḥ (77)

nyagrodhapariṇāhāśca simhaskandhās-sumehanāḥ  
gajendragatayaścaiva mahāhanava eva ca (78)

pādayoś-cakra-matsyau tu śaṅkha-padmau tu hastayoḥ  
pañcāśīti-sahasrāṇi te bhavantyajarā nṛpāḥ (79)

asaṅgā gatayas-teṣām catasraś-cakravartinām  
antarikṣe samudre ca pātāle parvateṣu ca (80)<sup>2</sup>

This long passage, one of the most comprehensive known to me, is easily seen to fall into several distinct parts which are assembled together rather loosely. The first three verses (64-66) are quite a general description of the appearance and attainments of the Cakravartins of the Tretā Yuga, who are also called mahādhanurdharas, a term we shall come across in another text. The four next (68-71) give a description of the *ratnas* (jewels) of the Cakravartin, and this description first enumerates seven ratnas, and then gives another list of fourteen, grouped into seven live and seven inanimate ratnas. Verses 72-76 deal clearly with one distinct aspect of the Cakravarti idea. Here the emphasis is on the parallel between the protective functions exercised by the Emperor in the State and by Viṣṇu in Cosmos, and the index of successful monarchy is found in *adbhutāni*, *aiśvarya*, *prabhuśakti*, and the monarch is exalted above the sages, gods and men. Yet another idea, that of the Cakravartin as Mahāpuraṣa with distinguishing marks on his body, forms the subject of verses 77-79, and the bodily marks are named which remind one strongly of similar statements in Buddhist and Jain works. Lastly, verse 80 gives expression to the miraculous potency of the Cakravartin's car to travel freely everywhere, on water and air as well as on land, without experiencing the difficulties felt by the vehicles of ordinary mortals.

2. Cf. *Brahmāṇḍa* II. 29, 69-88 and *Matsya* 142, 62-73. These passages are identical with the verses cited above, with variations due generally to copyists' errors. I have not felt it necessary to detail these casual variations in reading which are of no value—*Jālahastā* e.g. occurs as *Tālahastā* in the other texts. So far as I can judge the *Vāyu* text of this passage is the best and most comprehensive.

For *tāmraprabhoṣṭhadantoṣṭhāḥ* which seems obviously corrupt, Br. has *tāmraprabhoṣṭhanetrāśca*, and *Matsya* gives the whole line as : *śyāmaprabhāś caturdamṣṭrāḥ suvaṁśāścordhvaretasah*, in which the second half is a bad surmise of a scribe at his wit's end.

The Puranic lists of Cakravartins have been collected and discussed by PARGITER in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*,<sup>3</sup> and the lists of monarchs who performed the Rājasūya<sup>4</sup> and Aśvamedha<sup>5</sup> given in the *Brāhmaṇas* are well known. There is also a list of *mahādhanurdharāścakravartināḥ* in the Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad<sup>6</sup>; it begins with Sudyumna and ends with Bharata-*prabhṛtayaḥ* showing that the list is only illustrative and not exhaustive. Most of the names in these lists are mere names to us, though we have a considerable number of legends centering round some of these names, particularly that of Bharata. The attempts so far made to treat them as historical and to determine the order of their succession cannot be taken to have succeeded.

The tradition relating to the *ratnas* is equally ancient, perhaps even older. We have the *ratnīnām havīṃśi*, special offerings made in the houses of the *ratnins* in the course of the Rājasūya.<sup>7</sup> There are several lists of these *ratnins* which are collected and discussed in the *Vedic Index*; it will be noticed that these lists vary considerably, though all of them refer to 'people of the royal entourage' as the authors of the *Index* put it, and all lists name many more than seven persons. It is a question however what exactly is the relation between the terms *ratna* and *ratnin*. It is tempting to accept the *prima facie* view that they were identical as KEITH does,<sup>8</sup> and to suppose that the lists of *ratnins* that have come down to us belong to a period when the number of *ratnas* had not yet been defined; and on this view, it may even be argued that *ratna* originally meant, as pointed out in the *Vedic Index*, not a jewel in particular, but a precious object, and that in relation to the king the term was applied to the most valued members of his entourage. When later the meaning of *ratna* as jewel came into vogue, it would seem, the application of the term in relation to the king was extended to some highly valued inanimate treasures, and the grouping of the *ratnas* into live *ratnas* and lifeless *ratnas* was begun. But this is certainly not the whole story. For the standardised account of the 'seven jewels' of the emperor seems indeed to go back to a great antiquity. The *Bṛhad-devatā*, c. 400 B.C. according to MACDONELL, contains this verse :—

Cakram ratho maṇir-bhāryā bhūmiraśvo gajastathā  
etāni sapta ratnāni sarveṣāṃ cakravartinām V. 123.

Notice that this verse gives *bhūmi* in the place of *nidhi* of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* verse No. 68 above. MACDONELL has pointed out<sup>9</sup> that the śloka is meant to explain *sapta ratna* in RV vi, 74.1, which reads :

3. pp. 39-40.

4. *Ait. Br.* viii, 21-3.

5. *Śat. Br.* xiii 5.4. ; *Sāṅk. Śr. Sū.* xvi 9.

6. I 5.

7. MACDONELL and KEITH : *Vedic Index*, ii, 199-201. It may be noted that *Tāṇḍ. Br.* xix, 1.4 mentions 'eight *vīras*' who uphold the kingdom, *rāṣṭram samudyaacchanti*;—cf. councils of 'eight ministers' *aṣṭapradhāna* of later times.

8. *Rel. and Phil. of the Veda*, p. 341.

9. *Bṛhad-devatā*, Tr. p. 198.

Somārudrā dhārayethāmasuryam pra vāmiṣṭayo'ramaśnuvantu  
dame dame sapta ratnā dadhānā śam no bhūtam dvipade śam catuspade.

Likewise the second half of RV v 1.5 reads :

dame dame sapta ratnā dadhāno'gnirhotā niṣādā yajjīyān

In these verses Rudra-Agni is said to endow each household with the seven *ratnas*. What these seven *ratnas* given to each household by Rudra-Agni were, we have apparently no means of elucidating now. The explanation of Śaunaka given in the verse from the *Bṛhad-devatā* is obviously a relatively late one and can hardly be accepted as explaining the *sapta ratna* of every house. This explanation moreover is not given at RV. v, 1.5 where it occurs first but at vi, 74, because at this point it serves as a convenient introduction to the story of an emperor which follows in the *Bṛhad-devatā*. Sāyaṇa's comment at v, 1.5 reads : *dame dame tattadyāgagrhe sapta ratnā ramaṇīyāḥ sapta jvālāḥ dadhānaḥ dhārayamānaḥ athavā yajamānebhyaḥ sapta vidhāni ratnāni dadhānaḥ*. Thus he interprets the expression alternatively as 'the seven beautiful flames' of Agni, or the seven precious things given to the sacrificer by him. In dealing with the similar passage at vi, 74 he definitely attributes the *sapta ratna* to the gods addressed in the hymn, Soma and Rudra, and says : *api ca yuvām sapta ratnā ratnāni dadhānā dhārayantau*. Among modern commentators LUDWIG<sup>10</sup> interprets the phrase to mean 'sieben freuden,' i.e., seven pleasures or gratifications, and says in his notes : according to GRASSMAN, he (Agni) had seven treasures, but the seven treasures are however only one treasure. GRASSMAN in his *Wörterbuch* suggests that *ratna* is connected with *rā* and means a thing presented, which is also the view held by the authors of the St. Petersburg Lexicon where RV. v. 1.5 is cited. GRASSMAN's translation of the phrase in both the contexts is quite straight and assumes that the gods invoked presented the seven treasures to each householder : In Jeder Hause sieben schätze schenkend sass Agni meder als der beste opfner (v. 1.5). In Jedes Haus legt eure sieben schätze ; seid uns zum Heil, den Menschen und den Thieren.<sup>11</sup>

Śaunaka's verse is thus the earliest clear reference to the 'seven jewels' of the Cakravartin ; but the expression *Sapta-ratna* is Vedic. It has often been suggested that the idea of groups of seven is traceable in the last resort to Babylon, and that in the recurrence of this figure in Indian ideology we must recognise evidence of Babylonian influence on Indo-Aryan thought.<sup>12</sup> In the number of days in the week, of holy *ṛṣis*, of lokas, of the walls (*prākāra*) surrounding a large temple and so on, the number seven does play a conspicuous part ; and there is reason to think that this feature was really of Semitic origin. It is not impossible that the *sapta ratna* of the Rg Veda is another such instance, for the earliest contacts between Indo-Germanic peoples

10. No. 341.

11. GRASSMAN : *Rig Veda*, i, pp. 161 and 300.

12. KIRFEL, *Die Kosmographie Der Inder*, p. 32.

and the Semites have been traced <sup>13</sup> to the middle of the second millennium B.C.

Before leaving the significance of the jewels and their number, seven, we may note that PRZYLUSKI has argued that not only this number, but the entire notion of the Cakravartin is to be traced to Babylon. Buddhist descriptions of the residence of the Cakravartin represent the town as surrounded by seven enclosures of different colours at the centre of which stands the royal palace. These walls enclose a park containing trees entirely made up of precious substances. One recognises in such accounts the seven walls of Egbatana, comparable to the stages of the Babylonian Zikḡurat and the image of the Garden of Eden. The notion of Cakravartin, inexplicable in India cut up into a multitude of petty kingdoms subject to local rājas, had its origin in Babylon where the king was a universal sovereign conceived in the image of God.

The first historical empire in India was that of the Mauryas and there are clear traces of Persian influences on the imperial polity and organisation of the Mauryas. PRZYLUSKI's line of thought seeks to trace these influences to their ultimate origins and I think that, in general, there is much to be said in its favour.<sup>14</sup>

If the 'seven jewels' mark the preëminence of the emperor after he becomes one, a number of physical characteristics mark him off even at his birth as a *mahāpuruṣa* distinct from other men. The idea of the *mahāpuruṣa* and his rôle in the world's economy has been worked out with tedious elaboration by the Buddhist schools in their canonical works, and the comprehensive elucidation of these texts by BURNOUF in Appendix VIII of *Lotus de la Bonne Loi* is well worth studying for any one who seeks a clear and authoritative presentation of the details on this extensive subject; for besides the thirty-two *lakṣaṇas*, we have also eighty *anuvyañjanas* or secondary marks of beauty, making a total of 112 physical characteristics of the *mahāpuruṣa*. Hindu thought accepts some of these characteristics and employs them apparently in a haphazard way in the descriptions of avatāras, heroes and emperors, but does not seem to have ever attained the systematic thorough-

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13. FEIST, *Kultur, Austreibung und Herkunft der Indo-Germanen*, p. 410.

14. I have not read the article on *La ville du Cakravartin, Influence babylonienne sur le civilisation de l' Inde* (1927), but depend on its abstract given at p. 500 of *BEFEO*, Vol. 34. I may make two observations here. First, the seven enclosures of diverse colours are not confined to Buddhist accounts in India, but are known to Brahmanical literature, particularly of a tñtric variety. I would mention the description of Lalitāpura, the abode of the Devi Lalitā, in *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa* IV, 31. 34-80. Secondly, PRZYLUSKI may be right to derive Egbatana from Assyrian, *bitānu*, *bitūnu*, meaning 'palace' with the prefix *hag-*. But I doubt very much the connections he seeks to establish between this group and Potali, Potala, Potalaka on the one side, and Patala, Pāṭaliputra on the other, as well as Patna, Patana, pattana, and paṭṭaṇa. It is well known that Pāṭali in the name Pāṭaliputra (*pura*) is often taken to be either the flower of that name whence Kusumapura, a fairly early name for the city, or a goddess so designated.

ness of Buddhist scripture.<sup>15</sup> The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* for instance in narrating the birth of so celebrated an emperor as Pṛthu is just content to say :<sup>16</sup>

haste tu dakṣiṇe cakram dṛṣṭvā tasya pitāmahaḥ  
Viṣṇor-amṣam Pṛthum matvā paritoṣaṁ paraṁ yayau  
Viṣṇucakram kare cihnam sarveṣāṁ cakravartinām  
bhavatyavyāhato yasya prabhāvastridaśairapi.

The verses from the *Vāyu Purāṇa* cited above, on the other hand, employ many expressions which are identical or closely similar to the *lakṣaṇas* or *anuvyañjanas* of Buddhist literature, and it may be interesting to trace these here, giving references to BURNOUF's discussion of the terms themselves or their counterparts :<sup>17</sup>

*Padmapātrāyatākṣāḥ*—cf.

A. 57. Viśālanetraḥ.

A. 58. Nīlakuvalayadaśadṛśa-nayanah.

*Susamhitāḥ*—cf.

A. 28. Susamāhitagātrāḥ.

A. 29. Suvibhaktagātrāḥ.

*Mattamātāṅgagāminah*—cf.

A. 39. Nāgavilambitagatiḥ.

A. 40. Simhavikrāntagatiḥ.

A. 41. Vṛṣabhavikrāntagatiḥ.

A. 42. Hamsavikrāntaḥ.

*Nyagrodhaparimaṇḍalāḥ*—

L. 20. Nyagrodhaparimaṇḍalaḥ.

*Keśāsthītā*—

L. 1. Uṣṇīṣaśīrṣakaḥ.

I take this term *Keśāsthītā* from the variant reading given in Ānand. ed. of the *Vāyu*. The body of the text has *Keśāsthītā* which will go with *lalāṭoṇṇā* that follows, but make no intelligible sense. As may be expected, the *Matsya* and *Brahmāṇḍa* offer no help. *Matsya* has *Keśāḥ sthitāḥ* and Br. improves it into *Keśāḥ snigdhaḥ*. In elucidating the term *uṣṇīṣaśīrṣakaḥ* BURNOUF considered several alternative explanations in the light of the various authorities cited by him and came ultimately to the conclusion that, as indicated by his Tibetan authorities, the term meant that the mahāpuruṣa's head is crowned by a protuberance of the skull—"sa tete est couronnée par une protubérance (du crane)". This interpretation has found universal acceptance since, and is supported by the Buddha sculptures. It seems to me that *Keśāsthītā* also means exactly this; literally it can be rendered :

15. Citations from works on Sāmudrikākṣaṇa are found in Lexicons like the *Śabdakalpādruma*. There are some published works of this class and many mss. Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsamhitā* ch. 69 on Pañcamahāpuruṣalakṣaṇam seems to stand by itself. Lakṣaṇas are also treated of in medical works like the recently published *Kāśyapasaṁhitā*.

16. I. 13. 45-46.

17. In the following list L = Lakṣaṇa, A = Anuvyañjana.

'having a bone in the midst of the hair on the head', and this is the reason why I have suggested this as the correct reading.

It may be noted further that as in the Lalitavistara account of the Buddha, this figures as the first of the Lakṣaṇas in a deliberate enumeration of superhuman physical traits of the cakravartin following the statement :

lakṣaṇaiścā'pi jāyante śarīrasthair-amānuṣaiḥ

so that the position of the attribute furnishes some reason for seeing in it an equivalent of *uṣṇīṣaśiraskatā*.

*Lalāṭorṇā—*

L. 4. ūṛṇā bhruvor-madhye jātā  
himarajata prakāśā.

*Jihvā cāsyapramārjanī—*

L. 12. prabhūta-tanujihvaḥ.

*Tāmraprabhoṣṭhadantoṣṭhāḥ—*

Br. has Tāmraprabhoṣṭha netrāś-  
ca, which seems better.

A. 17. bimboṣṭhaḥ, *Dharmapradīpikā*  
having rattoṭṭhatā.

*Śrīvatsāḥ—*

A. 80. śrīvatsa - svastika - nandyā-  
varta-vardhamāna-samsthānaveśah.

*Ūrdhvaromaśāḥ—*

L. 22. Ūrdhvhāgrā - 'bhipradakṣiṇā-  
vartaromā, for which *Dharma-  
pradīpikā* has uddhaggalomo.

*Ājānubāhavaḥ—*

L. 18. sthithā 'navanatapralambā-  
bāhuḥ. BURNOUF cites the *Dharma-  
pradīpikā* as saying here : tṭhita-  
kova anonamanto ubhoḥi pāṇita-  
lehi jaunukāni parimasati parima-  
jjati.

Also A. 22, paralambabāhuḥ.

*Jālahastāḥ—*

L. 30. Jālāṅgulihastapādaḥ.

*Vṛṣāṅkitāḥ—*

A. 37. has ṛṣabhavat-samantaprāsi-  
dikāḥ, a term by no means clear,  
and not a close parallel either.

*Nyagrodhapariṇāhāḥ—*

This is a repetition in the Purāṇa,  
see above.

*Simhaskandhāḥ—*

L. 19. Simhapūrvārdhakāyaḥ.

*Sumekanaḥ—*

L. 23. Kośopagatavastiguhyāḥ.

*Gajendragatayaḥ—*

See under Mattamātaṅgagāmināḥ  
above.



*Mahāhanavaḥ—*

A. 13. Simhahanuḥ.

*Pādayoścakra-matsyau, hastayoh  
śarikha-padmau—*

A. 31. Adhah karma talayoścakre  
jāte citre arciṣmatī prabhāsvare'  
site sahasrāre sanemike sanābhike.

This detailed comparison of the Purāṇa text with the Buddhist texts shows that in spite of the differences noticed between them we may well believe that they give only different versions of more or less the same set of ideas that prevailed upon the subject. The Puranic list is selective and gives only a part of the attributes as may be seen by turning to the full lists discussed by BURNOUF. But there is little room to doubt the identity of the ideal of mahāpuruṣa entertained by both the sets of texts; and it must be confessed that a person who possessed the attributes listed by these texts may not exactly tally with notions of manly beauty current among us to-day. And it is curious to note that the commentary on the Mahāpadāna sūttanta explains the traits of long fingers and toes with the remark: 'And all four, fingers and toes, are of equal length, like a monkey's'.<sup>18</sup> It is clear that we do not possess the key at present to the satisfactory elucidation of the conventional ideal of a mahāpuruṣa. BURNOUF indeed wrote: 'The reader acquainted with the principal productions of Brahmanical literature will recognise here for the first time the sort of beauty that Indians attributed to their heroes..... The description of the characteristic traits of a great man (Mahāpuruṣa), as the Buddhists conceive him, has been carried out according to the ideal type of beauty imagined by Indian poets. I add that these traits that we shall find scattered in the productions of Brahmanic literature are exactly those that according to the best informed observers of our time still exist among the highest ranks of the Indian population.'<sup>19</sup> I am somewhat sceptical of any one being able to demonstrate that these ideal traits are drawn from life, and feel more at one with BURNOUF when he says that there is here a medley of traits belonging to both the sexes, perhaps we might add 'and to some animals', that seems shocking to us.

However that may be, this type became among Buddhists the external sign of the most perfect wisdom or of unlimited power. Such a mahāpuruṣa would become either a Buddha or a Cakravartin, and there is no third alternative: 'to one so endowed two careers lie open and none other', *dve gaṇi bhavato na tṛtīyā*.<sup>20</sup> If he renounces domestic life, he becomes Buddha; 'if he lives the life of the House, he becomes Lord of the Wheel, a righteous Lord of the Right, ruler of the four quarters, conqueror, guardian of the people's good, owner of the Seven Treasures. His do these seven treasures become, to wit, the Wheel treasure, the Elephant treasure, the Horse treasure, the Gem treasure, the Woman treasure, the Steward treasure, the Eldest Son treasure making seven'.

18. Cited by RHYS DAVIDS: *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii, p. 14, n. 4.

19. *Lotus*, pp. 618-19.

20. *Dialogues*, ii. p. 13; *Lotus*, BURNOUF, pp. 580-1.

The enumeration of the seven treasures varies in different accounts, though the Buddhist books adhere to the details in the conventional text just cited from the Mahāpadāna sūta. Our Purāṇa text gives an alternative account of fourteen treasures, falling in two groups of seven each. The genesis of these texts and the exact course of their development can no longer be traced ; it will be noticed, however, that some of these treasures like Horse, Elephant, Maṇi, and even Woman, recall the legend of the churning of the ocean for nectar—*amṛtamathana*, in the course of which they issued one after another from the sea before *amṛta* was secured ; others like the steward, purohita and so on clearly recall the *ratnins* of the Vedic period.

It is also of some interest to note in this connection that in the Royal Terrace at Añkor Thom there was discovered by M. MARCHAL in 1916 a curious image in high relief of a horse with five heads, very imposing by its dimensions. The debris of another horse not less imposing and with seven heads was discovered near the same monument in 1917. The sculpture of the five-headed horse is reproduced in pl. xxi of the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient* (Vol. xxviii), and no apology is needed for reproducing here (in translation) the accompanying description of the sculpture by M. GOLOUBEV and his discussion of its significance.

"The giant horse which is in the middle of it, shows its front, very much shortened, its chest swelled and full of assurance, on its fore limbs whose massive forms remind us of the legs of an elephant. The central head is a little bigger than the others. The ornaments of the animal are similar to those worn by gods and kings. They comprise a conical *mukutaṃ* surrounded by three lotus-form circles, a large pendant necklace, and a double pair of bracelets around the legs. Besides, each bridle is taken up to the eyes and at the point where in certain idols a frontal eye is shown, a flower with four petals is fixed to the forelock which sprawls like a palm-leaf. One more detail which merits our attention for a moment is added to these : on the top of each head, two locks of hair are rolled around the ears and passed through two gold rings, ornamented with pearls, above which is a little pointed horn. The significance of this detail is not clear to us : It does not appear to be borrowed, nor is it the customary ornament of the Khmer idols, nor does it belong to those horses, which are seen on the bas-reliefs of Añkor. But it is perhaps only a simple fancy of the sculptor, suggested by some coiffure of the period.

"What myth is recalled by this curious representation, and what is the name of the mysterious horse? What may appear beyond doubt is the fact that we have before us not a theme of ordinary decoration, but a scene of adoration, and the hero is manifestly a horse of king *Cakravarti*, an *aśvaratna*. The latter receives all the honours due to his high rank. The triple parasols shade his heads, to the right and left. Dancers accompany him, and some demons with menacing looks, armed with the staff (*daṇḍa*) clear his road paved with lotus from all intruders. And crouching between his fore hoofs,

armed with a scraper is seen a horseman, one who doubtless gathers the ambrosial drug of this sacred beast"<sup>20a</sup>.

If this interpretation of the equine sculpture of Añkor Thom is correct, we have evidence of the prevalence of the conceptions of the Cakravartin and his attributes in the kingdom of Kamboja in the tenth century A.D. And in fact evidence dating from a time several centuries earlier is seen to point to the same conclusion. PELLIOU<sup>21</sup> has drawn attention to an interesting fragment preserved from the writings of two Chinese ambassadors who visited Fu-nan, the predecessor of the Kambojan kingdom, about 245-50 A.D. This fragment<sup>22</sup> from the description of foreign countries by one of the ambassadors K'ang T'ai by name, reads: 'They say in the foreign countries under heaven that there are three affluences, the abundance of men in China, that of jewels in Ta-ts'in, and that of horses among the Yue-tche'. To understand the significance of this text, the reader must recall a similar passage in the celebrated work of Hiuen Tsang which contains a comprehensive review of some legendary notions of cosmography and polity that seem to have a direct bearing on the subject of our study: Says Hiuen Tsang:<sup>23</sup>

"In the ocean, resting on a golden disk, is the mountain Sumeru composed of four precious substances; along its middle the sun and moon revolve and on it the Devas sojourn.

"Around the Sumeru mountain are seven mountains and seven seas and the water of the seas between the mountains has the 'eight virtues': outside the seven Gold Mountains is the Salt Sea. In the sea (or ocean) there are, speaking summarily, four habitable islands, viz. P'i-t'i-ha Island in the east, Chan-pu Island in the south, Ku-t'o-ni in the west, and Kou-lo Island in the north. The influence of a Gold-wheel king extends over these four islands, a Silver-wheel king rules over all except the north one, a Copper-wheel king rules over the South and East Islands, and an Iron-wheel king bears sway only over Chan-pu island. When a "wheel-king" is about to arise a gold, silver, copper or iron wheel, according to the Karma of the man, appears for him in the air and gives him his title while indicating the extent of his dominion".

Here we see clearly the Buddhist conception of the earth as made up of Four islands in the four quarters and of the universal cakravartin and his lesser compeers. The pilgrim then describes the Anavatapta lake in the centre of Jambudvīpa as he puts it, which should be regarded, as WATERS observes, 'as a thing of fairy land, as in the Earthly Paradise or Garden of Eden'. This lake is adorned with precious metals and substances on its sides, and four great rivers flow out of it, one on each side through the mouth of a specified animal. The whole description may be tabulated thus:

20a BEFEO, xxviii, p. 230 and plate opposite.

21. La Theorie des Quatre fils du Ciel, TP. xxii (1923), pp. 97-125.

22. *Ibid*, p. 122.

23. I follow WATERS *On Yuan Chwang*, i, pp. 31 ff.

East	South	West	North
Silver	Gold	Lapislazuli	Crystal
Ox	Elephant	Horse	Lion
Ganges	Indus	Oxus	Sītā
S. E. sea	S. W. sea	N. W. sea	N. E. sea

The pilgrim next speaks of the Four Lords (sovereigns) who divide Jambudvīpa in the absence of a Cakravarti over that island. The facts given here may be shown thus :

South (India)	West	North	East (China)
Elephant lord	Lord of Precious substances	Horse-lord	Man-lord

Though Hiuen-Tsang's account gives the names only of the Southern and Eastern kingdoms, we get the names of the remaining from another contemporary account cited by PELLIOR in a note at the end of his memoir on the Four Sons of Heaven. One of Hiuen-Tsang's assistants who aided him in his literary work after his return from India was Tao-Siuan, and he says (c. 664-67 A.D.) explicitly that the Western kingdom over which the lord of precious substances ruled was Persia, and the Northern kingdom of the lord of horses was called Hien-Yun (i.e. Hiung-nu, here Turks, etc.)<sup>24</sup>

It will be seen that the theory of the four sovereigns is founded rather more in the facts of history and geography than the mystical conceptions of the Anavatapta lake and Cakravartin ; still there are some elements in common between them. In his interesting paper *Le Symbolisme du Pilier de Sarnath*,<sup>25</sup> PRZYLUCKI considers the relation between these theories and observes : ' The myth of the lake Anavatapta and the four rivers supposes a division of space in four parts. The theory of the four sovereigns rests on an analogous basis. The two tetrads must have reacted on each other'.<sup>26</sup> ' The chances of contamination were very great between the series of the four symbolic animals (of the lake) and those of the four sovereigns : the two series had the horse and the elephant in common and both took up particular directions in space. We can understand, in such conditions, that man, the attribute of one of the sovereigns, could take the place of one of the symbolic animals.'<sup>27</sup>

However that may be, K'ang T'ai and Hiuen Tsang are doubtless speaking of one and the same thing though at a great interval and with many differences, the most important of them being the omission of India with its elephants. Well might PELLIOR ask : ' Did India figure in this narrative originally and K'ang T'ai misunderstand what he heard ? Or did India originate

24. *TP.* xxii, p. 125.

25. *Etudes d'Orientalisme* ii, pp. 481-91.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 495.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 498.

this saying on its three neighbouring empires leaving herself out of the reckoning' ?<sup>28</sup>

But this tradition of the four kings occurs in all its fulness in a Chinese work of 392 A.D. This work *Che eul yeou king*, a short resume of the mythical genealogy, the youth and the first twelve years of the ministration of the Buddha Śākyamuni, was rendered into Chinese by a monk from central Asia, Kālodaka by name.<sup>29</sup> In a sort of Appendix to this work we read :

“ In Yen-feon-li (Jambudvīpa) there are sixteen great kingdoms, with 84,000 walled towns ; there are eight kings and Four Sons of Heaven. In the east there is the son of Heaven of the Tsin (=China) ; there the population is prosperous. In the South, there is the son of Heaven of the kingdom of T'ien-tchou (India) ; the land there produces many renowned elephants. In the west there is the son of the kingdom of Ta-ts'in (Eastern Mediterranean) ; this land abounds in gold, silver, jewels, jade. In the North-West there is the Son of Heaven of the Yue-tche (Indo-Scythians) ; the land there produces many excellent horses ”.

The sixteen mahājanapadas of India of the Buddha's time and the eight kings who partook of his relics are well known. But the account of the Four Sons of Heaven was not so well-known until PELLIOU drew attention to it, and pointed out at the same time that this tradition was repeated by the Emperor of China to the Arab merchant Ibn Wahab about 872-5 A.D. as recorded by Abu Zayd Hasan.<sup>30</sup> The tradition is thus traceable to fairly early Buddhist sources of Indian origin ; it has also had a long career in India in subsequent times when it underwent many modifications as its original significance was forgotten. When the titles Gajapati, Āśvapati and Narapati occur in the literature and epigraphy of the period or among the titles of Maharāna Kumbha as :

gaja-nara-turaṅgādhiśa-rājat-tritaya-toḍaramallena

we see how far we have moved from the ideas underlying the text of Kālodaka cited above.<sup>31</sup> And it is worth noting that the earliest account of this tradition so far traced is that of K'ang T'ai who heard of it in the third century A.D. in Fu-nan, 'one more indication' as PELLIOU puts it 'of the active exchange of ideas, legends and beliefs as well as products between Western Asia and the Far East by way of the Indian ocean'.<sup>32</sup>

28. *TP.* xxii, p. 123.

29. PELLIOU, *ibid.*, pp. 96-7.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-8.

31. Colophon to Rana Kumbha's Commentary in *Gita Govinda*. I owe this reference to Dr. C. K. RAJA. LASSEN cites recent traditions connecting the notions of āśvapati etc. with the break-up of Pāṇḍava empire *JA.* ii, 27-8.

32. PELLIOU adds that K'ang T'ai also met an envoy from India who brought to the king of Fu-nan four horses of the country of Yue-tche. He also suggests that K'ang T'ai himself might have been of Sogdian origin and travelled to Fu-nan by way of India and the Sea—*ib.*, pp. 123-4.

There is an important passage in the *Kathā sarit sāgara* on the mythical king Vikramāditya which deserves to be reproduced here :

Vikramāditya ity āsīd rājā Pāṭaliputrake ||  
 tasyābhūtām abhipretā mittre Hayapatimrpaḥ ||  
 rājā Gajapatiścobhau bahvaśvagajasāadhanau ||  
 śatrur Narapatir bhūri-pādatas-tasya cābhavat ||  
 mānino Narasimhākhyah Pratiṣṭhāneśvaro balī ||

PRZYLUCKI who cites this in his paper on the Sarnath pillar notes that only three kings appear here and suggests that the Ratnapati was perhaps forgotten after the titles of the king came to be connected with the traditional divisions of the Indian army into corps of chariots, elephants, horse and infantry.

We have thus a long history of the ideas relating to monarchy and imperial rule, in which fact and fancy, religious symbolism and material conditions obtaining in different lands, acted and reacted on one another, and old ideas took new shapes as old associations were forgotten and new ones came to be entertained. There was in general a tendency to substitute the known and the familiar for the mystic and recondite whenever the latter was not correctly understood. But he would be a bold man who would attempt to trace in any detail the various steps in this complicated process. We may trace the beginnings and study the affiliations of ideas ; get cross-sections at particular points where the evidence is favourable to this ; we can see something of the final result. As for the actual history of it all, we have not the material for hazarding even intelligent guesses at the truth.

To return once more to our basic text. Some of the Purāṇic expressions employed of the cakravarti attribute to him other amenities and capacities. Thus the vague sentence *bhadrārāmāni teṣām vai bhavanūha mahākṣitām*, these kings will have here these auspicious things, may contain a reference to the *aṣṭa-mangalas*, eight auspicious things, of which again different lists are given by different authorities. Again, the four *adbhutas* and the *arimādi aiśvaryas* and so on, take us to yet another sphere, viz., that of a *siddha* who has accumulated miraculous powers by the successful practice of *yoga*. And the statement that the *cakravartins* excel the *ṛṣis* by their *tapas* need cause no surprise after the description of their eminence in so many directions.

One of the most interesting among the relatively late references to the *Cakravarti* tradition occurs in a Tamil Jaina work, of about the thirteenth century A.D., the *Jīvasambodhanai*, which is being edited by my friend and colleague in the Tamil department of the University, Rao Saheb S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI. The work is in the form of Veṅbā verses connected by a running commentary, generally written in prose, but occasionally in verse also. Both text and commentary are evidently the work of one author, as the text taken by itself often gives no intelligible meaning without the connecting links furnished by the prose passages. Now verses 65-70 of the opening section of this

work contain an elaborate account of Sagara and his imperial attributes, and I give below a detailed analysis of the verses and the intervening commentary :

65. Sagara, a famous 'wheel-king' of Ayodhyā, in the Bharata Kṣetra of Jambudvīpa divided into separate regions by the seven Kulaparvatas.

*Com.* Sagara was Ṣaṭkhaṇḍādhipati. The term Sakalacakravarti is explained thus : 'one who rules a crore of grāmas is a *makuṭavardhana* ; the suzerain of 500 makuṭavardhanas is an *Adhi (ka) rājan* ; of 1000 a *mahārāja*, of 2000 an *ardhamanḍalika*, of 4000 a *manḍalika* ; of 8000 a *mahāmanḍalika*, of 16,000 an *ardhacakravarti* or *vāsudeva*, and of 32,000 a *sakalacakravarti*'. And such was Sagara who had 96,000 queens, 360 cooks, 360 physicians, three and a half crores of *bandhus* (relatives), besides 16,000 gaṇabaddhadevas who acted as his body guards.

66. Elephant, lion, āli (a fabulous animal), king-kite, moon, fish, poison (?), makara, lotus, śivan, conch, peacock, and pitcher were put on his banners.

*Com* : Besides these a bheri, mṛdang, throne, stars, fly-whisks, pañca-mahāśabdas and other innumerable insignia of royalty were also there.

67. Possessor of the inexhaustible *nava-nidhis*, measuring at the least eight yojanas in height, twelve in length and nine in breadth.

68. The names of the nine nidhis (1) vaṇḍōgai, (2) mānōgai, (3) piṅgaligai, (4) padumai, (5) śaṅgai, (6) vēśaṅgai, (7) Kālai, (8) mākālai, (9) sarvarada (na)m, (Sarvaratham).

*Com* : details in verse of the powers of each of the nidhis, thus—(1) will yield food-grains, cardamom, pepper etc ; (2) arms of war including bodily armour ; (3) ornaments for men, women, horses, elephants and chariots ; (4) textiles, fly-whisks etc. ; (5) cool wind, sandal paste, scented water, shade etc. ; (6) instruments of music ; (7) speech, letters and astrology ; (8) agriculture, trade and the arts ; and (9) precious stones of all sorts and the seven kinds of metals. All these *nidhis* are at the beck and call of the cakravarti.

69. The fourteen *ratnas* named—first the seven live ones viz., horse, elephant, carpenter (cf. rathakṛt in the Purāṇa list), woman (bhāryā of the Purāṇa), commander, kāvalan or bhaṇḍāri (i.e. treasurer who takes the place of mantri of the Purāṇic list) and astrologer (cf. Purohit of the Purāṇa) ; then the seven non-living ones (this list differs considerably from that of the Purāṇa) viz., kākaṇi, cakra, leather, cūlāmaṇi, daṇḍa, umbrella and sword.

*Com* : description mostly in verse, of the nature and use of each of these ratnas in order. Only the peculiarities need be noted here : The 'horse' (mā) is not the ordinary horse, but a fabulous animal of the emerald hue which roams over the entire field of battle simultaneously meeting all opposition of the fighting units put in the field by the enemy ; the carpenter is really an architect of great capacity who could plan and execute all types of buildings and towns ; the Kākaṇi gives out bright light like the sun and the moon ; the leather spreads itself over water at the king's command for a distance of 48

kādams ; cūlāmaṇi is a protection against poisons and magic ; the daṇḍa levels the ground perfectly.

70. He is unrivalled in his wealth, beauty of form, courage, strength, and the glory of being guarded by Devas.

Com : 84 lakhs of auspicious elephants (bhadrahasi), same number of chariots of war, 18 crores of horse, 84 crores of infantry and other paraphernalia attended on Sagara.

Perhaps the attribution of so much puissance to a mythical ruler like Sagara in a late scriptural work of the Jainas should cause no surprise when it is recalled that in a much earlier work of the Bauddhas, the *Mahāvamsa*, which professes to be a historical chronicle, we find the Mauryan emperor Asoka already endowed with the power to command the services of the devas and nāgas, birds and beasts for the fulfilment of the daily routine of his life.<sup>33</sup> When exactly this practice began of endowing cakravartins with miraculous powers, it is not easy to determine now ; but as has been pointed out by PRZYLUŚKI, it is necessary to guard ourselves against the notion that this was always so. 'In the beginning', he says,<sup>34</sup> 'the Cakravartin was without doubt a king more powerful than his neighbours, exercising his power over an extensive but still limited territory. Then this real notion was transported in the domain of legend ; they imagined fabulous kings, masters of the universe, commanding all kinds of creatures'. PRZYLUŚKI then proceeds to use this conclusion as a canon of criticism for dating his texts on Asoka, holding that a text which admits any defeat or discomfiture for the Emperor must be taken to date from a relatively earlier period when the conception of the unlimited power of the Cakravartin had not yet come into vogue. But there seems to be room to doubt the validity of both parts of PRZYLUŚKI's thesis—that regarding the relation between historical fact and quasi-religious theory, as also that about the priority of certain texts to others on the score of their accepting limits to the power of the emperor. The relative chronology of literary texts is always a difficult problem, and the undoubtedly early character of some of the texts we have considered in the course of this paper and others which may be easily produced, may well raise a doubt if PRZYLUŚKI's ground here is as sure as he seems to have thought.

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33. *Mahāvamsa*, V. 23-33.

34. *La légende de l'Empereur Asoka*, p. 102.



# EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MALAYĀLAM PROSE WRITTEN BY CHRISTIANS

By

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### I. INTRODUCTION.

The discovery and the publication within the last two decades of a number of ancient MalayĀlam prose manuscripts have revealed the existence of quite a respectable prose literature for Mal. in the earlier stages of its history. The publication of these works [*Dūtavākya*m, based on a 14th century Ms. ; *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam gadyam*, based on a 15th century Ms. ; *Bhāgavatam bhāṣa*, based on Late Mal. Mss. ; *Uttararāmāyaṇam gadyam*, based on two Mss., one of which is a 16th century Ms.] has dispelled once for all the impression that the only prose compositions that existed in Kēraḷa prior to Kōyiltamburāṇ's "Akbar" (early 19th century) were only a few commentaries written in pedestrian prose besides the so-called "gadya" of the campus, which "gadya" is after all only thinly concealed "padya" in Dravidian metres.

The early prose works that have been unearthed within recent years are not devoid of literary beauty and artistic excellence. Here and there in these works, one comes across passages of rare vigour and appeal, though side by side with such brilliant patches the old *clichés* also abound.

All these prose works appear to have been written by scholars who wished to popularise religious and puranic lore among the masses who were not acquainted with Sanskrit. The influence of tradition on these authors was so strong that the language employed by them cannot be said to represent the actual colloquials of the respective periods, though colloquial elements exist also in varying proportions in the different texts.

The recently published prose work called "Varttamāṇappustagam" written by an eighteenth-century Malayāḷi Christian, is however written in a language that is nearer allied to the colloquial speech of the author. The

author, Pārēmmākkal Tōmā-k-kattanār, gives in this work a graphic and circumstantial picture of the itinerary and experiences of Kariyāṭṭi Yauseppu Malpān who, accompanied by the author himself, undertook a journey to Rome primarily with the object of memorialising the Pope regarding the need for freeing the Catholic Syrian diocese of Malabar from the domination of European missionaries and for conferring on the Kēraḷa Syrians autonomy in the government of their own religious affairs. This Malpān appears to have been a man of such extraordinary independence and firmness of purpose that defeats or temporary reverses did not daunt him in pursuing his self-imposed task of liberating the Malaṅgara Syrian community from the domination of European missionaries. Tōmā-k-kattanār, the author of the Varttamāṅga ppustagam, who practically acted as the Secretary, shared his chief's hatred of European missionaries, as is shown by his powerful indictment of their "tyranny" in Malabar.—The book is written in a very vigorous style and it bears the stamp of sincerity on every page. The language used in the work is based on the colloquial current at the period in the regions occupied by the Syrian Christians (viz. North Travancore and South Cochin).

The colloquial that was studied by some of the European missionaries who came to Kēraḷa during this period was this same colloquial of the Catholic Syrian community. The language used in the eighteenth-century Saṁkṣēpa-vēdārtham which has been proved to have been written by an Italian Carmelite friar who knew Mal. fairly well and who got the work printed in Rome in 1772 after getting the Mal. types cast in Rome itself, is (except for some peculiarities of syntax) fundamentally the same as the speech of the Catholic Syrians of the time.

This Carmelite friar also wrote a Latin work called "Alphabetum grandonico-malabaricum" dealing with the letters of the Mal. alphabet (Ārya Eḷuttə) and their sound-values (so far as he could observe them). This book contains a Preface (written by J. C. Amadutius) followed by eleven chapters (besides a Prologus) written by Peanius himself. In the Preface, Amadutius deals in general terms with Malabar and Christianity, offers a few observations on Kēraḷa literature, mentions the names of the Mss. of religious and secular works of European missionaries and Indian priests, kept in the archives of Italy and other parts of Europe, and concludes with a brief discussion of the question of Kēraḷa and St. Thomas, the apostle. In the Prologus, Peanius treats about a variety of topics, in the treatment of some of which he makes mistakes.<sup>1</sup> The Prologus is followed by eleven chapters dealing consecutively with the following :—vowels, simple consonants, consonants embodying superscripts and subscripts denoting vowels, conjunct

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1. For instance, Peanius attempts to distinguish what he calls "Grandonic" from "Sanscrudonic", though he is forced to admit that the distinction is only one of script employed in the writing of works.

Again, in the course of a few very superficial observations on Mal. grammar, Peanius wrongly equates the genitive case to the dvitiya, the dative to the tṛtiya, the accusative to the caturthi, and so on.

consonants, consonantal geminates, absolute consonantal finals, different consonantal groupings, correct pronunciation of consonants, "letters" wanting in Malayālam, shapes of Mal. numerals, and a few extracts from Mal. religious writings.

I have also referred, in the course of the following pages, to a Mal. translation of the four gospels, printed at the Courier Press in Bombay in 1810, which contains numerous words and forms that are similar to those met with in Varttamāṇappustagam and Samksēpavēdārtham. This translation, I am told, was made by a Jacobite Syrian Rambān of Central Travancore at the instance of Buchanan. The rendering is said to have been made directly from the Syriac Bible. Though many old Mal. words, forms and usages are used, there are also peculiar corruptions, strange constructions (due to the influence of the syntax of Syriac, I am told) and artificial transmutations that definitely betray the interference of non-Malayālis. The full circumstances in which the translation was printed in Bombay might perhaps explain these artificialities. Notwithstanding these defects, I find in this translation a number of old words and forms identical with, or very similar to, those used in Vartt. and Samksēpavēdārtham.

Another Christian work of this period, a few passages from which have been extracted by Dr. P. J. THOMAS in his book on the "Christian Literature of Kēraḷa", is a Mal. rendering of the rules, injunctions and prohibitions, issued by the Synod of Diamper; the Mal. translation is said to have been made in the 17th century(?) by one Cākkō-k-kattāṇār. So far as I can judge from the extracts supplied by Dr. THOMAS, the language of the Mal. rendering is very much the same as that of other 17th and 18th century Christian compositions.

Here I must refer also to two dictionaries of this period (roughly speaking) which were composed by Christians and which may be presumed to embody words and expressions current in the language of the Christians.

The Portuguese-English and English-Portuguese Dictionaries, called by GUNDERT the "Verapoly Dictionaries", are (to cite the words of GUNDERT who has freely utilised the materials of these dictionaries for his own work) "very valuable works compiled by the Portuguese and Italian missionaries of Verapoly, which though completed in 1746 rest upon materials accumulated in the 17th, perhaps even the 16th century, and rank as the oldest monuments extant of European scholarship in India."

No copy of this work is available to-day; but the numerous items cited by GUNDERT in his work sufficiently indicate that the work may have been mainly based on the language of the Christians. It will be seen from the section on vocabulary below that most of the words (from the Christian texts Vartt., SV and even BG) are represented in the Verapoly Dictionaries.

The other dictionary to which I refer here is the one composed by the Rev. B. BAILEY (of the Church Missionary Society). Though the work was printed in 1846, the materials were collected (as BAILEY observes in the Preface) somewhere about 1816, and so the language should have been

closely allied to that of the 18th century. The title of the book indicates that both literary and colloquial words were incorporated. Though BAILEY was a Protestant missionary, his dictionary contains numerous words that occur in Vartt. and in SV : e.g. *ceṁmōrtta*, *tiṭṭadi*, *paṭṭāṇṇa*, *camayam*, *caradam*, *jaṇmāṇḍaram*, *ṇiḍāṇam*, *yāvaṇa*, *vyāṭṭi*.

In the following pages I shall discuss the phonetic and palæographic data furnished by Peanius' book "Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum" (abbreviated as P Alph), and also analyse the linguistic peculiarities of the following texts<sup>1</sup> :—

"Śaṁkṣēpavēḍārtham" (abbreviated hereinafter as SV.)

"Varttamāṇappustagam" (abbreviated hereinafter as Vartt.)

Jacobite Syrian Gospels printed in Bombay in 1811 (abbreviated hereinafter as BG).

Now, the language used in these books (i.e. Varttamāṇappustagam, Śaṁkṣēpavēḍārtham as also the language discussed and excerpted in Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum) has a number of common linguistic peculiarities (which I have classified below). Whether all these peculiarities were *exclusive* to the dialect spoken by the Kēraḷa Christians of the localities mentioned above during the period under reference is a matter that requires further investigation. *Prima facie* one would expect that the cultural separation of the Kēraḷa Christians from the Hindus, so rigorously enjoined and enforced by the Synod of Udaiyampērūr in 1599 should have brought in its wake the "crystallization", so to say, of a number of linguistic peculiarities in the dialect of this community.

It has to be remembered in this connection that prior to the Synod of Diamper the Christians had unrestricted intellectual contacts with the Hindus, as is shown abundantly by the large number of Hindu usages condemned by the Synod as unworthy of orthodox Catholic Christians.

It is quite possible that the influence of European missionaries and of the increasing popularity of the study of Latin and Portuguese may have contributed to the creation of some syntactic and vocabularial peculiarities in the "learned" dialect ; and once such peculiarities arose in the language of learned priests, they may have tended to percolate in some measure to their parish "flocks" whom the priests "fed" and "tended." All this, however, requires to be checked by further investigation along the following directions :—(a) comparison of the features of this speech with those of other communities during the same period, and also with the language spoken today by the Christians of the same localities ; and (b) an intensive inquiry into the influence which the syntax and vocabulary of Latin and Portuguese (the two chief European languages popular in Kēraḷa during the period)

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1. The reference made, in the chapter on vocabulary, to the Verapoly dictionaries and BAILEY'S Dictionary are indicated respectively by the abbreviations VD and BAILEY enclosed within square brackets.

may have exercised on the language of at least the learned Christian writers of the period.

It is not my intention in these pages to determine to what extent the peculiarities of the language of the texts under reference were exclusive to the Christian community. The materials available are far too scanty to enable me to do this. I have, therefore, chiefly contented myself with discussing the peculiarities of the language when viewed in comparison with the modern standard Mal. colloquial of the Cochin State (i.e. the speech with which I am best acquainted). Here and there in the chapter on vocabulary, I have tried to connect the works with the social and religious life of the Christians.<sup>1</sup>

## II. PEANIUS' transliteration.

The system of transliteration adopted by PEANIUS for the representation of Mal. sounds through Roman symbols is interesting.

### A

In the lists of vowels and consonants, PEANIUS distinguishes the "nomen" of each sound from its "potestas". He attempts to reproduce the names given to the sounds when the letters of the alphabet are taught or reproduced in Kēraḷa in the orthodox way.

According to this orthodox system of "naming" the letters of the alphabet, the following are some of the values still heard among old Āśāṇ's or preceptors.

(i) Long vowels are "named" *āa*, *īi*, *ūu*, *kāa*, *kīi*, and so on. PEANIUS' transliteration "aá", "kīi" appears to reverse the values. PEANIUS may have mistaken the slight pausal accent of the short final for increased length.

(ii) *ī*, *ī̃*, *ī̄*, *ī̅* are, according to the orthodox system of naming in Kēraḷa, *erū*, *erūu*, *elū*, *elūu*. PEANIUS gives "iru", "iruú", "ilu" and "iluú".

(iii) The anusvāra is *am*. PEANIUS has "am".

(iv) The visarga is *ah*. PEANIUS gives "ah" "finalis aspirata".

(v) Consonants when "named" always incorporate *a*: *k* is *ka*, and so on.

(vi) The absolute finals *l*, *r*, *ḷ*, *ṛ*, *ṛ̣* are "named" *ul* etc., or as *il*, etc. today.— PEANIUS gives the following: "el", "er", "el" (= *eḷ*),

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1. So far as one can say now, the effect of the cultural separation on the language of the 17th and 18th century Kēraḷa Christians may have made itself felt more in the departments of vocabulary and syntax than in phonology and morphology. In the two latter spheres, the effect of the cultural separation may have been largely to *isolate* collectively a body of native features originally current in the speech of the entire area.

In vocabulary, new adaptations of old words and the association of new meanings with old words, made in order to convey orthodox Christian religious ideas, may have been unique. In syntax, the influence of foreign speeches (Portuguese and Latin) may have been specially active in two directions: (i) non-Dravidian government of cases in learned words, and (ii) religious phrases and constructions, literally translated from European languages.

"iz" (= *il*), "en" (= *en*), "en" (= *en*) and "am"; he gives also "il", "ir", at p. 65 of his book.

(vii) *ky*, *cy*, *py*, *vy* are all *kīya*, *cīya*, *pīya*, *vīya*, etc. (with a half-long value for *i*) when "named" by Āśāṇ's even to-day.—PEANIUS mentions these "names".

(viii) Consonant groups with *ṛ* as the second constituent are evaluated as *kēra* (for *kr*), *pēra* (for *pr*), and so on.—

Similarly *kl*, *pl*, etc. are *kēla*, *pēla*, etc.; and *kv*, *tv*, *rv*, etc. are *kūva*, etc. PEANIUS mentions them all.

(ix) Consonant groups formed of *ṛ* followed by other consonants are "named" *erkka* (for *rk*), *erppa* (for *rṣ* or *rṣṣ*), etc.—PEANIUS has "erkka", etc.

(x) Long consonants like *kk*, *cc*, etc. are *ikka*, *icca*, etc.; these are also mentioned by PEANIUS.—Today *ukka* *ucca*, etc. are alternative values I have heard.

(xi) PEANIUS gives "inda" for both *nd*, *ṇḍ*, and *ṇḍ*; "itta" for both *tt* and *ṭṭ*; and "illa" for both *ll* and *ḷḷ*. "ippa", "imma", "igna" (for *ññ*), "inga" (for *ṇṇ*) are other transliterations used by PEANIUS.

## B

As for the transliterations of the actual values or "power" of the sounds, the system adopted by PEANIUS calls for the following comments.

(i) The length mark is not consistently or uniformly indicated by PEANIUS. The marks of the *accent aigu* and the *accent grave* are often confusedly interchanged.

(ii) Apart from the length-marks referred to above, no diacritics or special ligatures are used by PEANIUS, so much so that the same symbol stands for different sounds, as when the symbol "s" stands for *s* and *ṣ* or "t" for *t*, *ṭ*, etc.

(iii) The diphthong *ai* is transliterated both as "ai" and as "ei".

(iv) *mṛgam*, etc. (with *ṛ*) are transliterated as "mrugam" "kruva" (with *u* following *ṛ*).

(v) Mal. *ṇṇ* is represented as "ng" though, as I have already observed, there is *no* element of explosion at all in this group. The common transliteration of this Mal. group is even today "ng" when no diacritics are employed; cf., for instance, the place-name "Āṅgāḍippuram".

(vi) Mal. *c* is represented as "ci" in accordance with the Italian system of representation where the palatal character of *c* is thus distinguished. Similarly, Mal. *j* is "gi".

(vii) Mal. *ñ* is transliterated by PEANIUS as "gn", since this symbol-group in Italian has the value of a palatal nasal very much resembling the Mal. sound in phonation.

(viii) The aspirate plosive consonants appear as "kḷh" "ggh" "tth", "ddh", etc.—I may say that the Kēraḷa evaluation of aspirated plosives, es-

pecially when deliberately uttered, certainly strikes the hearer as embodying a long or half-long stop element.

Unaspirated voiced plosives are also sometimes represented with an *h* following as in "visarggham", "pūghikkellāye", etc.

(x) The fricative *y* is represented as "j" according to the old Italian method of writing.

(xi) The fricative *ś* is represented as "sci" which is the nearest Italian symbol standing for this fricative.

(xii) *l̥* is symbolised as "z" by PEANIUS.

(xiii) While "lg" is the transliteration of the group formed of *l* and short *k*, the symbol "lkk" is used when long *kk* follows *l*; similarly "yg", but "ykk".

These symbols used by PEANIUS represent actual pronunciation, just as his "lp" also indicates the voiceless value of *p* in actual speech, even though it is short.

The voicing of the plosive is correctly indicated in "nd" and "yd" (native Dravidian).

It is quite interesting to note that while the Skt. groups "st" and "pt" show voiceless *p*, the representation "kd" for the Skt. group constituted of *k* and *t* (as in *śakti*) shows how in the Malayāli evaluation of this group the *t* was partially voiced in PEANIUS' days just as it is today. *Śakti*, *bhakti* are often heard as *śakkuḍi*, *bhakkuḍi* today.

(xiv) Though at p. 86 PEANIUS has only the symbol "r" to represent *ṛ*, he distinguishes *ṛ* (at p. 72 of his "Alphabet") by representing it as "rr", and in the excerpts given at the end of the book he transliterates *ṛ* as "rr" in instance like *maṛiamē*, *poṛukka*, *piṛahṇa*, etc. At p. 86 itself, PEANIUS distinguishes *r* from *ṛ* by the phrase "asperum valde".

### III. PALÆOGRAPHY.

Through the efforts of PEANIUS, Mal. types were for the first time cast in the Press of the Propaganda in Rome in 1772, as referred to by Amadutius in his Preface to PEANIUS' "Alphabet". PEANIUS' description of the symbols of the letters of the Mal. alphabet in his work is invaluable for the study of eighteenth century Mal. palæography. Many of the symbols are similar to those used today; but there are striking divergencies deserving of notice.—These peculiarities are given below. I also indicate below the resemblances and differences between the symbols given by PEANIUS and those employed in the late 16th century manuscript (now being edited by me in the columns of the *Bulletin of the R. V. R. Institute*) containing the text of Kuṛaḷ and a Mal. translation thereof.

1. Long *ē* and long *ō* are not symbolically distinguished from the corresponding short sounds. PEANIUS indeed refers to the existence of symbols for long *ē* and long *ō*, of which the former is like the modern symbol while the latter is represented in two ways, one of which is peculiar in that the length is marked by a loop inside; but PEANIUS points out: "hic scribendi modus ab omnibus constanter non observetur."

In inscriptions and mss. of an earlier period, long  $\bar{e}$  and long  $\bar{o}$  were not symbolically marked off from short  $e$  and short  $o$ .

The observations of PEANIUS show that in the eighteenth century there already existed symbols for the long sounds, but these were not commonly used. Down till the end of the nineteenth century the old practice of using the same symbol for the long and the short sounds appears to have persisted.

2. The candrakkala symbol introduced today (at the right-hand top of the symbols of the consonants preceding) in order to denote the Malayālam pausal  $\text{ə}$  came into existence only in the nineteenth century when GUNDERT and the Mangalore missionaries suggested the adoption of such a symbol to mark off the  $\text{ə}$  from  $u$ .

The pausal  $\text{ə}$  is not distinguished by any special symbol in old works ; on the other hand, the practice was to use either the consonantal symbol with the ligature for  $u$  embodied (as in the oldest mss. and inscriptions), or the consonantal symbol without any ligatures as if the sound  $\text{ə}$  here was a weak accented  $a$  (as in manuscripts and documents of the Late Old Mal. and New Mal. periods).

PEANIUS invariably adopts the latter practice wherever the pausal  $\text{ə}$  occurs ; in non-pausal positions where the sound is more like a close  $u$ , PEANIUS uses  $u$  itself as in *kāttu koḷvā<sub>u</sub>*, etc., though not consistently, since there are phrasal units like *valattə bhāgattə* also.

The manuscript of Kuṛaḷ mixes up both the practices ( mentioned above ) indiscriminately.

3. The symbols used here for  $tū$  and  $rū$  differ in the fact that in the former the outward loop on the right is on a much lower level than in the latter.

4. The usual symbol for  $kṛ$  is different from what is used today, though PEANIUS refers to an alternative symbol corresponding to the one used today.

5. The symbols of  $n̄n$  and  $n̄n̄$  are distinguished only by the fact that the latter has a loop between the two bends on the extreme right.

This is true of the representation in the ms. of Kuṛaḷ.

6. Long  $cc$  is represented in PEANIUS' works by two  $c$  symbols, one being placed above the other.

In the ms. of Kuṛaḷ, the symbol is different : the initial curvature for the symbol for  $c$  is repeated twice and placed on the same level.

7. In PEANIUS' works the symbol for the absolute finals  $r$ ,  $l$ ,  $l̄$ ,  $ṇ$  and  $ṇ̄$  are all similar to modern symbols. That for  $ḷ$  alone is old. In the ms. of Kuṛaḷ the symbols mark the transition stage from the practice of the insertion of a circle on the top of the consonantal symbol (as in Tamil even today) to the modern Mal. practice of connecting the end of the consonantal symbol with the dot by means of a line or loop.—In the ms. of Kuṛaḷ, already the modern symbols for the absolute finals  $l$  and  $ḷ$  (modifications respectively of original symbols for absolute final  $t$  and  $ṭ$  of Skt., which developed the respective sound-values of  $l$  and  $ḷ$ ) are very clearly anticipated ; and the



symbol for final *m* is either an “anusvārapuḷi” as in modern times, or the symbol for *m* with a dot above.

8. The symbols for native internal consonant groups formed of homorganic nasals and plosives were of two types in ancient times in Ārya Eḷuttā:—either the anusvārapuḷi followed by the symbol of the voiceless plosive concerned, or special conjunct symbols in which the ligatures for the nasals and the voiceless plosives are entwined.

Both varieties are to be found for *ṅg* and *mb* in PEANIUS’ works; but for native internal *ṅd*, *ṅj* and *ṇd*, only the conjunct symbols are common.

So far as Skt. words are concerned, the internal consonant groups formed of homorganic nasals and voiceless unaspirated plosives are generally represented in either of the two ways mentioned above, particularly for *ṅk*, *ṅc*, *ṅt*; but for consonant groups formed of nasals and voiced plosives (whether simple or aspirated) and of nasals and voiceless aspirated plosives, the former practice alone obtains.

9. The symbol for *ṇd* deserves special notice. Both PEANIUS’ representation and that of the ms. of Kuraḷ have two *r* symbols (apparently, with a view to the alveolar plosive being marked off clearly thereby), while in modern representation only one *r*-symbol is embodied.

There is however one difference between the symbol for *nde* used by PEANIUS and that found in the ms. of Kuraḷ; while PEANIUS arranges the symbols in the order of puḷi (ligature) for *e* followed by the symbol for *ṇ* and then by the two *r*-symbols, in the ms. of Kuraḷ the symbol for *ṇ* is placed first and it is followed by the ligature for *e* and then by the two *r*-symbols. This latter practice is common in the oldest mss.; and this follows the Tamil arrangement of symbols.

10. The symbols for *tru*, *kru*, *ṣru*, *śru* have two loops on the right to indicate the incorporation of the vowel *u*. When long *ū* is incorporated, the curvature used for *rū* is added.—The Kuraḷ ms. shows the same symbols.

#### IV. PHONETICS.

##### Vowels

1. In accented positions, *a* has its “correct” value, as PEANIUS’ transliteration shows; but in unaccented syllables the sound becomes centralised to *ə* and then frontalisised in the direction of *e* in the neighbourhood of front consonants:—“ramen”, “peretta”, “siven”, “paler”, “puter”, etc.

2. The symbols and ligatures denoting *u* stand for (i) fully lip-rounded *u* in accented positions (as for instance in radical positions of words); (ii) as the final of the Mal. tense-finitives; (iii) the centralised *u* which is the actual value (in unaccented positions) of what in writing is represented with the ligatures for *u*; (iii) the lip-spread *u* occurring in words like *paṇṇū*, etc.

PEANIUS uses “u” throughout for all these sounds.

3. The “neutral” vowel *ə* occurring in Mal. as the final of certain words and forms is represented in these texts by the symbol of the preceding con-

sonant being shown without any "vocalic" ligatures as if the vowel sound involved here is an unaccented *a* (= *ə*). PEANIUS adopts this practice.

Mal. *ə* is a value which appears in the following other contexts also:—

(i) The value of unaccented *a* in medial positions of words and forms; as already observed above, the *ə* is frontalisied in the direction of *e* in the neighbourhood of palatal consonants, in which case the symbol for transliteration used by PEANIUS is *e*.

(ii) The *a* appearing immediately after initial *y*, *r*, *l*, and voiced plosives of Skt. loans, and after native initial *r* (in *rəṇḍə*) and *c* (in a very few words like *cəri*-, *cəli*) has the value of *ə* or frontalisied *ə* or *e* (the last value being very frequent in the mass-dialects). PEANIUS uses "e"; and the mss. of other texts also show *e* sometimes in the spelling.

(iii) The unaccented *u* in medial unaccented positions and in the neighbourhood of retroflex sounds has often the value of an *ə*, as in colloquial *koḍattə*, *veḷə'tə* and in literary *arə-kk*- (< ol er *aru-kk*), *karə-kk* (< older *karu-kk*), *aḷəkkə* (< *aḷu'kə*) etc. This is not marked off anywhere in the texts under reference.

(iv) The unaccented *o* in the colloquial *ippolə*, *appolə* loses the lip-rounding and tends to become *ə*. This is shown by the spelling indicating *a* (= *ə* in unaccented positions).

(v) The *a* of *allə*, when occurring in unaccented positions, has the value *ə* or *e*. The spellings in the mss. of the texts, and Peanius' transliteration shows *allə* and *ellə*.

PEANIUS consistently uses the spelling "paḍ-" (for modern *paḍ*-) in SV and Alph., but transliterates it (in his Alph.) as "ped." Since the value *paḍ*- had arisen fairly early in Mal., it is possible that PEANIUS followed mere tradition in using the spelling "paḍ-".

4. There is no distinctive anusvāra sound in native Mal. The anusvāra that forms a part of the alphabetical classification of Ārya Eḷuttə and for which the *śūnya* symbol is used, has the value of (i) *m* before vowels (in external sandhi), before pauses and before *y*, *r*, *l*, *ś*, *h*, *s*, and (ii) a vargāntya nasal before plosives (both in external and in internal sandhi). In native words, the use of the *śūnya* symbol in final positions of words or in internal positions (in which latter the use of the symbol is rare today, though in old manuscripts it is sometimes met with) is purely graphic, since the value given to it is that of an *m* or of a vargāntya nasal according as it is followed by the one or the other of the sets of sounds referred to in the above scheme.

PEANIUS observes: "Littera *am* quae nobis consona esset, apud Malabares vocalis habetur, sicut et in Brammhanicis elementis *ang* vocalibus annumeratur."

The reference to the evaluation "ang" of the Brahmins is very interesting. To whom does he refer when he speaks of Brahmins? Elsewhere in the course of the book he refers to the "Brahmin professors of the University of Trichur," and these very probably are Nāmbūdiri scholars connected

with one or other of the Maṭhas of Trichur. It may however be noted here that the evaluation of the anusvāra by the Nambūdiris when reading or reciting Sanskrit is different from that of the other communities in Malabar. The sound-value given by Nambūdiris for the anusvāra before *r*, *ś*, *s*, *h*, *v* is always that of a nasalized *v* or sometimes almost a labio-dental *m*, as in *saṅvrambham*, *saṅśayam*, *saṅśāram*, *saṅvādādam*; before *y* and *l*, nasalized *y* and nasalized *l* are respectively used, as in *sayyuta*, *imallogam*; etc.

PEANIUS, curiously enough, classifies the anusvāra symbol among consonants also, and makes the following observations: "Littera o *am* eadem est, ac consona finalis *m* apud Latinos. Sic *sambhramam* metus; *samram-bham* superbia."

PEANIUS adds: "In medio tamen dictionis aliquando sonat, ut *n*, quod praesertim accidit, cum invenitur ante litteras *k* and *p*: tunc enim fit *ng*, *nb*; unde *engilum* quamvis; *sangaḍam* afflictio; *sanbatta* divitiae."<sup>1</sup>—These observations suffer from a confusion of ideas. So far as Sanskrit words like *saṅkṛta*- and *sampat*(*ta*) are concerned, in the Malayālam representation of these and other similar Sanskrit words, the anusvāra symbol is never given the value of *n*. Before *-k* in internal positions, the value of the anusvāra is always that of the varṅāntya *ṅ*; and similarly before *p* the anusvāra is evaluated as *m*.—As for native forms in internal positions, forms like *engil munbē* which have *n* before the plosives concerned and which are pronounced "correctly" with this *n* by many had also "corrupt" values in the mass-colloquials which convert the *n* to the varṅāntya's corresponding to the plosives following. This assimilation of *n* to varṅāntya's started very early in Mal. as a colloquial feature; and the symbols for original *ṅg* and the *ṅg* < *ng* and for original *mb* and the *mb* < *nb* were either conjunct ligatures or the anusvāra symbol followed by the symbols of the plosives. In "correct" pronunciation, the *n* of *munbē* is still heard, while in *engil* the modern pronunciation shows only *ṅg*.

The conjunct ligatures for *ṅg* and *mb* used in PEANIUS's time (and today) are actually formed respectively of the symbols for *n* and *k* and of those for *n* and *p*. It is perhaps this fact (along with the alternative values like *munbē* and *munbē*) that led PEANIUS to make the unwarranted generalisation that the anusvāra symbol followed by *k* and *p* has the value of *n*.

5. The visarga *ḥ* which appears in the orthodox classification of the sounds of the modern Mal. alphabet is correctly explained by PEANIUS as a sound which "cum aliqua levi aspiratione, atque conatu proferatur; illi enim duo circuli quorum alter alteri supereminet in fine additi sunt signum conatus et aspirationis, qua littera pronuntiatur, clara tamen, et aperto voce."

Medially, however, in the common evaluation in Kēraḷa of words like *duḥkham*, *antaḥpuram*, the visarga is evaluated as a mere breath (or as a

1. Following this wrong rule, in the excerpts at the end of the book, PEANIUS wrongly transliterates *tamburān* as "tamburan", *kumbid-* as "kumbid-" etc.

suspension of voice ), and the plosive following is doubled. These facts are noted by PEANIUS : "Si vero in medio dictionis inveniantur dicycli, ut in hac voce *duḥkkham* tristitia, denotant ipsi suspensionem vocis in anteriori littera pronuntianda, atque conatum, quo subsequens efferrī debet."

The difference between the visarga and the initial and medial *h* of Skt. is not of course expressly pointed out by PEANIUS ; but the terms in which he has described the phonation of the visarga, together with the description of *h* as "*h* germanico ore prolatum" show that PEANIUS did note some difference. It may be noted here that in the Kēraḷa evaluation of Skt. loans, initial *h* is partially voiced, intervocal *h* is fully voiced and the final visarga is voiceless.

The question whether the visarga should be classified among vowels or among consonants appears in the days of PEANIUS to have been subject to dispute, as the following observations of his indicate: "Nec video, cur hæc littera inter vocalium numerum a quibusdam non adscribatur, cum inter vocales distincte eam tradant tam Brammhanes magistri in praeclara Universitate Tricciurensi, quam ceteri Grammatici Malabares in ipsorum Scholis *kalari* vulgo dictis, et jure quidem."

6. *ai* and *au* are recognized as diphthongs by PEANIUS : "Quare litteræ *ai*, vel *ei* et *au*, quæ debent exacte proferri, ita utraque vocalis distincte audiatur, potius dicendæ sunt Diphthongi, quam vocales."

The alternative value *ei* for the diphthong *ai* is interesting. The value of *ei* seems to have existed from a very early period for this diphthong ; and it is the existence side by side of both values, that gave rise to forms like '*aidā* for *ceyḍā* (common in inscriptions and in old Mss.), *mai* for *mey* body', *aidaidā* (= *eyd-eydā*) in Uttaraṛām. gadyam.

Among the present texts, Vartt. has *hai* for *hey* and *mai* for *mey*, and SV uses *cai-* for *cey-*.

### Consonants

PEANIUS devotes two chapters to the description of consonants ; in one he refers to the absolute consonantal finals of Mal., and in another entitled "De recta pronuntiandi ratione" he tries to indicate some of the sound-attributes of Mal. consonants by comparing them to European sounds known to him. At the outset he says "de earumdem litterarum vi, ac recta pronuntiandi norma aliquid attingamus, potius quam explicemus ; in aliquibus enim Malabaricæ Linguae litterarum sonus Latinis litteris exprimi haudquaquam potest." And at the end of the chapter he again administers the advice : "genuinus enim ipsarum sonus non scriptis sed voce est acquirendus."

This chapter is full of interesting and acute observations which do credit to this eighteenth-century Malabar missionary.

1. Medially *k* is pronounced "like *g*" "as in maghen "filius."

This is a correct description of the intervocal value of the velar stop in Malayālam. It is voiced ; and the area of actual occlusion is slightly reduced, with the result that a fricative phonation immediately precedes and follows

the voiced plosive.—Medially, the sound has a clearer fricative element than when it is initial; this is what has misled some European scholars into thinking that medially the sound is a pure fricative.

2. "*Kh* pronuntiatur, tamquam duo *kk*, et profertur cum aliquo conatu, et aspiratione." In the attempt to bring out the aspirate element of the sound, the tendency to elongate the stop is common in Kēraḷa.

3. PEANIUS adverts to the absolute consonantal final *k* of Skt. words, and observes that this is "quoddam *k*, quo solum utuntur in poesi, ac in ipsorum Grandonicis scriptis; ipsius sonus efformatur in interiori gutture."

4. Mal. *ñ* which PEANIUS wrongly transliterates as *ngh*, is the velar nasal. There is absolutely no explosion in the mouth, but the air is allowed to pass continuously through the nose, the release of stoppage in the mouth being gradual.

PEANIUS says that the sound is pronounced "attracta retrorsum lingua, ita tamen ut *g* vix audiat."

5. Mal. *c* is compared to the Etruscan "*c*" and the transliteration used by him for this sound is "*ci*".

*j* is "ut *gi* Italicum, leviter tamen in gutture expressum."

*ñ*, "ut *gn* Italicum, efformatur prope dentes cum aliquo narium ministerio."

This series of sounds in Mal. may be brought out either by the foreblade touching the alveolar region or (what is not very common) the tongue-tip touching the frontier between the alveolar and palatal regions.

6. Though PEANIUS transliterates the retroflex sounds *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṇ* without any distinctive diacritics, he has noted the retroflexion of the tongue in the articulation of these sounds: "huius litteræ sonus... est autem Europeis admodum difficilis, ac pronuntiatur inversa omnino retrorsum lingua, adeo ut interiorem palati summitatem attingat."

7. *t* is compared to Latin *t* (as evaluated by Italians and other continentals of Europe), because *t* is in many countries of Europe given the value of a dental in which the area of occlusion is fairly large.

PEANIUS evaluates the intervocal sound as *d*; in actual value there is a slight fricative element immediately preceding and following the stop, as a result of the area of contact (for the stop) being reduced in intervocal positions.

8. PEANIUS' description of Mal. *n* is inadequate and unsatisfactory. He refers only to one *n* which he compares to a "clear Latin *n*." Perhaps his European ear was unable to detect the difference that actually existed between Mal. blade dental *ṇ* and the point-contact alveolar *n*.

9. *ṛ* (post-dental) and *ṛ̥* (palato-cerebral) are, however, distinguished by PEANIUS: "*ṛ*, ut *ṛ*; dulciter tamen, et tenerrime profertur prope dentes, iisdem quasi compressis"; "*ṛ̥*, asperum valde, et durum."

10. It is strange to hear PEANIUS observe that Mal. *v* is like *b* "aliquando," and to see the initial *v* of words like *viral* uniformly transliterated in

the "Alphabet" as *b*. I also find in SV sometimes Mal. spellings like *bā* (for *vāy*), *biṣam* (for the Skt. loan *viṣam*) etc. Perhaps the bilabial value of the Mal. *v* struck his European ear as nearer to *b* than to the labiodental *v* which is so common in European languages.

11. *ś* is described thus : "inter *s* et *z* pronuntiatur, inflexa ad palatum lingua cum aliquo sibila."—The reference to the sound being midway between the voiceless [*ś*] and its voiced variety means that the sound was partly voiced in the utterance of the speakers. Even to-day this is true of the folk-colloquials. The retroflex nature of the sound is also adverted to by PEANIUS. While he describes *ś* as being produced with the tongue turned to the palate, with a certain amount of hiss, he distinguishes *s* as being produced "prope dentes",—a distinction which is quite correct.

12. For *l*, PEANIUS refers to the retroflexion of the tongue.

13. The continuant *l*, the phonation of which is so difficult for non-Malayālis and non-Tamilians, is described thus : "quasi *z* Latinorum, dentibus labisque vix apertis pronuntiatur, retracta tantillum lingua."

The retraction of the tongue is only just indicated ; the essential features of the sound are not fully described. In Chapter VI, PEANIUS says that this sound is pronounced "cum aliquo sibilo" ; perhaps what he refers to here is the passage of a stream of air, which ( it must be stated ) never amounts to a hiss because of the large space between the tongue and the mouth-roof.

14. The long voiceless alveolar plosive *tt̪* is only imperfectly described in the following terms : "si vero hæc littera *ṛ* ( = *ṛ* ) duplicetur, efformatur duplex *tt̪*, quod effertur compressis quasi dentibus, lingua ipsos impellente."

The alveolar nature of the sound appears to have escaped the notice of PEANIUS.

## V. PHONOLOGY.

The changes mentioned below are mostly those characteristic of colloquials. The language of Vartt. is largely based upon the colloquial dialect, though there are attempts made here and there to employ literary and rhetorical flourishes. The *saeva indignatio*, however, makes the writer drop the artificial mask in most parts of the book. SV attempts to be literary and dignified, but remains largely "colloquial". The authors of these works were not influenced by the "classical" literary style of Mal.—This fact is proved by the use of colloquial phrases and expressions and also by the adoption of phonetic spelling for the following types :—

(a) The Tam.—Mal. evaluation as frontalisised *ə* or as *e*, of the *a* immediately following voiced plosives or *r*, *y*, *l*, *kṣ* (in radical syllables of IA words) is embodied in the spelling of numerous forms like *gerbhini*, *jēhtu*, *yejamānan*, *resi-kk*- (Skt. *rasa*), *reññippa*, *ksemi-kk*- (Skt. *kṣama*), *kṣeyam*, *behu*, etc.

Native *cari*- and *cali* are colloquially evaluated as *cəri*- or *ceri*- and *cəli* or *celi* ; the forms are spelt *ceri*- and *celi* in Vartt.

(b) The colloquial change of *i* to *e* and of *u* to *o* when *i* and *u* of initial accented syllables are immediately followed by a short consonant and an open vowel in the next syllable, is embodied in the spelling of words like *herappə*, *korala*, *orakkam*, *colali-k-kāttə*, etc.

(c) The assimilation of voiced plosives to the homorganic nasals in adaptations of Skt. groups *ṅg*, *ṅd*, *ṇḍ* is shown in the spelling of forms like *vāhniccə* (Skt. *vand-*), *caṅhiraṇ* (Skt. *candra*), *reṇṇippə*, *bhaṇṇāram*, *maṇṇapam*.

(d) The change of *r* to *ɾ* is embodied in the spelling of forms like *curuḍi* (Skt. *śruti*), *puttarāṇ*, *attarāyum* [BG].

(e) PEANIUS' transliterations "ramen" (for *rāmaṇ*), "peretta" (for *perattə*), "kaleri" (for *kaḷari*) show how in spelling the tendency in colloquials for unaccented *a* (= *ə*) to become frontalised towards *e* was embodied.

### VOWELS

1. Both *-allō* and *ellō* (< *allō*) exist side by side.

2. In the final syllables of *karaccil*, *cāccil*, *tigaccil*, the *i* is derived ultimately from original *a*. The unaccented position together with the neighbourhood on either side of palatal consonants has brought about the change.

3. The lengthening of the final *-a* of Mal. polite imperatives (old optatives), as in *kolgā*, *celgā*, *eḍukkā*, is common in other 18th century texts.

4. (*Kūḍa-p-*) *purappuḡal* shows *u* (< *i*) on account of the influence of the bilabial.

5. "Vulgar" colloquialisms like the following in which *i* appears instead of *u* in the neighbourhood of palatal consonants, occur in the texts:—*cimaḍuḡal*, *perima*, etc.

*orikkal*, *iri-kk*, *pōriga*, *tariga*, *orimbāḍa*, occur in literary Mal.

6. *Keṭṭō*, *kiṭṭō* (with centralised *i*), *kuṭṭō*, *kiṭṭō* are common colloquial variants of the phrasal expletive *kēṭṭō* 'did (you) hear?' used frequently in conversation. Owing to the weakening of the syllable containing *ē*, allegro-forms like the above are common in the colloquials. The spelling *kiṭṭō* used in Vartt. stands for one of such colloquial forms.

*ellāppaḷum*, *ippaḷum*, *appaḷə* show the unrounding of the original *o* and the production of a variety of *ə*.

7. *o* is raised to *u* in the forms *kula* (for *kola* 'murder', perhaps under the influence of word *kula* which means 'bunch'), *muḷi* (for *moḷi* 'statement' 'word'), *puḷi* (for *poḷi* 'falsehood').

8. Old *-ai* of verb-bases appears as *-e* in forms like *kureccə*, *ude-kk*, *are-ccə*, etc.

9. Final *ə* [<older *u*] has become still further opened out to *a* in forms like the following:—*āṇṇaḍa-y-āyiri-kkūṇṇa*

*paṭṭāṇṇa-y-um*

*bhaṇṇappaḍa-y-um*

*muṣka-y-um*

*iṇadappaḍa-y-um*

The change is attested by the use of the glide -y- before the samuccaya *um*; if the old *ə* had been preserved, then it would have been elided.

This change is not absent in the other colloquials: *paṭṭāṇṇa* [*<paṭṭāṇṇə <paṭṭāṇṇu*], *aṇṇa* [*<aṇṇə <aṇṇu*], *āṇṇala* [*<āṇṇalə <āṇṇal(u)*], *peṇṇala* [*<peṇṇalə <peṇṇal(u)*], *vāyppa* [*<vāyppə*]

Some of these forms with -a are used in the literary dialect also.

10. Instances of vocalic contractions shown in the spellings are the following, all of which are common in other colloquials also:—

-*ōḷum* [G] < -*ōḷavum*; *ōḷōm*, appears beside *oḷam* already in K Bhāg. and K Bhr.—*ōḷum* is a variant that occurs in SV and Vartt.

*<okkēne <okka-y-iṇ-e* [accusative form]

*kālē <kāḷa-y-e* [accus.]

*kaḷudē <kaḷud a-y-e* [acc.]

*pūjāyi <pūja-y-āyi*

*rakṣillāṇṇu <rakṣa-y-illāṇṇu*

*saṇṇadilla <saṇṇadi-y-illa*

*ammāguṇṇa <amma-y-āguṇṇa*

*cemmōrtta <cemmu-varutta* 'what brings about prosperity' 'religious benediction'.

(To be continued.)



## INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD\*

By

D. B. DISKALKAR

MÜLI

No. 125]

v. s. 1685

[25-1-1629

Müli is a fourth class state in Zālāvad. The Thakur of the State is a Paramāra Rajput. The following inscription is found in the Sun temple, popularly called Māṇḍavarāi temple in Müli. It is in a good condition and measures 16" by 15".

The first five lines of the record are devoted to the praise of Gaṇapati, Sūrya and other deities. Then follows a verse descriptive of the greatness of the name of Rāma. Then the date is given, *viz.*, Sunday, the 11th day of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1685 or Śaka 1550 the samvatsara being Īśvara, when in the victorious reign of the emperor *Shah Jahan* and of the *paramāra* king *Rāmji*, Gopāla son of Bhagavatidāsa and his wife Amulā of the Nanduaṇḍā community caused the temple of Maṇḍaparāya to be made. This is again expressed in a verse.

### Text

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरदायै नमः ॥ श्रीपरमगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ॐ नमः परमात्म
- 2 ने नमः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीर्जयो मंगलाभ्युदयश्च ॥ यं ब्रह्मवेदांतविदो वदन्ति । परं प्र
- 3 धानं पुरुषं तथान्ये ॥ विश्वाहृतेः कारणमीश्वरं वा । तस्मै नमो विघ्नवि
- 4 नाशनाय ॥ १ ॥ नमः सवित्रे जगदेकचक्षुषे । जगत्प्रसूतिस्थितिना
- 5 शहेतवे ॥ त्रयीमयाय त्रिगुणात्मधारिणे । विरंचिनारायणशंक
- 6 रात्मने ॥ २ ॥ कल्याणानः निधानं कलिलमलमथनं पावनं पावना
- 7 नां । पाथेयं यन्नुमुक्षोः सपदि परपदप्राप्तये प्रस्थितस्य ॥ विश्रा-
- 8 मस्थानमेकं कविवरवचसा योगिनां ध्यानगम्यं । बीजं धर्मदुमस्य
- 9 प्रभवतु भवतां भूतये रामनाम ॥ ३ ॥ श्री[म]त्पविक्रमार्कसमया
- 10 तीत ॥ संवत् १६८५ वर्षे शाके १५५० प्रवर्त्तमाने शालिवाहनना
- 11 म्नि शकाधिपतौ ॥ ईश्वरनाम्नि संवत्सरे उत्तरायन(ण)भते श्रीसूर्ये
- 12 शिशिरऋतौ महामांगल्यप्रदे मासोत्तमे माघमासे शुक्लपक्षे एका
- 13 दश्यां पुण्यतिथौ रविवासरे आर्द्रानक्षत्रे ॥ पातसा[ह]श्रीशाहाजान]
- 14 [ अदलश ] बाईविजयराज्ये परमारश्रीरामजी वि[जयराज्येनंदु ]
- 15 आणाज्ञातीय मादेकाश्रीचेलगृहे भार्या बाई कर्मादे तत्सुत मादे
- 16 का देवा गृहे भार्या बाई लष[मि]दे तत्सुत मादेका गोपाल गृहे भा
- 17 र्या बाई देवकी तत्सुत भगवतीदास गृहे भार्या बाई अमुला नं

- 18 दुआणा गोपाल ए श्रीमंडपरायजीनो प्रासाद कराव्यो छे ॥ गोजधर गो  
 19 बिंदसुत महादेव । नांदीमुख ज्ञातिकुलावतंसः श्रीचेलनामा द्विजव  
 20 र्थ आसीत् ॥ तस्यात्मजो देव इति प्रसिद्धो धरातले देवसमो बभूव ॥ १ ॥  
 21 बलदर ॥ रूपमल ॥ मजडो ॥ मंगलं लेषकानां च ॥ कर्तृणां चै[व] मंगलं ॥  
 22 मंगलं सर्वभूतानां । भूमिभूषतिमंगलं ॥ शुभं भवतु कल्याणम[ स्तु ]

## GADHAKA

No. 126]

v. s. 1687

[15-3-1631

This inscription is copied from one of the *pālās* standing near the Kothāri Vāv at Gadhakā in the Khambhālā Mahal of the Navanagar State.

The inscription records the death on Tuesday, the eighth of the dark half of Phāgana of v.s. 1687 of Jāḍejā Hālā Śrī Rāhabhji, in a fight at Gadhakā.

Some other *pālās* record the deaths of other warriors on the same date. Hālā Śrī Hardholji was one of them.

## Text

- 1 संवत् १६८७ वरष फा  
 2 गण व. ८ भम जाडजा  
 3 हाला श्री राहभजी ग  
 4 ढक भये देवातण पा  
 5 मा छे ।

## MANGROL

No. 127]

v. s. 1687

[5-5-1631

A bilingual (Persian and Sanskrit) inscription is lying in the Deli of Sadmiyā in Lalpura in the fort Māngrol. The Sanskrit version is very much damaged so that it cannot be wholly read. It measures 12½" by 2½".

It opens with the date, Monday (?) the 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1687 or Śaka 1552 and refers to the reign of the emperor *Salim Shah*. It then mentions the name of the viceroy appointed over Saurāṣṭra, but unfortunately his name is missing. In the last line are preserved some letters of an imprecatory verse which shows that a grant was made by this inscription.

The Emperor of Delhi at the time of this inscription was Shah Jahan and not Selim Shah which is the other name of Jahangir. Such a mistake is excusable in this distant part of the country.

## Text

- 1 ॥ संवत् १६८७ वर्षे शाके १५५२ प्रवर्तमाने...वसंतकृतौ महामांगल्यप्रदे  
 2 वैशाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे १५ सोमे\* अद्य श्रीम...पातसाह श्री ७ शलेमशाहविजयरा

\* The week day does not agree unless सौम्ये is meant. There was a lunar eclipse when the grant was made.

- 3 ज्ये सौराष्ट्रदेशे...लममान श्रीराउल व तस्य द्वा...री अमल...मान  
 4 महं ...श्रीमाल ...श्रीरस्तु । शुभं भवतु...  
 5 बहुभिः वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः...रा । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि । तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥

## KUA

No. 128]

v. s. 1687

[15-6-1631

This inscription is copied from one of the *pālīs* standing in the compound of a Śiva mandir behind the masjid in Kuā in the Dhrāṅghrā State.

It records the death in a fight while protecting the cows, of Zālā Bhimji, son of Gopālji, son of Surājī, son of Lākhāji, on the 11th day of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha in v. s. 1687.

## Text

संवत् १६८७ वर्षे जेठ वद  
 ११ दने झाला श्रीलाषाजी  
 सूत सूरजी सूत गोपाल  
 जी सूत भीमजी गायिनी  
 बाहारे स्वरग यिआ

## DAHISARĀ

No. 129]

v. s. 1688

[19-10-1631

This inscription is copied from a *pālīa* standing on a platform outside the northern gate of the village Dahisarā, at a distance of three miles from the sea port town Vavāṇia in the Morvi State. The length and breadth of the inscribed portion is 15".

It records that Rūḍibai, wife of Avāḍi?—Alodhā? became a satī on Wednesday the fifth of the bright half of Kārtika in v.s. 1688 or Śaka 1553 in the time of Mahārāja Bhojarājji.

Mahārāja Bhojarājji must be the son of Mahārāo Bhārmalji of Kaccha, who seems to have the village in his possession at the time.

## Text

- 1 संवत् १६८८ वरषे साके १५५३ प्रवर्तमाने]  
 2 दक्षिणायनगते श्रीसूर्ये सरदरितौ माहा  
 3 मांगल्यपुन्यप्रदमसातम करतक मस  
 4 सुक्लपक्षे पंचमी ५ । वार बुध अवाडी आ  
 5 भेरा ग्रेहे भार्या बाई नाग सुत ब[सा] सु  
 6 त अवाडी आलोडा । भारया महातरा बाई  
 7 रूडी तस पिता महात्रा साहानी पूत्रीअ  
 8 सागवन कीधा छे  
 9 बाईने पुत्रे दरी मंडावी छ माहा  
 10 राये श्रीभोजराजजीये....

## BILESHTVARA

No. 130]

v. s. 1688

[11-5-1632

This inscription is engraved on a *pālā* near the temple of Bileśvara Mahādeva at Bileśvara in the Barḍā hills at a distance of 8 miles from Rāṇāvāva in the Porbandar State. The inscribed portion measures 15" in length and 5" in breadth.

It records the death of Kāthi Sumā (?) in a fight with the Muhammedan (Kābuli) *Āyakhān* on the second day of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha in v.s. 1688.

## Text

- 1 स्वत १६८८ वरषे जेठ सद २
- 2 काबली आयषाने काठी सुम जा
- 3 गरो थीओ जीहा मरण थीओ छे

## DHUA

No. 131]

v. s. 1688

[9-6-1632

This inscription was originally found in the Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa temple in the village Dhuā under the Dhṛāṅghrā State, but it is now lying in the house of a Nandvāṇā Brāhmaṇ in Kālāvad. The engraved portion measures 1'9" by 11". It is full of grammatical mistakes.

At the beginning of the inscription is given a verse invoking blessings of long life to the person who, as the latter portion of the inscription states, caused the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple to be built. It then refers to the reign over *Vānkāner* Pargaṇā of Raisimhji, son of Mānsimhji, and then states that Ṭhākar Kriṣṇadāsa of the Nandvāṇā community caused a temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa to be built in the village Dhuā, which was owned (as a *gīrās*) by Zālā Bhūpatiji son of Mokāji, on the second day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha in v.s. 1688. The construction of the temple was begun on the second day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1685.

The inscription gives the date v.s. 1688 for Raisimhji son of Mānsimhji, the Zālā ruler of Vānkāner. But Raisimhji came to the *gādi* in 1653 A.D. as the Kathiawar Gazetteer (p. 697) states. Hence it seems that the mention of Raisimhji is due to his looking after the state business during the time of his father in Mahal Niyāl (?) wherein the village Dhuā was situated.

## Text

- 1 उं नमः श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ यावद्वीचित्तरंगा वहती सुरनदी जाहवी पुण्यतोया । यावच्चाका
- 2 शमार्गे तपति दीनकरो भास्करो लोकपाल । यावद्वज्रेंदुनीलस्फुटिकमणिमई वर्तते मेरु-  
शृंगं तावत्त्वं पुत्र
- 3 पौत्रस्वजनपरिवृतो जीव विष्णुप्रसादात् ॥ १ मोजे वाकनेरप्रगणे राण श्रीमानसघजी  
तस्य पुत्र राण श्रीरायसय

- 4 जी श्रीमाहालनिआलमध्ये नंदवाणस वंसे वांकाणी तस्य भार्या बा सविरा तस्य पुत्र ३  
प्रथम ठाकर वाछा तस्य
- 5 भार्या बा जसमादे दोता बा जीवादे तस्य भूव ३ बा कल्याण ताज रावता ता त्रीकम ।  
तथा भाई जवत । तस्य
- 6 भार्या बा जमणदे । तृतीय भाईश्रीनो कृष्णदास तस्य भार्या बा कल्याणदे तस्य पुत्र ४  
प्रथम नागोकलाना ? ना
- 7 रायणताना वरेरताना मोहनदास त गोकलना पुत्र ३ प्रति भाणजी ता भीमजी ताना  
लीलाधर ता नाराय
- 8 ण सु ओधवजी ठाकर कृष्णदास दुआमध्ये राज्य झाला श्री ५ मोकाजी सुत भुपतजीना  
दुआमध्ये श्रील
- 9 क्षमीनारायणनो प्रासाद शिखरबंध कराव्यो छे नंदवाणो कृष्णदासे कराव्यो छे । तस्य  
भार्या बा कल्याणदे प्रसा
- 10 द कराव्यो छे श्रीरणछोडजी दयाए करी ते कीधो छे । संवत् १६८५ वर्षे वैशाख शुद्ध  
२ मुहुर्त कीधु छे संवत् १६
- 11 ८८ ना आषाढ शुद्ध २ संपूर्ण कीधो छे । मौजे दुआमध्ये भोम्य प्राजापना ? सेटा २  
सेटो २ पंचासीआता माग्र उपरे छे संटो ?
- 12 बीजो गामनी उगमणि मेरे छे । झाले श्री मोकेजीसुत भूपतजीए अघाट पुत्रपौत्रादीक  
अप्यो छे कृष्णार्पण बुधे
- 13 आप्यो छे । श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायणने प्रसाद मुक्यो छे एजे ताकइ तेने परमश्वर पुछे...

## HALVAD

No. 132]

v. s. 1690

[30-3-1634

This inscription is copied from a *pāliā* standing in the sixteen-pillar *deri* to the north-east of Bhavānī Mātā's temple in 'Rājehara' to the east of the town Halvad.

The inscription records the death of Mahārāpā Āsakaranji on Sunday the eleventh of the bright half of Caitra in v.s. 1690.

## Text

संवत् १६९० वरषे चई  
त्र सूद ११ रवै माहारां  
ण श्रीआसकरण  
जी

## JHINJUVAḌĀ

No. 133]

v.s. 1692

[28-2-1636

[6-3-1636

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab built in the *koṭho* near the temple of Rajabai Mātā in Jinjhuṇvādā, which is sixteen miles north of Khārāghodā Railway Station. The inscribed portion measures 3 ft. in length and 1½ ft. in breadth.

It records that a ruler—whose name is missing—of the Makavāṇā family repaired the fort and built the *kotho*, etc. at great cost on Sunday, the third of the bright half of Phāḡaṇa in v.s. 1692.

*Text*

- 1 संवत् १६९[२] वर्ष फागणमासे सुकलपये रवीवासरे वा
- 2 स झंझुवाडा...महास्थाने नरपती राख मकआणा
- 3 वसे रा...माहाराजाअ गढ सम...
- 4 व कृणेनो कोठो पाआमांथी करावो आथमणी रांघनो कोठो
- 5 ...करावो चोगीर्द कोटानां थीगडां क
- 6 रावां गढकेडे द्रव घणो घरचो उगमणी रांघ ऊची करावी गढ

JĀMANAGAR

No. 134]

v. s. 1696

[14-2-1640

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of the image of Sambhavanātha in the Comukha temple opposite the Rājasiśā temple in Jāmnagar. In the central part of the inscribed portion is carved a beautiful figure of a galloping horse on which are engraved the letters 'श्री संभवनाथ बिंवम्'. The inscribed portion, which is in a good condition measures 3·4" in length and only 5" in breadth. The poet, who composed this inscription, but who has not given his name, seems to be a learned man.

The record opens with the date, which is Friday, the 3rd of the bright half of Phālgua of v.s. 1696 and refers to the reign of Jām Lākhāji of the *Yadu* family of Navānagar. Then the name of Āryaraksitasūri is given, who was descended in a regular line of succession from Lord Mahāvīra, in the Ancala gaccha. His successor was Dharmamūrtisūri, who was again succeeded by Kalyāṇsāgarasūri. Under his instructions Sah Rājasi son of Tejaśi son of Bhojā, son of Hirā, son of Narapāl, son of Samarā, son of Muṇṭā, son of Jāhala, who was the son of Sah Udā of the Nāgada gotra and Uṣakeṣa (i.e. Osvāl) community, caused an image of Sambhavanātha to be set up. In the latter portion of the inscription the qualities of Rājasi are described and an account is given of his family as also of that of his younger brother Sah Nensi.

*Text*

- 1 संवत् १६९६ वर्षे फाल्गुन सुदि ३ शुके श्रीनव्यनगरे श्रीयदुवंशोत्तंस यामश्री-  
लाषाजीविजयिराज्ये श्रीअंचलगच्छे श्रीमहावीरपद्मानुक्रमायातश्रीचक्रेश्वरीदेवीविहित
- 2 प्रसाददूरीकृतनिखिलकुमतिमनोन्मादश्रीविधिपक्षगच्छसंस्थापकसिद्धांतोक्तसन्मार्गप्रकाशकपू-  
ज्यश्रीआर्यरक्षितसूरयस्वे(स्ते)षां पद्मानुक्रमेण श्रीजिनशासनप्रधा
- 3 नसाधुक्रियासावाधानसकलगुणनिधानपूज्यश्रीधर्ममूर्तिसूरयस्तत्पद्मोदयाचलामलमौलिसमुद्यत्-  
प्रद्योतनोपमसांप्रतं विद्यमानयुगप्रधानपूज्यभ० कल्याणसागरसूरी
- 4 श्रराणामुपदेशेन श्रीउपकेशज्ञातीनागडागोत्रे सा० ऊदा पुत्र सा० जाहल पु० सा० मुंटा  
[ पु० सा० ] संमरा पु० सा० नरपाल पु० सा० हीरा पु० सा० भोजा पु० सा०  
तेजसी पुत्रानेकजनाधारश्रीजिनधर्मदी

- 5 सिकारितानेकजिनागारलेखितज्ञानभांडागारकृपापारावारयशोधवलीकृतसंसारमंडितानेकसत्रा-  
गारकांतधनप्राप्ति(?) सार श्रीसम्यक्च मूलद्रादशव्रतधारसा० राजसीहेन भार्या  
6 श्रीराणादे राजलदे पु० सा० रामसी भा० सिरियादेव्या युतेन सा० राजसी लघुभ्रातृ सा०  
नयणसी भा० प्र[ध]मवरंगदे पु० सा० सोमसीसहितेन द्वि० मोहणदे पु० सा०...  
भा० धनादे पु० सा० इरसी पुत्रादिपरि...  
7 . . . . .

## WADHWAN

No. 135]

v.s. 1699

[21-4-1642

This inscription is engraved on a *pālīā* called 'Rāthod Māno pālīo' (the memorial stone of the Rathod mother), in Wadhwan city. Many of the letters in the record, which measures 1'-8" by 1'-5" are too much weather-worn.

It records that Rājōji's queen, who came from the Rāthod family became a *sati* at the death of her husband on Thursday, the second of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1699 or Śaka 1565.

The king Rājōji, mentioned in the inscription was the younger brother of Sultānji mentioned in the Vānkāner inscription of v.s. 1679. He founded the Wadhwan house and his brother did the Vānkāner house.

## Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः स्वस्ति श्रीजयोमंग
- 2 लमभ्युदयश्च सं. १६९९ वरषे शाके १५
- 3 ६५ ( ४ ? ) वर्तमाने उत्तरायने गते श्रीमूर्ये वसंत
- 4 ऋतौ महामांगल्यप्रदमायोत्तम वैशाखमासे
- 5 शुक्लपक्षे २ गुरुवासरे महाराणा [ चंद्रसेनजी ]
- 6 तस्य भार्या बाई पु...सुत...[ पृथ्वीराजजी ]
- 7 ...जी तस्य भार्या बाई...तस्य सुत
- 8 श्रीराजोजी.....
- 9 श्री राजा राठोड श्री...सुत राठोड श्रीइ
- 10 सवरदासजी तस्य भार्या बाई हरषबाई तस्य सुता बाई
- 11 श्रीरामकुंहर सागवन कीधा सुमं भवतु क
- 12 लग्नमस्तु जयो मं...

## RAJASITHAPUR

No. 136]

v.s. 1700

[25-6-1644

This inscription is engraved on a white marble stone fixed in a niche of the Śiva temple near the temple of Lakshmī-Nārāyana in the town Rājsithāpur, formerly called simply Sithā in the Dhrāngdhra State. The inscription is very incorrectly engraved. It measures 12½" by 20".

It opens with the date, Tuesday, the second day of the bright half of Āśādhā of v.s. 1700 or Śaka 1566 and refers to the rule of the Emperor *Shah Jehan* (of Delhi) and of the king AMARSIMHAJI, son of Māhārāja CANDRA-

SENA of Zālāvād with his capital at Halvad, when Libaḍa Goīā (?) of Paramāra family at Sīthā caused temples of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Hanumān to be built.

The epithet छत्रपति used with Shahajehan in this inscription deserves to be noted. It is well known that Śivaji began to use this epithet just about this time.

*Text*

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीहरीहर नमः स्वरसती
- 2 अनमः ॥ संवत् १७०० वर्षे शाके १५६६
- 3 प्रवर्त्तमाने उत्तरायणे आषाढ सु
- 4 द २ घटीका ६ २५ तदोपरांत द्वितीयायं पुष्य
- 5 तिथि भोमवासुरे पुष्यनक्षत्र घटी ५० २४
- 6 हरिषण नम्रजोग घटीका २५ ३५ ते दन प्रासा
- 7 द सांपुरण श्रीहरीहरन प्रासाद हणमतन
- 8 प्रसाद उधार की[ध] परीआ एकोतरस्य अद्या
- 9 रा (?) छत्रपती पतसाहा श्रीसाहाजांन देस
- 10 पती श्रीभोमपालक झालावाड श्रीहलवदे मा
- 11 हाराणं श्रीचंद्रसेनना सूत वजराज श्रीअमरसंघजी
- 12 जेहना रजपुत श्रीसीथामां परमारश्रीलीबडसवा
- 13 सुत चदा सुत वीभा सुत लीबडमुंगल सुत हलधर
- 14 ग्रहे भारजा तु अरमेधबाई सुत लीबडजमल संघ
- 15 ना झब अजमल ग्रहे भारजा अभकलहाअना डोडी
- 16 आंणी अनबाई सुत चार ४ तेमां लीबडगोई....
- 17 करावु गोईआग्रहे भारजा सुकलना राठड...बा
- 18 ई जलमदे तस पुत्री अमलाबाई दूतीए...भार
- 19 जा सीधववालमदे बाई[ दू ]तीए भारजा चाअडा
- 20 भातु बाई तस पुत्र सबल अरजन समभवतु
- 21 देरान करनार गजधर रामजी आणंद प्रेमाभाई

BEYT

No. 137]

v.s. 1702 ?

[1645-46

This inscription is found near the ruined tank called Juni Sankhatalai in the small island called Beyt Sankhoddhār near Dwarka. It measures about 16" by 11".

In the third line the name Vikramasinha is given probably of the king of the place, who fought with the enemies for the protection of women, children and other people. The object of the inscription seems to record the death of a man, who fell in the fight in v.s. 1702 (?).

*Text*

- 1 संवत् [ १७०२ ] वर्षे...
- 2 ...लकरणे प्रतिब...



- 3 म० श्रीविक्रमसीह...
- 4 ...स्त्रीबालादिप्रजारक्षार्थं
- 5 ...राज० [ षीमाणदेव ? ]...
- 6 ...घणाणीआ....
- 7 मृतः ॥ शुभं भवतु ।

## KHĀRVĀ

No. 138]

v.s. 1715.

[8-5-1659

This inscription is found in a well to the west of the village Khārvā, three miles to the south-east of Dhrol. The inscribed portion measures 1'.5" in length and 1' in breadth.

It records that on Sunday, the thirteenth of the dark half of Vaisākha in v.s. 1715 in the reign of the Jādejā king Janaji, evidently of Dhrol, a well was built in Khārvā a village dedicated to the god Śiva by Bhānji, Ganga-dāsa and Karama, sons of Patel Ratnā at the total cost of 1250 *koris*.

## Text

- 1 संवत १७१५ वर्षे वैसाख
- 2 वद १३ रवौ जाडेजा श्रीजणजी
- 3 ना राज अवीचलप० रतना स
- 4 त भणज तथा सत गगदास क
- 5 रमण दाव करावी छ सदासी
- 6 वग्राम षाखा क ८२५ क
- 7 डीआ देवराज चण ४२५ षर्चा
- 8 छे १२५० । श्री

## SHEKHAPĀT

No. 139]

v. s. 1719

[16-2-1663

These two inscriptions are copied from two *pālīs*, raised in a *deri* in the village Śekhapat in the Jamnagar State.

Both the inscriptions are of the same date. The first records the death in a fight at ŚEKHAPĀT of Jām RĀJASIMHJI on Monday, the third day of the dark half of Phālguna in v.s. 1719 or (Śaka 1584). The other inscription records the death in the same battle of Kumāra BĀMAṆIYĀJI, son of Jām RĀJASIMHJI by his wife Cāpjabai.

At the death of Jām Ranmalji in v.s. 1717 without any issue his brother Raisinhji, who was staying at Āmarana succeeded to the *gādi*; but Ranmalji's widow did not like this. Through her brother she invited Kutubuddin, the subā of Ahmedabad to invade Nawanagar. In the fight that ensued Jam Raisinhji was slain as stated in the inscription, and Nawanagar fell into the hands of the subā.

## Text

( १ )

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः संवत् १७१९
- 2 वर्षे शाके १५८४ प्रवर्तमाने रवि
- 3 उत्तरायने गते श्रीसूर्ये शिशिर
- 4 कृता महामांगल्यप्रद मसो
- 5 तम फलशुभासे कृष्णपक्षे तृति
- 6 यां तथौ वारे श्रीसोमवासरे त दि
- 7 ने जामश्री ७ राजसिंहजी रणे
- 8 भूमे शेषपात युधे मृतं स्वर्ग प्रा
- 9 तः श्रीशुभं भवतु श्री
- 10 कल्याणमस्तु [ १\* ]

( २ )

- 1 श्रीगणेशायनमः संवत् १७१९
- 2 वर्षे शाके १५८४ प्रवर्तमाने र
- 3 वि उत्तरायने गते श्रीसूर्ये शि
- 4 शिरस्तौ महामांगल्यप्रद
- 5 मासोत्तम फाल्गुणमासे क
- 6 ण्णपक्षे त्रितियायां तिथौ श्री
- 7 सोमवासरे तदिने जामश्री ७
- 8 राजसिंहजी तस्य जाई बाई श्री
- 9 चापजी तत्सुत कुअरश्री ५ बाम
- 10 गियाजी रणभूमे युधं कृत्वा स्व
- 11 र्ग प्राप्तः श्रीशुभं भवतु ।

## BEYT

140]

v.s. 1720

[9-1-1664

This inscription is copied from a *pālīā* standing in front of the temple of the new Śankhanārāyaṇa temple in Beyt. It records the death, of Rānā Akherājaji, son of Rānā Sangrāmji, evidently the Vāḍhel Rānā of Aramdā and Beyt, in v.s. 1720 Bhādarava Sud 1.

## Text

- 1 संवत् १७२० भाद्रवा
- 2 सुद १ राणा संग्रामजी सुत
- 3 राणा आखेरजजी मरण पाम्या

## AṆINDARĀ

No. 141]

v. s. 1721

[10-5-1665

This inscription is engraved on a white stone built up in the Bhāṇa well in the village Aṇidarā in its western part, at a distance of 8 miles to the north of Wadhwan. It measures 11" in height and 8½" in breadth.

It records the building of a well in v.s. 1721 (or Śaka 1587) on Wednesday the 6th of the bright half of Jyēṣṭha, by Bhān̄ji of the Jhālā family, who was son of Lakhmanji, son of Khetāji, son of Sādalji, son of Āsoji, son of Jodhāji. Bhān̄ji's mother was Bai Lāchu, daughter of Rānā Nāran̄ji, son of Bhavān̄ji, son of Moṅguji, and his wife was Pārvasī. His three sons were named Sādalji, Vāghalji, and Hamirji.

*Text*

- 1 श्रीगणेशायनमः स्वस्त श्री जय
- 2 मंगलाभ्युदधी संवत १७२१ वर
- 3 षे साके १५८७ प्रवर्तमाने उत्त
- 4 रायने गते श्रीसूर्य ग्रह
- 5 ऋतौ महामंगल्यप्रदमासो
- 6 तम जषमास सुवलपक्ष अय ष
- 7 ष्टदीन बधवासरे राजक
- 8 लभालीय [ श्री ]झाला राणा सुत जो
- 9 धाजी सुत आसोजी सुत सादाल
- 10 जी सुत घताजी सुत लषमणजी
- 11 सुत भाणजी भारजा बाई पार
- 12 वती सुत सादलजी तथा वाघ
- 13 जी तथा हमीरजी, मसालपक्ष रा
- 14 णा श्रीमंगुजी सुत भवनजी सु
- 15 त नारणजी सुत बाई लाळुंबाई
- 16 सुत वाघेला भुआली वाघेला भा
- 17 णजी कुओ संपुरण कर छे
- 18 लखतंग गोकल सलाट दसकत

HALVAD

No. 142]

v.s. 1722

[29-1-1666

This inscription is copied from one of the *pālīs* standing near the thirty-six pillared *deri* in Halvad.

It records the death of Gohel Lākhāji who was son of Āsāji by his wife Potbai and grandson of Gohel Chachāji on the eighth day of the bright half of Āśvina in v.s. 1722, while fighting on behalf of Mahārānā Gajasimhji, evidently the Zālā ruler of Halvad, who reigned from 1661 to 1673 A.D.

*Text*

- 1 सब १७२२ आसा शुद्ध
- 2 ८ दने गोहल छछाजी सु
- 3 त आसाजी भारया
- 4 पोतबाई शुद्ध गो

- 5 हेल लषाजी महाराण
- 6 श्री गजशंघजीने कांमा आ
- 7 वा छ.

## MULI

No. 143]

v.s. 1735

[14-8-1679

This inscribed *pālīa* is standing in the *pādar* of Muli. It records that Pāṭhak Dhanji son of Lilā stabbed himself to death on hearing of the death of Paramāra Visāji, on Thursday, the second of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1735.

This Visāji (or Visoji) is probably the youngest brother of Bhojrājji II, the Paramāra ruler of Mūli. (see Kathiawad Gazetteer p. 556).

## Text

- 1 स्वस्त श्रीसंवत् १७३५ वर
- 2 षे भ्रावण वद २ गुरुवासरे पा
- 3 ठक लीलासुत पाठक ध
- 4 नजीअे कटारी परमार
- 5 वीसाजीने (?) उवरे गले भा
- 6 जी छे हरीशरण थया
- 7 छे

## BEYT

No. 144]

v.s. 1738

[31-5-1682

The *pālīa* bearing the following inscription is standing half buried in the ground near Lakṣmīji's *vakhār* in Beyt Śankhoddhar. It has the sculpture of a king riding on a horse and with a sword in his raised right hand. The saddle, the reins and the ornaments of the horse are very exquisitely carved. Behind the king is standing a servant holding an umbrella over the king's head. The inscribed portion, which measures  $16\frac{1}{2}'' \times 15''$  is illegible in the lower portion.

It records the death of Rāṇā Bhīma, most probably a Vāḍhel king, on the fifth day of the bright half Jeṭha in v.s. 1738.

## Text

- 1 : ॥ संवत् १७३८ वर
- 2 षे जेठ शुद्ध ५ दीने रा
- 3 णा श्री ७ भीमजी
- 4 ...श्री: श्री

## GADHAKĀ

No. 145]

v.s. 1740

[20-10-1683

This inscribed *pālīa* was found in the village Gadhakā. It records the death of Sutār Parbat while fighting against the VĀGHERS in GADHAKĀ

along with Jāḍejā Kuberji, on the 11th day of the bright half of Kārtika of v.s. 1740.

Nothing is known of Kuberji. He seems to be a *bhāyāt* of the royal family of Nawanagar.

*Text*

- 1 संवत् १७४० वर्षे कार्तिक सु
- 2 दि ११ दने सुतार परबत गढका भू
- 3 मधे वाघेरो साथे मामलो थाते जाडेजा
- 4 श्री कुबेरजी पासे देवातन पा मा छे
- 5 साष श्रीसूरजनी देवातन पा

MALIA (Miyāṇā)

No. 146]

v.s. 1740

[12-11-1683

This inscription is copied from one of the two *pālias* standing near the Kaṇabi Nākā in Mālīā (Miyāṇā), the capital of a fourth class state in Kathiawad. The inscribed portion engraved in bad Gujarati characters, measures 1'-3" by 1'-1".

The inscription states that on Monday, the third of the bright half of Māgasar in v.s. 1740 Mehetā Virji Vachāni was slain while defending the town Mālīā against the armies of the Zālā (king) Candrasālji (i.e. Candrasingji) in the time of Jāḍejā Ravāji.

Jāḍejā Ravāji must be the brave son of Rao Rāyadhanji of Kachha, who conquered Morvi from the Nabab of Junagadh, and was looking after the government in the time of his old father. He was murdered by his brother Prāgmalji. His son Kāyāji afterwards became the founder of the Morvi State. Zālā Candrasālji, was most probably Candrasingji, the powerful ruler of Vankaner.

*Text*

- 1 संवत् १७४० वाराषे मागस
- 2 र सुद ३ समे म० वीरजी व
- 3 छाणी गामने काम अव छे ज
- 4 डजा श्रीरवज न वरम झा
- 5 ल चंद्रसलजन कट
- 6 टक अवतार मरा छ
- 7 मज मलअन कम अ
- 8 व छ ।

MAVĀṆA

No. 147]

v. s. 1745.

[1-2-1689.

This inscription is copied from a *pālia* standing in the northern part of the village Mavāṇā, in the Khambhālīa Mahal of the Nawanagar State.

It records the death of the Pinḍāria Rāpā in a fight with the Vāghers on Friday, the seventh of the dark half of Māgha in v.s. 1745.

*Text*

- 1 संवत १७४५ वरषे माहा वदी ७ श्रुके पी.
- 2 डारीयो राणो वाघेर साथे मामलो थीओ
- 3 तीहां देवतन पामो छे. साष श्रीसूरजनी ।

BĀDI

No. 148]

v. s. 1748

[22-11-1691.

This inscribed *palia* is standing by the side of the river near the village Bāḍi in the Goghā Taluka, in the south-east of Kathiawad. The inscribed portion measures 8" by 9".

It records the death of Rāval Sūrsimhji son of Rāval Jīvanji and grand-son of Rāval Sārangji, on the 12th day of the bright half of Māgasar in v.s. 1748, while fighting against the Muhammedan armies under DAUDKHAN. Sursimhji was the sister's son of Vāghelā Bhārāji Makundji, and the nephew of Rāval Śatruśalyaji and Hamirji.

The Rāval Śatruśalyaji mentioned in the record was for some time the ruler of Sikar but was ousted by Ākherājji, after which he was granted the *tapa* of Bhaṇḍāria. His younger brother Hamirji conquered Kukad from the Ahir and founded the village Dihor.

The inscription was once published in the Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawad on p. 166.

*Text*

- 1 संवत १७४८ वरषे मागशर शद १२ दने राओल
- 2 शारंजी शुत राअल जीवणजी शुत राओ
- 3 ल शुरसंघजी, वाघेला भाराजी मकंद
- 4 जीना भाणेज, तरक सीदी दादधाननी
- 5 फोज शामा लढी मुआ...राअल शतरश
- 6 लजी तथा हमीरजीना भतरीजा

JHINJUVĀDĀ

No. 149]

v. s. 1748.

[9-5-1692.

This inscribed *palia* is found in Jhinjhuvādā, a very old and historically important town which is situated at a distance of one mile to the east of the little *Ran* of Kaccha, and sixteen miles north of Khārāghoḍā Railway Station.

The record opens with the date, Monday, the third of the bright half of Jetha of v.s. 1748 and mentions the names of Mahārānā GAJASIMHAJI son of SABALASIMHJI, son of JESĀ, who was son of HAMIR. The name of the son of Gajasimhji and the further portion of the inscription is illegible.

## Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशायनमः संवत् १७४८ व
- 2 पें जेठ सद ३ सोमे रा श्रीहमीर
- 3 सुत रा श्री जेसा सुत राअ कुअर
- 4 श्रीसबलसंघजी सुत माहाराण
- 5 श्रीगजसंघजी सुत कूअर
- 6 . . . . .

## HALVAD

No. 150]

v. s. 1749.

[5-5-1693.

This inscription is copied from a *pālīa* standing near the thirty-six pillared *deri* at Halvad.

The inscription records that *Gohel Vasāji* son of *Gohel Karanji* by his wife *Jivibai*, and grandson of *Gohel Govindji* was slain in a battle while fighting on behalf of *Mahārāṇā Jasvantsimhji*, on the tenth day of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* in v.s. 1749.

*Mahārāṇā Jasvantsimhji* was the *Zālā* ruler of Halvad, who ruled from 1683 to 1723 A.D.

## Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः संवत् १७
- 2 ४९ ना वैशाख शु. १० गोहेल गो
- 3 विदजी सुत करणजी भार्या बा
- 4 ई जीविबाई सुत गोहेल वसा
- 5 जी महाराणा श्रीजसवतसं
- 6 घर्जीने काम आव्या छे ।

## KHAMBHALLIA

No. 151]

v. s. 1749

[5-5-1693.

This inscription is engraved on a *pālīa* raised in one of the *Deris* to the north of the temple of *Khambhanātha Mahādeva* in *Khambhālīā* in the *Nawanagar State*. It records that a *Gugali Brahman* woman named *Lād-bai* became *sati* at the death of her husband, *Śankar Raghunātha* on the 10th day of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* in v.s. 1749 (or *Śāka* 1615).

## Text

- 1 संवत् १७४९ वर्षे शाके १६१५ प्रवर्त
- 2 माने वैशाखसे शुक्लपक्षे द
- 3 शमी तिथौ गुगलीज्ञातीय जो
- 4 सी रघुनाथसुत शंकर तेजे शिव
- 5 उपर कमलपूजा पाथी छे तेम
- 6 ला ( ना ) स्त्री लाडवाईए सहगम
- 7 न कीधुं छे ॥...

## GOPANĀTHA

No. 152]

v. s. 1750.

[25-6-1694.

This inscription, measuring 7" in length and breadth is found in the well to the north-west of the celebrated temple of Gopanātha in the possession of the Maharaja of Bhavnagar.

The inscription records that a well was built by a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmacāri named Ānanda on Monday, the twelfth of the bright half of Āṣāḍha in v.s. 1750. The political connection of the Marāṭhās with the province had not yet begun.

*Text*

- 1 श्रीसदाशिवाय नमः
- 2 संवत् १७५० वरषे अ
- 3 श्राढ सु. १२ सोमवास
- 4 रे दक्षिणी माराष्ट्र
- 5 ब्रह्मचारी आनंद
- 6 विष्णुप्रसादात् गो
- 7 पीनाथ कुपास्थकी वा
- 8 पी संपूर्ण शुभं भवतु

(To be Continued.)



## NOTES OF THE MONTH

It is proposed to present a *Volume of Studies in Indology* to Prof. P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M. of Bombay in appreciation of his services to the several branches of Sanskrit learning, on 7th May 1941, when he will be completing his 61st year. A representative committee of Indian scholars was organized early in May 1940 to carry out the work of the proposed volume under the chairmanship of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., P.H.D. The editors of the *New Indian Antiquary* are the Editors of the above volume, while the work of publication of the volume has been undertaken by Dr. N. G. SARDESAI, L.M. & S. the enterprising Proprietor of the *Oriental Book Agency, 15 Shukrawar Peth, Poona 2 (India)*. Numerous representative contributions to the above volume have already been received by the Editors and the printing of the volume is proceeding apace. Scholars and libraries wishing to register their orders for copies of the volume may write to the Oriental Book Agency.

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With effect from August 1940 the University of Bombay started the publication of their official organ viz. the *Bombay University Bulletin* of which two quarterly issues for August and November 1940 have already appeared. This organ "will give news of the University and of the Colleges, Schools and other institutions affiliated to or otherwise connected with it. It will also maintain contact with the general public."

It is now more than eighty years since the Bombay University began to function as a small examining body. "It has now become one of the biggest Universities in India combining teaching and examining functions and offering courses of study in a variety of subjects, cultural, scientific and technical". These remarks of Mr. R. P. MASANI, M.A., the present Vice-Chancellor of the University introducing the first number of the *Bulletin* are quite apposite. We also note with satisfaction the declared aim of the University "to take the University to the door of the public" by keeping in touch with the general life of the people and by expanding the scope of its influence with a view to maintain close contact with the literary, professional, industrial and commercial organizations functioning within the sphere of its operations.

The two issues of the *Bulletin* before us contain varied matter under such headings as (1) Editorial Notes, (2) Obituary Notices, (3) University News, (4) Elections, Nominations and Appointments, (5) Ordinances and Regulations, (6) Inter-University Board Discussions, (7) Excerpts from Convocation Address, (8) Programme of Examinations, (9) Prize competitions, (10) News about Colleges, Schools, other Universities, (11) News of general interest etc. The information supplied under the above headings is useful so far as it goes to the University and its affiliated institutions etc. but the news supplied under these headings has no immediate bearing on the general life of the people and hence it cannot create interest in the general public not closely connected with the inner working of the University. If the *Bulletin* is "to attract the attention of the general public" as stated by the Vice-Chancellor it must not be a mere Gazette of University activities but should contain some section of educative value to the general public. We feel confident that our present scholar Vice-Chancellor will be able to combine in the *Bulletin* both the official news and educative matter for the student and the general public respectively so as to make the University loved and respected by all sections of the educated public.

# PARAMĀRTHASĀRA OF ĀDIŚEṢA

By

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, Madras.

I

param parasyāḥ prakṛter anādim<sup>1</sup> ekam niviṣṭam bahudhā guhāsu |  
sarvālayam sarva-carā-'carastham tvām eva viṣṇum<sup>2</sup> śaraṇam  
prapadye ||

## TRANSLATION

I

O Viṣṇu, who art more primal than primal nature (as responsible for the reality and manifestation alike of the latter),\* who art beginningless and one, (yet art many as it were since thou) hast entered in manifold forms the caves (which are impenetrable, since they are fragments of the indeterminable and hence imponderable māyā), who art the substrate of all (as their ground, accounting for their existence and manifestation), who art present in all, movable and immovable, Thee alone (who art ever immediately present as the Self) do I seek as refuge.

## NOTES

I

The invocatory verse introduces the reader to Brahman in both the saguṇa and nirguṇa aspects. The very appellation, Viṣṇu, indicates the saguṇa aspect. This same Viṣṇu, who is sought after as the refuge, is also the absolute substrate of the world, movable and immovable. Material diversity can no doubt be reduced to and understood as an evolution from homogeneous primal matter, prakṛti, as it is called in the Sāṅkhya system and also in the present manual. But matter being non-conscious and inert requires to be manifested; else it would not be cognised at all. Being non-intelligent, it has to be guided in its evolution by intelligence (caitanya). Further, it will be seen on inquiry that the acit depends on cit for its very existence, not merely for its manifestation. For, assuming an ultimate dualism of cit and acit, opposed to each other, as subject and object, how can the former ever know the latter? Knowledge implies and requires an intimacy, an identification, which cannot be secured so long as subject and object are merely left over each against the other. The difficulty may be exhibited in many ways, but the following may suffice. When A is said to know B, is B wholly unknown to A or wholly known? Not the latter, since knowledge is always of the novel; in the case of the already wholly known, a knowing process will be merely re-iterative and purposeless; there will be really no knowledge. Nor is B the wholly unknown; we just had to note that the knowing process is purposeful; how can there be a purpose, a desire to know, formed in respect of the wholly unknown? Evidently, we have to compromise and treat B as partly known and partly unknown. But with this we are no nearer a solution, since the questions we raised will recur

\* The words in brackets in the translation are supplied here, as in the rest of the book, for the most part from the Commentary of Rāghavānanda (published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 12).

1. K : ...parastham gahanād anādim.

2. K : śambhum

with regard to each part. In relation to the part known there can be no knowledge while in relation to the other part there cannot be the desire to know. This latter desire seems indeed to be inconsistent both with knowledge and with ignorance. The difficulty is persistent and insurmountable, so long as knowledge is conceived as an external relation between a subject and an object. Is knowledge at all possible? Certainly. The self knows itself; it cannot doubt or deny itself, since it is the self of him who doubts or denies. But the self is self-luminous, it is not known as an object to a subject; it is itself knowledge, neither the object nor the subject thereof. Whatever is cognised succeeds in being cognised, only in so far as there is revealed its identity with the intelligence which is knowledge; and this could not be the case, if the object were really independent. It is because object and subject are both abstractions from the one intelligence, it is because both alike are super-impositions on the basic infinite identity, that the knowing relation is at all possible.

A relation exists either between independent terms or between related terms. If they be independent, the relation would require other relations to connect it to the terms; thus there would be infinite regress. If already related, are they related by this same relation? If so there is the defect of self-dependence. If by another relation, with regard to that too our inquiry will arise, leading again to infinite regress. Relation thus presupposes a non-relational substrate. And this substrate must be self-luminous intelligence, since the non-intelligent, as dependent on intelligence for manifestation, cannot be non-relational. Thus the basic reality has to be of the nature of intelligence which accounts for both the existence and manifestation of the non-intelligent, called primal nature or *māyā*. Hence it is that Viṣṇu is said to be more primal than primal nature.

The real, being non-relational, is beginningless and one. What is not a term in a relation cannot be a member of a temporal series. Time is in it, like other relations. If it had a beginning it would be an effect, whereas the causal relation itself is but an appearance superimposed on the real, as will be evident from its failure to be intelligible in the last resort. The causal concept seeks to make change intelligible by discovering the element of identity in the change. It is because of the importance of identity and continuity that the creationist view of the effect as wholly new is condemned by the followers of the Sāṅkhya, Vedānta and allied schools, who maintain that the effect is pre-existent in the cause, requiring only to be manifested and not created. But the advocates of the effect as pre-existent (*satkāryavāda*) do but postpone the difficulty. The effect that is manifested, does it pre-exist as manifest or as non-manifest? Obviously not the former. If it exists as non-manifest, does the manifestation make any difference to the effect or not? If not, it is irrelevant, and an irrelevant factor cannot avail to make a fundamental difference between cause and effect. If it does make a difference, then the manifested effect is not the same as the non-manifested one and there is no justification for treating the effect as pre-existent in the cause. Further, this identity we seek between cause and effect, has it any limits? The effect is something produced; if the cause should be of like nature, should it not also be something produced, i.e. an effect in its turn? If we admit this, we are committed to an unending series of causes and effects, with no chance of an ultimate explanation. If so much identity is not required, why should we not admit as much discreteness between cause and effect as is involved in the creationist's view that the effect, prior to production, is non-existent? Because of these and other such difficulties we hold that the real is beginningless.

It is also one, since for the reasons mentioned it is non-relational, and a plurality is necessarily in a relation at least of separation. The usual dialectic of difference takes the following form. Ultimate plurality is unintelligible, since apart from difference there can be no manifold. Difference cannot be conceived either as an

attribute of the particulars or as their very essence. If particulars A and B are distinct as having difference for their attribute, then we have to admit that, at least in so far as they have this attribute in common, they are identical, i.e., non-different. In other words, the attribute of difference in so far as it is really possessed by the alleged differents, makes them non-different; this is absurd. Further, the quality of difference, is this different or not from the particulars alleged to be different? If not different, we merge the quality in the substance; thus A would be identical with difference-of-A-from-B and B identical with difference-of-B-from-A; A in other words would be identical with B. If the quality is different from the particulars, we have interposed, between the particular and its difference, another difference; this again will be separated from the terms by another quality of difference and so on *ad infinitum*. Nor can difficulties be avoided by treating difference as the essence of the particulars. That whose very nature is difference cannot be *one*; the doctrine of difference as essential cannot therefore allow of the recognition of any unit, not even a primal atom, since this too should fall apart into distinct parts; similarly of its constituents *ad infinitum*; and in the absence of any unit, there can be no manifold either; the very insistence on difference serves to abolish difference.

Multiplicity, however, is not unreal; for it is immediately experienced; and what is unreal, like the barren woman's son, cannot be an object of immediate cognition. Nor can it be real, as we have seen, since it fails to stand analysis. It is experienced, yet it is sublated; what is real, like the self, can never be sublated. Diversity therefore can be neither real nor unreal. It is a product of Nescience (*māyā* or *avidyā*), which obscures the unity and projects a multiplicity.

Such obscuration and projection constitute error; and error refuses to admit of explanation in terms of the real or the unreal. The rope-snake cognition is not of the real; for then the snake should continue to be perceived for all time and by all people; sublation would be impossible. Nor is it of the unreal, since the unreal cannot be immediately apprehended; much less can it cause trepidation and flight. Two possible ways suggest themselves out of this *impasse*. One is to admit the reality of the content of the erroneous cognition, but not as cognised i.e., not here and now. The snake is real enough, but not as I perceive it, in the rope; it will be found in its own appropriate hole, ready to cause not only fear, but more serious damage to those who approach. What fails us in erroneous cognition, then, is not the content, but the mode. If we cognised the snake as in its hole and the silver as in the cash box, instead of perceiving them in the rope and in the nacre, there would be no delusion. Delusion is not the cognition of the unreal (*asat-khyāti*), but the cognition of the real as otherwise than it is (*anyathā khyāti*). Such a view has a good deal to commend it. It does not do violence by asking us to believe in immediate experience of the unreal. It is patently verified in those cases of delusion where there is a transference of properties because of proximity etc., e.g., in the erroneous cognition of a crystal as red, because of the proximity of a China rose; the crystal is real, but not as red, and redness is real, but not as a property of the crystal. In such cases, however, both constituents of the delusive cognition—the crystal and the red colour—are present before us, capable of immediate apprehension through sense-contact. But in the apprehension of nacre as silver, silver is not present here and now so as to be perceived; and yet there is immediate (*aparokṣa*) apprehension of the silver; for, we put out our hand to grasp it, and the inducement of such activity is intelligible only in the case of what is immediately apprehended. One may postulate some super-normal mode of sense-contact with even that which is not present. This, however, is an unproved and needless hypothesis. If its possibility be admitted for all, there would be no distinction between cognitions of the present and the not-present; if the capacity be restricted to a few, yogins and the like, the widespread phenomenon of delusion

would still have to be explained. Further, in the case of delusions, like the perception of a double moon, there is not a real second moon to serve as the content. Hence the admission of a real content, so long as it is not real here and now, does not go very far to solve our difficulty. And, if the content be real here and now, the cognition should not be erroneous.

The denial of error and the doctrine that all cognitions are valid constitute the other possibility. In what is called delusion one may distinguish a perceived and a remembered element; the glitter is perceived, the silverness is remembered. Either element is valid in itself and their mere combination cannot result in invalidity. What happens is that in the case of the remembered factor, the fact of its being a memory-impression is forgotten; its memory-ness is lost. We act as if the two factors are on a par; the result is error and confusion in practice (*vyavahāra*), though the cognition, as cognition, is all right. Such a valiant attempt to banish the elusive negative element deserves success, but does not achieve it. There is still the loss of memory-ness to be accounted for. A number of causes may be postulated, e.g., passion, fear, greed, sense-defect, etc.; but the essential feature is still negative, a loss. To what does this negative element correspond in cognition? It will not avail to say that the negation and failure belong only to the realm of practice, not to cognition. We fail when we put out our hand to grasp the silver; but did we apprehend it *as silver* before the activity in question? If not, then, that and other similar acts would be unintelligible, not being prompted by the only adequate cause, viz., immediate cognition of the appropriate content. If, on the other hand, there is apprehension *as silver*, the negative element has entered into the cognition itself and coloured it. It can no longer be maintained that, while the cognition is valid, practice alone is faulty. Non-discrimination (*akhyāti*) is not merely a conative but also a cognitive defeat; and we have still to account for this defeat without admitting the reality or the unreality of the content.

Another variety of the last-mentioned view maintains that all cognitions are valid, since all contents are so mixed up in the course of evolution by quintuplication of the elements,\* that every object contains in itself in fractions however small the natures of all other things. Where nacre is recognised as silver, the former contains in itself some infinitesimal amount of silver; as relating to this the cognition is valid, though as referring to a larger quantity of silver, it fails us in practice. It is not that the silver-cognition has any unreal content; the content is real though practically inadequate. Here too the negative factor is not suitably accounted for. Our cognition is of silver, not of infinitesimal silver; in the latter case, practical activity would not result. The real content (admitting quintuplication which is only a hypothesis) falls far short of the cognition; and the inadequacy is not merely practical; the negative element enters into the cognition and calls for explanation.

It is because of such difficulties that the advaitin postulates *māyā* or *avidyā* to explain error. Error has a content; but, for the reasons already noted, the content cannot be characterised as real (*sat*) or unreal (*asat*). Nor can it be a combination of the two, as that is self-contradictory. The content is *māyā*, which, not being exclusively determinable as real or unreal or real-and-unreal, is said to be imponderable, indeterminable (*anirvācya*), and spoken of as a cave.

\* A process wherein each of the five elements is divided into two parts, and one of the parts subdivided into four, before there is intermixture and the production of the things as we know them; thus, one half of the earth-element combines with an eighth each of water, air, fire and ether before there results what we know as earth; similarly, one half of the water-element combines with an eighth each of earth, air, fire and ether; and so on. As a result, every object of cognition has in its composition fractional elements of all other objects; hence no cognition can wholly fail of its content.

## II

ātmāmburāśau nikhilo 'pi loko magno 'pi nā 'cāmati ne 'kṣate ca |  
āścaryam etan mṛga-tṛṣṇikābhe bhavāmburāśau ramate mṛṣai 'va<sup>1</sup> ||

## III

garbha-gr̥ha-vāsa-sambhava-janma-jarā-maraṇa-viprayogā-'bdhau |  
jagad ālokyā nimagnam prāha gurum prāñjaliḥ śiṣyaḥ<sup>2</sup> ||

## IV

tvam sāṅga-veda-vettā bhetṭā<sup>3</sup> saṁśaya-gaṇasya ṛta-vaktā<sup>4</sup> |  
saṁsārā-'ṛṇava-taraṇa-praśnam<sup>5</sup> pṛcchāmy aham bhagavan ||

## II

The entire world (of conscious beings), though plunged in the ocean of Self, sips it not, nor even glances at it; (yet) it delights but delusively in the mirage-presented waters of migratory existence; lo! mysterious is this.

## III

Seeing the world sunk in the ocean, consisting of entry into the womb, birth, old age, death and parting, a certain disciple (desirous of knowing the real, approached and) said thus to a preceptor, with folded hands.

## IV

Thou art the knower of the Vedas together with their aṅgas, the destroyer of the host of doubts (about the sense of the Scriptures), and the expounder

This nescience is collectively one; but each individual empirical self (jīva) has his own limiting adjunct, that is to say, his particular bit of nescience. Else when one slept all would sleep; and on the release of one, there would be universal release. Hence the reference in the verse to 'caves' in the plural.

The self-luminous single intelligence that is the substrate of diversity and the inner ruler of the apparently finite and multiple jīvas, is here addressed as Viṣṇu, since it is all-pervasive; because of this pervasiveness it is ever present; hence the appropriateness of appealing to Viṣṇu as the sole refuge.

## II

The first verse states the nature of the Self, the second verse that of matter or the non-self (Prakṛti). It is thus indicated that what is commenced here is the inquiry for discriminating puruṣa from prakṛti. The terminology and approach are characteristic of the Sāṅkhya system. Hence the plausibility of the ascription of the work to Patañjali.

## III

This verse indicates the qualifications of the disciple—that through merit and study he should have learnt to distinguish the permanent from the impermanent, know that the apparent worldly pleasures do but occasion misery, turn away from them, desire to know the real Self alone, and possess the Scripturally declared qualifications of self-restraint, contentment, capacity to bear up against physical ills, desire for release &c. Such a one looks for a preceptor in a jīvan-mukta, and approaching him in the prescribed manner asks as follows.

1. This and the preceding verse are not found in *B*, *P* or *V*; nor does *K* have any verse to correspond to this.

2. This is the first verse in *P*.

3. *P*: chettā (v. 2)

4. *P*: ṛtam vaktā (v. 2)

5. *P*: taraṇam praśnam (v. 2)

## V

dirghe 'smin saṃsāre saṃsarataḥ kasya kena sambandhaḥ |  
karma śubhā-'śubha-phaladam<sup>1</sup> anubhavati (nu)<sup>2</sup> gatā-'gatair iha kaḥ ||

## VI

karma-guṇa-jāla-baddho jīvaḥ saṃsarati kośakāra iva |  
mohā-'ndhakāra-gahanāt tasya katham bandhanān mokṣaḥ ||

## VII

guṇa-puruṣa-vibhāga-jñe dharmā-'dharmau na bandhakau<sup>3</sup>  
bhavataḥ |  
iti gadita-pūrva-vākyaḥ prakṛtim puruṣam ca me brūhi<sup>4</sup> ||

of the Truth. To thee, O, revered one, I put this question relating to crossing over the ocean of migratory existence.

## V—VII

For him who migrates in this limitless saṃsāra (migratory existence), whereby is there relation thereto? Who is it that by passing and repassing here (in these three worlds) experiences the karma that gives fruit, auspicious and inauspicious? Who is the jīva that migrates (as some say) bound in the aggregate of karma and guṇa (sattva, etc.), like a silkworm ['spider' says the commentary] in a cocoon [web?] made of filaments of its own creation? How, for him, is there release from bondage which is difficult to overcome, being of the nature of the intense darkness of delusion? For him who knows the distinction between puruṣa and the guṇas, how is it that merit and demerit are not causes of bondage? Along with (the answers to) these questions, tell me about prakṛti and puruṣa.

## IV

The 'aṅgas' are the well-known subsidiary disciplines, viz., Phonetics, Liturgy, Grammar, Prosody, Etymology and Astronomy. The "Truth" is the real Self expounded in the entire Vedānta and denoted by terms like Bhagavān and Brahman.

## V—VII

The Self is self-luminous intelligence; it is pervasive and infinite. What is it then that is subject to transmigration? Self-certitude belongs to my existence, while it is my own self that appears to be bound to suffering. How is this intelligible? If the suffering be said to be an appearance due to māyā that is constituted of the guṇas (strands, constituents) sattva, rajas and tamas, how is one to account for the association of the self with māyā? It may be set down to karma, i.e. the activity of the Self, and its consequences proximate and remote, patent and latent. But why should the perfect Self act at all? It has no needs to satisfy, no motives to prompt, no desires to fulfil. Activity must be due to avidyā, while the association with avidyā has itself to be accounted for by activity (karma). Assuming that the association has somehow come about (unintelligibility, the advaitin would claim, is an ornament, not a defect in the case of avidyā),

1. P: *phalam* (v. 3).

3. P: *bandhakau na* (v. 5).

2. P: reads "anubhavati" without the emendation suggested by the editor of T.

4. P: *iti gaditam prakṛtim puruṣam ca me brūhi* (v. 5).

## VIII

ity ādhāro<sup>1</sup> bhagavān prṣṭaḥ śiṣyeṇa tam sa ho'vāca |  
viduṣām apy atigahanam vaktavyam idam śṛṇu tathā 'pi tvam |

## IX

satyam iva jagad asatyam mūlaprakṛter idam<sup>2</sup> kṛtam yena |  
tam praṇipatyō 'pendram vakṣye paramārthasāram idam<sup>3</sup> ||

## X

avyaktād aṇḍam<sup>4</sup> abhūd aṇḍād brahmā tataḥ prajā-sargaḥ |  
māyā-mayī pravṛttiliḥ saṁhriyata iyaṁ<sup>5</sup> punaḥ kramaśaḥ ||

## VIII

The revered one, the support (of the world, i.e., Ādiśeṣa), being thus questioned by the disciple, said to the latter : This which is to be expounded to you is difficult even for the learned (to comprehend) ; yet (I shall expound it to you ; ) listen !

## IX

I shall expound this *Paramārthasāra*, after rendering obeisance to Upendra (Viṣṇu), by whom, because of primal nature (i.e., his own energy), this non-real world is created, as if it were real.

## X

From the unmanifest (as subjected to the glance of the Supreme Person) arose the Cosmic Germ ; from the Germ (arose) Brahmā ; thence (resulted

how can this whose origins are indeterminable have an assured end? What is the certainty of release? If you appeal to the evidence of persons alleged to have found release, the jīvanmuktas, how is it that they continue to live and act among us, in spite of their reported release? Will not action serve to bind them afresh? If not, whence their immunity? Such is the string of questions put by the reverent but inquisitive disciple.

The word *guṇa* is used here, as in Sāṅkhya texts, to signify a constituent, not a quality. It is possible that the usage primarily derives from a doctrine according to which the qualities themselves constitute the substance, instead of inhering in 'a something I know not what' as their substrate. Such a view is clearly enunciated and defended by the Śaiva Siddhāntin.\* However this may be, consistently with the general Sāṅkhya approach, our present text uses 'guṇa' in the sense of a constituent.

## X

The Vedānta agrees with the Sāṅkhya in recognising a primal non-differentiated matter wherefrom the manifold evolves. The former insists, however, on intelligent guidance of the evolution ; it is not a mere unconscious process, like the secretion of milk by the cow. Hence the commentator's reference to the "glance

\* See further an article by the present writer on 'Substance and Attribute in the Śaiva Siddhānta' *JORM*, VIII, 97.

1. *P* : kṣityādhāro ; in the reckoning of this text, this is the sixth verse ; the second verse in *K* uses the words "ādhāram bhagavantam", which are explained by a commentator, Yoga Muni, as referring to Śeṣa.

2. *P* : omits "idam" (v. 7).

3. This verse is cited in *LM*, p. 280.

4. The corresponding verse in *K* mentions four aṇḍas (aṇḍacatuṣṭaya) ; this is verse 1 in *B* and *V*.

5. *P* : māyā-mayaḥ kalpānte saṁhriyate (v. 8),



## XI

māyā-mayo 'py acetā<sup>1</sup> guṇa-karaṇa-gaṇaḥ<sup>2</sup> karoti karmāṇi |  
tadadhiṣṭhātā dehī sa cetano 'pi na karoti kiñcid api<sup>3</sup> ||

## XII

yadvad acetanam api san-nikaṣṭhe bhrāmake bhrāmati loham |  
tadvat karaṇa-samūhaś ceṣṭati<sup>4</sup> cidadhiṣṭhite dehe<sup>5</sup> ||

the creation of beings (movable and immovable) ; the activity (of the Creator) is of the nature of māyā ; this (creation) is again re-absorbed in (reverse) sequence.

## XI

The aggregate of guṇa and karaṇa (i.e., the body), which is a product of māyā ( as inspired by Īśvara), though non-conscious, performs deeds (good, bad and mixed) ; the controller thereof, the embodied one (the jīva), though he is intelligence, performs no (deed) whatsoever (since activity involving a change of nature is impossible in the case of him who is of the sole nature of intelligence).

## XII

Just as iron, though inert, moves in the proximity of the lodestone, similarly, when the body is controlled by intelligence (through the adoption

of the Supreme Person" and the inspiration of Īśvara, in this verse and the next.

According to the commentary, the second line has to be rendered thus : this creative activity of the Person who has māyā for adjunct is briefly expounded in this sequence by the learned, e.g., "nārāyaṇaḥ paro 'vyaktād aṇḍam avyakta-sambhavam" etc.

## XI

Activity is characteristic of intelligence ; the non-intelligent, i.e., māyā, is *per contra* inert. But strangely enough, what we mean by activity in the empirical world is entirely a product of the body. It is the body which is born and dies, which longs and strives, which achieves and rejoices or is miserable ; all these are characteristic expressions of the guṇas—sattva, rajas and tamas—compounded in varying proportions, and manifest through their own products, the organs, internal and external, the antaḥkaraṇas and the indriyas ; spirit no doubt is active, but its functioning is free and not delimited in space and time, these latter being partial and defective manifestations of that intelligence. In that integral experience there is no distinction of cause or consequence, agent or act ; hence intelligence, though the controller of activity as the substrate thereof, cannot be treated as the agent.

How can the inert be active ? To this the answer is furnished in the next verse.

## XII

The analogy of iron and the lodestone is common to the Sāṅkhya too. The point of the comparison lies in the induction of change in what is proximate without any change in that which induces. The present text, however, goes a step further in treating intelligence as what is not merely proximate to, but is also the con-

1. P : acetano ; ninth verse in its reckoning.

2. V : gaṇam (v. 2) ; B : guṇa-kara-gaṇam.

3. V and B omit "api" (v. 2).

4. P : ceṣṭate (v. 10).

5. This verse corresponds to V-3 and B-3.

## XIII

yadvad savitary udite karoti karmāṇi jīvaloko 'yam |  
na ca tāni karoti ravir na kārayati tadvad ātmā 'pi<sup>1</sup> ||

## XIV

manaso 'haṅkāra-vimūrchitasya<sup>2</sup> caitanya-bodhitasye 'ha |  
puruṣā-'bhimāna-sukha-duḥkha-bhāvanā bhavati mūḍhasya ||

of misconceptions like 'I am a man'), the aggregate of the organs (i.e., the body) becomes active.

## XIII

Just as this world of living beings performs deeds when the sun rises, and it is not the sun that performs them or causes them to be performed, so too is the Self (not an agent in any way).

## XIV

Of these (māyā-products), for the manas, which has become the object of individuation (egoity) as illumined by intelligence (identified with manas),

troller of matter. Intelligence being infinite and pervasive, there is nothing wherefrom it is remote. Matter, for the advaitin, is not alien to spirit, but a superimposition on spirit, due to the failure of spirit to know itself; hence there is not for matter even as much foreignness as in systems like the Sāṅkhya. The problem which these systems have to face may be put thus: If mere proximity can induce matter to evolve, evolution would never cease and there would be no release (kai-  
valya), as the infinite spirit can never cease to be proximate; if some kind of control be admitted as necessary, it is not intelligible. What form of control could exist as between two wholly foreign entities? Some community of nature is necessary as between director and directed. The advaita concept of matter would thus seem to be in a more advantageous position. But here again it may be asked how matter can ever cease to evolve, inasmuch as spirit, to which matter is not foreign, is always, in proximity and presumably exercises control all the time. To that the reply is as follows: matter, which is neither real nor unreal, is proximate to spirit as a superimposition thereon; for superimposition there is needed identification of the self with the not-self; such identification is possible and actual because of beginningless nescience; what is called control by spirit consists just in this identification (appearing in such forms as 'I am a man, a brahmin, old, lame, blind of one eye,' etc.); this nescience is destroyed with the onset of knowledge, i.e., self-realisation; the control of matter as well as matter itself ceases therewith, and thenceforth there is neither evolution nor bondage. An obvious question is how the erroneous identification ever started; to which the equally obvious answer is that it did not ever start, as it is beginningless like time itself.

## XIII

The commentator says that what binds the Self to saṃsāra is the body, the puryaṣṭaka, composed of the following eight factors: (1) the five karmendriyas (2) the five Jñānendriyas, (3) the four beginning with manas, making up the internal organ, (4) the five vital airs, prāṇa etc., (5) the elements, ether etc., (6) kāma, (7) karma, and (8) tamas. The authority for this enumeration is not

1. This corresponds to V-4 and B-4.

2. P: mūrchitasya (v. 12); B: V.: dvārā murchitasya (v. 5).

## XV

kartā bhoktā draṣṭā 'smi<sup>1</sup> karmaṇām uttamādinām |  
iti<sup>2</sup>tat svabhāva-vimalo 'bhimanyate<sup>3</sup> sarvago 'py ātmā |

## XVI

nānā-vidha-varṇānām varṇam<sup>4</sup> dhatte yathā 'malaḥ sphaṭikaḥ<sup>5</sup> |  
tadvad upādher guṇabhāvitasya<sup>6</sup> bhāvam vibhur dhatte<sup>7</sup> ||

## XVI-A

ādarśe mala-rahite yadvad<sup>8</sup> rūpam vicinvate<sup>9</sup> lokāḥ |  
ālokeyati tathā 'tmā viśuddha-buddhau svam ātmānam<sup>10</sup> ||

there comes about, in the case of the foolish, the conceit of being a person,  
an enjoyer and a sufferer.

## XV

Therefore (because of this conceit), the Self, though pure and omnipresent by nature, entertains the conceit "I am a cogniser, I am the agent in respect of acts, good (i.e., enjoined by the Vedas) and otherwise, I am the experiencer (of the fruit)".

## XVI

Just as a clear crystal takes on the colours of diverse coloured objects (in proximity), even so the all-pervasive (Self) takes on the nature of the adjuncts produced by the guṇas (prakṛti).

## XVI-A

Just as people in the world look for (their own) form in a mirror free from impurity, even so does the Self look for itself in the pure intellect.

cited by name. There is some similarity to the enumeration in Bhoja's *Tattva-prakāśikā*, v. 12.

## XV

"Cognisanship" is mentioned before "agency" in the translation, in conformity with the logical order adopted in the commentary.

## XVI

The adjuncts are explained as the state of a divine being, a human being etc.; this is the sense of the second line of the corresponding verse in Abhinavagupta's work.

## XVI-A

Both in the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta, the intellect (buddhi), as essentially of the nature of Sattva, is considered capable of reflecting the Self. The Self in itself

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>B</i> , <i>V</i> : api (v. 6).                              | where, however, the latter half reads :       |
| 2. <i>V</i> and <i>B</i> omit "iti" (v. 6).                       | "suramānuṣa-paśu-pādapa-rūpatvam tad-         |
| 3. <i>B</i> : vimalābhimanyate (v. 6).                            | vad īso'pi."                                  |
| 4. <i>P</i> : varṇān (v. 14) <i>V</i> : varṇād                    | 8. <i>B</i> , <i>V</i> : yad (v. 10).         |
| (v. 7).   | 9. <i>B</i> , <i>V</i> : vicinute (v. 10).    |
| 5. <i>V</i> and <i>B</i> : sphaṭikam (v. 7).                      | 10. This verse is found in <i>P</i> , as      |
| 6. <i>P</i> : guṇato bhāvitasya (v. 14).                          | verse 17, not in <i>T</i> ; the corresponding |
| 7. Corresponds to verse 6 in <i>K</i> , verse in <i>K</i> reads : |   |
| ādarśe mala-rahite yadvad vadanam vibhāti tadvad ayam             |   |
| śivaśakti-pāta-vimale dhi-tattve bhāti bhā-rūpaḥ"                 |   |

## XVII

gacchati gacchati salile dinakara-bimbam<sup>1</sup> sthite sthitim yāti |  
 antaḥ-karaṇe gacchati gacchaty ātmā 'pi tadvad iha<sup>2</sup> ||

## XVIII

rāhur adṛśyo 'pi yathā śaśi-bimbasthaḥ prakāśate jagati |  
 sarva-gato 'pi tathā 'tmā buddhistho dṛśyatām eti<sup>3</sup> ||

## XIX

sarvagatam nirupamam<sup>4</sup> advaitam tac<sup>5</sup> cetasā gamyam |  
 yad buddhigatam brahmo 'palabhyate śiṣya bodhyam tat ||

## XVII

Here (in the world), the solar orb (reflected in water), moves (as it were) when the water moves, and attains quiescence (as it were) when (the water is) still ; similarly, the Self too (reflected in the internal organ) moves (as it were) when the internal organ moves (and attains quiescence as it were, when that organ is still).

## XVIII

Just as in the world, Rāhu, though invisible, becomes visible, as present in the lunar orb (it obscures), even so the Self, though omnipresent (and hence not an object), yet, as present in the intellect, comes to have visibility (i.e., the nature of an object of cognition).

## XIX

That Brahman which is present (as reflected) in the intellect and is consequently cognisable by the intellect (through the I-cognition), that should be understood to be omnipresent (unlimited in respect of space, time, or other entities), unparalleled (bliss), and non-dual (consciousness, devoid of the three kinds of difference).

is essential knowledge, without distinctions of knower, known and knowing. Where it is knower, it is so in respect of cognition, i.e. itself as reflected in the intellect.

## XVIII

The example of the perception of Rāhu is employed elsewhere by the advaitin with greater force and appropriateness to illustrate the cognition of nescience ; as non-intelligent it cannot manifest itself ; what can manifest is intelligence, which it obscures ; yet in the very process of obscurity there is manifestation of itself as obscuring.

## XIX

Difference may be from another belonging to a wholly distinct genus (vijātiya bheda) or only to another species (sajātiya bheda) ; or it may be a plurality in the entity itself (svagata bheda).

1. *K* : himakara-bimbam (v. 7). The verse corresponds to *V*-8 and *B*-8.  
 2. *K* : tanukaraṇa-bhuvana-varge 3. *B*, *V* : iti (v. 9).  
 tathā 'yam ātmā maheshānaḥ (v. 7).  
*K* : sarvagato 'py ayam ātmā viśayāśrayaṇena dhimukure || (v. 8).  
 4. *B*, *V* : *tannirupamam* (v. 11) 5. *P* : tac ca (v. 18) ; *V* (v. 11) ;  
*B* (v. 11).

## XX

buddhi-mano-'haṅkārās tanmātre-'ndriya-gaṇāś ca bhūtagaṇaḥ<sup>1</sup> |  
saṃsāra-sarga-parirakṣaṇa- kṣamā prakṛtā<sup>2</sup> heyāḥ ||

## XXI

dharmā-'dharmau sukha-duḥkha-kalpanā<sup>3</sup> svarga-naraka-vāśaś ca |  
utpatti-nidhana-varṇā-'śramā na santi 'ha paramārthe<sup>4</sup> ||

## XXII

mṛga-tṛṣṇāyām udakam śuktau rajatam bhujaṅgamo rajjvām |  
taimirika-candra-yugavad<sup>5</sup> bhrāntam nikhilam<sup>6</sup> jagad-rūpam ||

## XX

The intellect, manas, individuation (egoity), the aggregate of (five) subtle elements and (ten) organs (sensory and motor), and the aggregate of (five) gross elements, these products of prakṛti have the capacity to bring on and maintain the (cycle of) migratory existence; (hence) they are to be abandoned (as of the nature of the not-self, by those who seek release).

## XXI

Here (in the Self), there is not in reality merit or demerit or the experience of (their fruit, viz.) pleasure or pain, or residing in heaven or hell (for the sake of that pleasure or pain); nor is there birth or death, caste or order (of life).

## XXII

Like water in the mirage, silver in nacre, serpent in a rope, and the double moon produced by (the optical defect) timira, the entire world-phenomenon is a delusion.

## XX

In the Sāṅkhya, prakṛti is assigned both the functions of binding and releasing; such an exalted notion of prakṛti is difficult to assimilate, and less acceptable than what is set forth here.

## XXI

Here, again, there is an improvement on the Sāṅkhya view, which, while holding that in truth no one is ever bound or released (*SK*, v. 62), yet maintains a plurality of spirits, because of the varying incidence of birth, death etc. (*SK*, v. 18).

## XXII

The commentary sets forth the inference of illusoriness based on being object of cognition, being finite, and being inert (non-self); the example (udāharaṇa) in each case is nacre-silver. Illusoriness is defined as sublatability by knowledge of the

1. *P*: sabhūtagaṇaḥ (v. 19; *V* (v. 12); *B* (v. 12).

2. *V*: Prakṛtāḥ (v. 12).

tadvad dharmā-'dharma-svar-nirayo-'tpatti-maṇa-sukha-duḥkham |  
varṇā-'śramādi cā 'tmany asad api vibhramabalād bhavati ||

5. *B*, *V*: candravat (v. 14).

6. *P*: akhilam (v. 21); this is the

3. *P*: sukha-duḥkhe (v. 20).

4. Corresponds to verse 29 in *K*:

version quoted by Nagesabhaṭṭa in *LM*.  
p. 259.

## XXIII

yadvad dinakara eko vibhāti salilā-śayeṣu sarveṣu |  
tadvat sakalo-padhiṣṭ avasthito bhāti paramātmā ||

## XXIV

kham<sup>1</sup> iva ghaṭādiṣṭ<sup>2</sup> antarbahih sṭhitam brahma sarvapiṇḍeṣu<sup>3</sup>  
dehe 'ham<sup>4</sup> ity anātmāni buddhiḥ saṃsāra-bandhāya ||

## XXV

sarva-vikalpana<sup>5</sup> -hīnaḥ śuddho buddho<sup>6</sup> 'jarā-'maraḥ śāntaḥ |  
amalaḥ sakṛd-vibhātaś<sup>7</sup> cetana ātmā khavad<sup>8</sup> vyāpī<sup>9</sup> ||

## XXIII

Just as the one Sun appears in all sheets of water, so does the (one) Supreme Self appear as present in all adjuncts (i.e., aggregate of body and organs).

## XXIV

Like ether in pots etc., is Brahman present in all bodies; (hence) the cognition "I" in respect of the not-self, the body, (is but a delusion which) serves to bind one to (the cycle of) migratory existence.

## XXV

The intelligent one is (certainly) the (Supreme) Self; (for) it is free from all indeterminacy (being the witness of all doubts); it is pure (unlike the body, associated with diverse impurities); it is conscious (unlike prāṇa);

substrate; the illusoriness of illusoriness is discussed; and the inference of illusoriness is said to be ātmaghāta (self-destructive) like āgama, as exemplified in "ne 'ha nānā 'sti"; this text too is not real as a duality over against Brahman; self-destruction is illustrated by the faggot that starts a fire destroying itself as well as other things; the illusory does not have to make known the real, since the latter is self-manifest; the illusory can and does serve to remove the illusory, as when, in respect of a rope, the illusion that it is a stick may remove the prior illusion that it is a snake; practical efficiency is possible in respect of and with even a greater degree of reality, e.g., the use of a reflection of one's face in a mirror, imagining Viṣṇu in a sālagrāma etc.; if illusoriness be not granted, there is contingency of non-release, since what is non-illusory and cannot be sublated will persist as a cause of bondage, actual or potential.

## XXV

The syllogism implied is "The jīva is but the Supreme Self, because of being free from indeterminacy, etc.; pot etc. are the negative example." That is to

1. V : svam (v. 16), explained in Telugu as "tānuvalenē, like oneself"; this is obviously due to a misreading of "kham" in Devanāgarī script.

2. B : khaṭṭādiṣu (v. 16).

3. P : sarveṣu piṇḍeṣu (v. 23).

4. B. V : deho 'ham (v. 16).

5. B. V : vikalpanā (v. 17)

6. B. V : avṛddho 'jaro (v. 17).

7. V : sakṛd dhi (v. 17).

8. V : savat (v. 17).

9. The two lines are transposed in P (v. 24); in that form the verse is cited in LM, p. 281. Verse 11 in K reads thus:

sarva vikalpana-hīnaḥ śuddham śāntam vyayo-'daya-vihīnam |  
yat paratattvam tasmin vibhāti ṣaṭ-triṃśadātmā jagat ||

## XXVI

rasa-phāṇita-śarkarikā- guḷa-khaṇḍā<sup>1</sup> vikṛtayo yathai 've 'kṣoḥ<sup>2</sup> ||  
tadvad avasthā-bhedāḥ paramātmāny<sup>3</sup> eva bahu-rūpāḥ<sup>4</sup> ||

## XXVII

vijñānā-'ntaryāmi-prāṇa-virāḍ- deha- jāti-piṇḍā-'ntāḥ |  
vyavahārās tasyā 'tmany<sup>5</sup> ete avasthā-viśeṣāḥ<sup>6</sup> syuḥ ||

it is decayless and deathless (unlike *manas* which lapses in sleep etc.); it is quiescent (unlike the cognitional series subject to perpetual change); it is taintless (unlike the void which is obscured by the taint of *saṃvṛti*, obscuration, while the self is the witness even of that); it is ever-shining (unlike the self of the Logicians, which is itself inert and possesses cognition only as a quality); it is pervasive like ether (unlike the selves admitted by the pluralists).

## XXVI-XXVII

As of the sugar-cane there are different forms (such as) the juice, molasses, sugar crystals, jaggery and pieces thereof, even so of the (one) Supreme Self there are diverse forms (as it were), viz., (Pure) Consciousness (which has not suffered distinction as intelligent or inert), the internal ruler, the *prāṇa* (the *Jīva*, who is Consciousness reflected in *sattva*-predominant *prakṛti*), the collective cosmic body, and individual bodies characterised by generic qualities (like humanity, etc.); these diverse forms of that

say, what is not the Supreme Self, e.g. a pot, is not free from indeterminacy, being subject to alternative specifications, as to which there is always doubt. Empirical duality being granted, there is no *drṣtāntāsiddhi*; hence, the opponent cannot ask "since there is nothing other than the Supreme Self, how can there be any example of what is not that Self and not free from indeterminacy?" Nor can supremacy as a probandum be denied, since what is non-established cannot be denied; as Maṇḍana says "*labdha-rūpe kvacit kiñcit tādṛg eva niśidhyate.*" That is to say, that which is denied and that in relation to which there is the denial should be already established; there can be no negation either of an unknown counter-correlate or in relation to an unknown locus. If the *jīva* be not the Supreme Self, there is the contingency of either of them being not-self (*anātman*); and this is not acceptable.

## XXVI-XXVII

The internal ruler and the *jīva* are the intelligent modifications of Pure Consciousness; the collective body and the individual bodies are the inert forms. The illusory transformation of Consciousness into inert forms is possible, because of *māyā*; the relation of *māyā* is also due to *māyā*; this does not lay it open to the defect of self-dependence, as it is of the nature of *māyā*. in the last resort, not to be

1. *P*: khaṇḍādyāḥ vikṛtayo yathe 'he 'kṣoḥ (v. 25).

2. *K*: khaṇḍādyā yathe 'kṣu-rasa eva (v. 26).

3. *P*: paramātmāna (v. 25).

4. *V*: bahu-rūpātmā (v. 18); *K*:

sarve paramātmānaḥ śāmbhoḥ (v. 26).

5. *P*: vyavahārasthāyā 'tmana (v. 26); *B*: (v. 19), also *LM* citation (p. 311).

6. *K*: vyahāra-mātram etat paramār-thena tu na santy eva (v. 27).

## XXVIII

rajivām nāsti bhujaṅgaḥ sarpa-bhayam bhavati hetunā kena |  
tadvad dvaita- vikalpabhrāntir avidyā na satyam idam<sup>1</sup> ||

## XXIX

etat tad andhakāram yad anātmany ātmatā bhrāntyā |  
na vidanti vāsudevam sarvātmānam narā mūḍhāḥ<sup>2</sup> ||

## XXX

prāṇādy-ananta-bhedair ātmānam samvitatya jālam iva<sup>3</sup> |  
saṃharati<sup>4</sup> vāsudevaḥ svavibhūtyā<sup>5</sup> 'kriḍamāna iva<sup>6</sup> ||

self (which is pure consciousness) are different (only because of differences) in empirical usage.

## XXVIII

In the rope there is no snake ; to what cause, then, is the fear of the snake due (if the illusory have no practical efficiency) ? Even so, duality and its delusive presentation are but nescience (the consequence of ignorance of the non-dual self) ; (hence) this (duality) is not real.

## XXIX

This is the darkness (of nescience) whereby selfhood (is) delusively (ascribed) to the non-self ; (hence it is that) foolish men (who have not enquired into the real Self) do not know Vāsudeva, the Self of all (to be such).

## XXX

Vāsudeva (Brahman that is of the nature of Consciousness), as if desiring to sport (with himself) through his own energy (māyā), spreads him-

logically intelligible through and through ; “durghaṭatvam avidyāyā bhūṣaṇam na tu dūṣaṇam.”

## XXVIII

The commentator quotes from *Iṣṭasiddhi* (p. 47) “sattve na bhrānti-bādhau stām nā 'sattve” &c ; there would be neither delusion nor sublation in either case, if the delusion were real or if unreal ; for the real cannot be sublated, while the unreal, like the square circle, cannot be the object of immediate cognition.

## XXX

Hence it is not as if there are independent real finite consciousnesses different from and apprehending Vāsudeva. For the view that creation is an act of sport, as it were, see *Ved. Sū.*, II, i, 33.

1. K : . . . . . trāsam kurute ca mrtyu-paryantam |  
bhrānter mahatī śaktir na vivektum śakyate nāma || (v. 28).
2. K : . . . . . bhāveṣu prakāśamānatayā |  
ātmānatirikṣeṣv api bhavaty anātmā-bhimāno 'yam || (v. 30).

This and the preceding verse are cited in *LM*, p. 296, with the substitution of “janāḥ” for “narāḥ” in the last line.

3. Cp. K : jālena jālakāra iva (verse 32) ; P : indra-jālam iva (v. 29) ; the first half of this verse in the P version is

4. P : upasānharati (v. 29).

5. P : svabhūtyā (v. 29).

6. Cp. K : kriḍam pratanoti parama-śivaḥ (v. 33).



## XXXI

tribhir eva viśva-taijasa- prājñaiḥ<sup>1</sup> ādi-madhya-nidhanā- 'khyaiḥ |  
jāgrat-svapna-suṣuptair bhrama-bhūtaiś chāditam turyam<sup>2</sup> ||

## XXXII

mohayati 'vā 'tmānam<sup>3</sup> svamāyayā dvaita-rūpayā devaḥ<sup>4</sup> |  
upalabhate svayam evam guhā-gatam puruṣam ātmānam ||

## XXXIII

jvalanād dhūmo- 'dgaṭibhir vividhā 'kṛtir ambare yathā bhāti |  
tadvad<sup>5</sup> viṣṇau sṛṣṭiḥ svamāyayā dvaita-vistarā<sup>6</sup> bhāti<sup>7</sup> ||

self out, as a (spider its) web, in endless diverse forms such as prāṇa (the internal ruler) and the rest (viz., all jīvas and bodies collective and individual), and destroys (i.e., takes up all of them into himself, after destroying the ignorance about himself through the knowledge that is himself).

## XXXI

(He spreads himself out) in the three forms, Viśva, Taijasa and Prājña, (related to three states of) waking, dreaming and sleep, which are called (respectively) origination, the intermediate stage (of preservation) and destruction; by these same (three, though) delusive, is concealed (as it were) the fourth (the real light that is the Self).

## XXXII

In this way, the shining one (the Self) himself deludes the Self, as it were, through his own māyā, and (again) realises (as it were) the Self, the person who had been hidden in the cave (of nescience).

## XXXIII

Just as different forms (black, white, etc.) appear in the ether (which is colourless), because of (the colour of) the smoke rising from fire, even so does this creation, the expanse of duality, appear in Viṣṇu, through his own māyā.

## XXXI

For further light on the three states and the three forms of consciousness, reference may be made to the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* and the first chapter of Gauḍapāda's *kārikās* thereon. Dreaming is referred to as the intermediate stage; compare the term "sandhiḥ" in "Sandhye sṛṣṭir āha hi" (Ved. Sū., III, ii. 1).

1. *P* inserts "taiḥ" (v. 30; also *B* and *V* (v. 23).

2. Cp. *K*: sṛṣṭi-sthiti- samphārā jāgrat svapnam suṣuptam iti tasmin |  
bhānti turye dhāmāni tathā 'pi tair āvṛtam bhāti ||  
jāgrat viśvam bhedāt svapnas tejaḥ prakāśa-māhātmyāt |  
prājñaiḥ svapnā-'vasthā jñāna-ghanatvāt tataḥ param turyam ||

(vs. 34, 35).

*P* reads turyam (v. 30); *B*, *V*: tūryam (v. 23).

3. *P*: ātmā na (v. 31).

(v. 25).

4. *P*: devam (v. 31).

6. *B* and *V*: dvaita-vistaro (v. 25).

5. *V*: tad (v. 25); *B*: tadviṣṇoḥ

7. This verse is cited in *LM*, p. 272.

(to be continued)

## INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD\*

By

D. B. DISKALKAR, Poona.

### KHAMBHĀLIĀ

No. 153]

v. s. 1751.

[20-10-1694.

This inscription is engraved on a *pāliā* in one of the *Deris* near the temple of Khambhanātha Mahādeva at Khambhāliā in Nawanagar State.

It records the death of the prince VIBHĀJI son of PHULJI by his wife YAŚUJI, and grandson of Jām RĀJASIMHJI on Saturday, the 13th of the bright half of Kārtika in v.s. 1751 or Śaka 1616.

Jām Phulji, mentioned in the inscription, is the younger brother of Jām Tamāci, the ruler of Jāmnagar from whom he had received Bhāṇvaḍ in *gīrās*. It will be seen therefore that the prince, whose death is recorded by this memorial stone does not come from the direct line of the rulers of Jāmnagar.

### Text

- 1 श्रीगणपति जयति सगण
- 2 स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमा अर्के स
- 3 मयातीत संवत् १७५१
- 4 वर्षे श्रीशालिवाहनकृतशा
- 5 के १६१६ प्रवर्तमाने दक्षिणाय
- 6 न गते श्रीसूर्ये हेमंतकृतौ
- 7 श्रीमहामांगल्यप्रदमासोत्त
- 8 मे कार्तिकमासे शुक्लपक्षे
- 9 त्रयोदशी १३ शनिवासरे या
- 10 म श्री ७ राजसिंहजी तत्पुत्र
- 11 राजश्री ७ फुलजी तस्य भार्या बा
- 12 ई राजश्री यशुजी तत्पुत्री जात
- 13 कुअर श्री ७ विभाजी त-ग्रामे श्री
- 14 कमलासयुक्तश्रीहरिचरणार
- 15 विदप्राप्त ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

### THĀN

No. 154]

v. s. 1752.

[22-4-1696.

This inscription is copied from one of the sixteen *Pāliās* in the *pādar* of Thān. The inscribed portion measures 2' in length and 1'-2" in height.

\* Continued from p. 353, of Volume III.

It records that when the CUTCH armies had attacked THÂN BHAGAVAT-SIMGHJI, son of GOPĀLSIMHJI, son of ŚEŚAMALJI, son of VAJERĀJJI, fell in the battle while repelling the attack.

The genealogy given here is that of the Lakhtar family founded by Vajerājji's father Abherājji. As we know that Karaṇasimhji, succeeded his father Gopālsimhji to the *gādi* of Lakhtar, Kumār Bhagavatsimhji, whose death is recorded by this inscription must have died in the lifetime of his father or he may be a younger son.

### Text

- 1 सावाता १७५२ वारषा वइसख शुदि १
- 2 दाना राणा श्रीवाजराजाजी साता राणा
- 3 श्री सासामालाजी साता राणा श्रीगो
- 4 पालासांघाजीना काआरा श्रीभागावाता
- 5 सांघाजा श्रीथानाणाढा काछा काटाका फ
- 6 राकारा ? तारा कामा आवा छा श्रीसुरजने वासा

### RĀVAL

No. 155]

v. s. 1753.

[15-5-1697.

This inscription is fixed in the wall above the gate of the fort at the town Rāval in the Jamnagar State. The inscribed portion, which is in a good condition, measures 2'-9" by 12½".

It records that the fort of Rāval in Hālār Deśa was caused to be built, on Saturday, the fifth of the bright half of Jyestha in v.s. 1753 (Śaka 1619) by Jām LĀKHĀJI, son of TAMĀCI and grandson of RĀJASIMHJI, of YADU family, which is one of the 36 royal families. Jām Lākhāji is said to have conquered the territory to the south of his kingdom and was ruling at NAVĀNAGAR.

This inscription shows that the statement in the Kathiawad Gazetteer (p. 571) that Jām Tamāci built the fort of Rāval in 1679 A.D. is wrong in both the points. It was Jām Lākhāji, who built the fort in 1697 A.D.

### Text

- 1 श्रीमहागणपतये नमः ॥ यावद्वीचीतरंगा वहति सुरनदी जाह्नवी पुण्यतो
- 2 या 'यावदाकाशमार्गे तपति दिनकरो भास्करो लोकपालः ॥ यावद्वैदूर्यनील
- 3 स्फटिकमणिमयं वर्तते मेरुशृंगं तावत्त्वं पुत्रपौत्रैः स्वजनपरिवृतो राज्यलक्ष्मीवि
- 4 लासः ॥ १ ॥ श्रीमन्मृगविक्रमार्कं समयातीत ॥ संवत् १७५३ वर्षे शाके १६१९ प्रवर्त
- 5 माने उत्तरायन( ण )गते श्रीसूर्ये ग्रीष्मऋतौ मासोत्तमे ज्येष्ठमासे शुक्लपक्षे पंचम्यां तिथौ श्रीश
- 6 निवासरे हल्लारदेशे रावल्यग्रामे षड्विंशद्वाजकुलशिरोमणियाद्ववंशोद्भव जामश्री

1. How full of mistakes the verse is can be easily seen. There is no verb. This verse is also used in No. 131 above.

- 7 ७ राजसिंघजी सुत जाम श्री ७ तमाचीजी सुत महाराजाधिराजेन युद्धविद्याकुशलेन  
गोब्राह्म  
8 णप्रतिपालकेन नूतननगरविजयराज्ये जामश्री ७ लाषाजीकेन दक्षिणदिग्गित्वा शत्रुप  
9 राजयं कृत्वा स्वकीयवंशो[ भि\* ] वृद्धयर्थं स्वप्रजापालनाय राजदुर्गः कारितः ॥ श्रीशुभं  
भवतु ।

## GUNDI

No. 156]

v. s. 1755.

[21-1-1699.

This inscribed *pāliā* is lying in the village Gundi, at a distance of four miles from Ghoghā. The inscribed portion measures 1'-2" by 8".

It records the death in a fight of *Gohel Kānoji* son of *Lākha* on the second day of the bright half of Caitra in v.s. 1754 (4-3-1698). A *deri* in his honour was built on the second day of the bright half of Māhā in v. s. 1755.

Kānoji was an ancestor of the Mahārājā of Bhavnagar. He succeeded his father Vijoji to the *gādi* at Umrālā, which was then the capital of the Gohel chiefs.

## Text

- 1 स्वस्त १७५४ वरखे चइतर शीद
- 2 २ दने गोहेल कानोजी लाषाणी
- 3 गाम भेलते झुझी देवगत थआ
- 4 छे श्रीरामचरणे स्वत १७५५
- 5 माहा श्रीद २ देरी बंधावी छे.

## BERAJĀ

No. 157]

v. s. 1756.

[3-10-1700.

This inscription is found in the temple of Śiva in the western part of the village Berājā near Bhalsāṇa in Navanagar State. It measures 1'-3½" by 1'.

It records that on the second day of the bright half of Āso (Āśvin) in v.s. 1756 Jādejā *Devji*, son of *Phalji* caused the Śiva temple to be built. The inscription then mentions some names, whose connection in it is not clearly known : Jām Vibhā, Jām Rāval and Kumārs Nāranji, Lakhāji, Vāghji and Mānji. These seem to be Bhāyātas of the royal family of Jāmnagar. *Devji* is probably the brother of Vibhāji mentioned in the Khambhalia inscription of v.s. 1751, published above.

## Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाआ नमा । सवत १७५६ दरखे आसो सद
- 2 २ दने जाडेजा श्रीफलजीसुत जाडेजा श्रीदवेजी
- 3 अे सीवनी देरी करावी छ फलधीमाणी
- 4 बीमो भाणाणी भाण जाम बीमानो

- 5 वीभो जामश्री राओलनो ॥
- 6 कुअर श्रीनाराणजी तथा श्रीकुआ
- 7 र श्री लषाजी तथा कुअर श्रीवाघ
- 8 जी तथा कुअर मानजी ॥ लषत ठाक
- 9 र माधवजी । सूतार पवा कोरे छे ॥

## THĀN

No. 158]

v. s. 1757.

[19-9-1701.

This inscription is engraved on one of the 16 *pālias*, lying outside Thān. The inscribed portion measures 2' in length and 11" in breadth. The letters are very badly engraved. The script is more of the Gujarati than of the Devanāgarī form.

The inscription records the death, while protecting the cows, of Zālā SANGRĀMASĪMHJĪ, son of ŚEŚAMĀLJĪ, son of VAJERĀJJĪ, son of Mahārāṇā ABHERĀJJĪ, on Friday the 13th of the dark half of Bhādravā in v.s. 1757 or Śaka 1622.

The genealogy given here is that of the Zālā chiefs of Lakhtar. Abherājji, who was the son of Candrasinhji of Halvad received Lakhtar in *giras* from his father and founded the family which reigns to this day. As we know that Gopālsinhji, son of Śeśamalji, succeeded to the *gādi* of Lakhtar it is clear that Sangramasinhji, son of Śeśamalji, who died in v.s. 1757 as the present inscription says must be a younger son of Śeśamalji. (See No. 154 above).

## Text

- 1 ॥ ७० ॥ संवत १[७]५७ शके १[६]२२ प्र
- 2 व्रतमाने भाद्रवा वदि १३ शुके महाराण
- 3 श्री ५ अभिराजजीसुत वजरोजजी सुत शे ७
- 4 शमलजीसुत सगरामसघजी झाला गायुनी
- 5 बाहारे चढा त्यां तेम जागरो थयो त्याहि काम
- 6 आब्या स्वर्गना लोकना धणी छे सत्यश्रीरणछोड

## DIHOR

No. 159]

v. s. 1758

[8-2-1702.

This inscription is found in the temple of Mahādeva at the village Dihor, which is at a distance of six miles from Talājā under the Bhavnagar State. It measures 12" by 7".

It records that Rāval HAMĪRJĪ, son (?) of Rāval GAJASĪMHJĪ caused the temple of Mahādeva to be built on Sunday, the seventh of the bright fortnight of Māgha in v.s. 1758.

Rāval Hamirji is most probably the younger brother of Rāval Satrasālji, mentioned in the Bādi inscription of v.s. 1748. But their father's name is given in the Kathiawad Gazetteer (p. 389) as Govindji. Who was Rāval Gajasinhji, then, mentioned in the present inscription?

The inscription was once published in the *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* of Kathiawad p. 166.

*Text*

- 1 श्रीगणेशायनम ॥
- 2 श्रीमहादेवजीना प्र
- 3 रसादात् थाईने (?) करावुं छे मोजे
- 4 श्रीदीहोरमां रावळ श्री गजसंगजी
- 5 ना.....श्रीह
- 6 मीरजीअे करावुं छे संवत १७५८ वरषे माघ वद ७ रवेड दने श्री

NAGICĀNĀ

No. 160]

v. s. 1758.

[24-5-1702.

This inscription is engraved on a *palia* found in the village Nagicānā. It measures 11½" by 14".

It records that Pithiā Ranmal son of Vejānanda fell in a battle in the village Nagicānā on the 9th day of the bright half of Jēṭha in v.s. 1758, during the reign of the emperor AURANGZEB.

*Text*

- 1 : नामो संवत १७
- 2 ५८ वरखे जेठ शुद
- 3 ९ दने पातसा श्री
- 4 अवरंगजेब वजा
- 5 राज नगेचाणा गरा
- 6 मै पीठीआ वेजाणंद
- 7 सुत रणमल सग
- 8 रामे सरीर पाडीयु

BHĀVNAGAR

No. 161]

v. s. 1768.

[9-2-1712.

This inscription is found in the temple of Nilkanṭha Mahadeva in Bhāvnagar city. It measures 17" by 4½".

It records that the temple of Nilkanṭha Mahādeva was built by Seth Bhagvān, son of Seth Kalyāṇa, by his wife Rakhmai, of the śrīmāl community and Lagha Uśkhā, on Saturday, the 13th day of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1768 or Śaka 1633. Seth Bhagvān belonged to the village Vadvā, which was in the possession of Jādejā Śatāji son of Kalāji.

*Text*

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसंवत् १७६८ वर्षे शाके १६३३ प्रवर्तमाने माघशुदि त्र०
- 2 १३ शनौ श्रीश्रीमालज्ञातीय लघुशाखायां श्रीकल्याणश्रेष्ठि रषमाई तत्सुतुः श्रेष्ठिश्री ५
- 3 भगवानेन इदं देवालयं कारितं । नीलकंठ सदाशिवन् एहना प्रतापथकी देउ
- 4 ल तथा तलाव सदाशिवने हकमें थयुं छे । साक्षात् श्रीसदाशिवे महिमा प्रकट कीधु छे
- 5 वडवाग्रामे निवास तत्र जाडेजा श्री ५ कलाजी तथा जाडेजा श्री ५ शताजी राज्ये

## BHĀṆAVAD

No. 162]

v. s. 1771.

[27-4-1715.

This inscription is copied from a *pālīā* lying in the village Bhāṇvaḍ in the Nawnagar State.

It records that Kumār JETHIJI belonging to the YADU family fell in a battle on the 13th day of the dark half of Caitra in v.s. 1771 (5-4-1715). His *pālīa* was raised on Wednesday, the 5th of the bright half of Vaiśākha. Jethiji was only a Bhāyāt of the royal family of Jamnagar.

## Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ स्वस्त श्रीज
- 2 यो मंगलाभ्युदयश्च श्रीम
- 3 नृपविक्रमार्क संवत्
- 4 १७७१ वर्षे प्रवर्तमाने
- 5 रवौ उत्तरायणगते श्रीसूर्ये महामं
- 6 गलप्रदमासोत्तम चइत्र मासे कश्च
- 7 पक्षे तिथी १३ दिने यदुवंशोद्भव कुञ्ज
- 8 रश्रीजेठीजी रणसंग्रामे महाबली ? धाराक्षेत्रे हरी च
- 9 रण पाम्या छे प्रतिष्ठा वैशाख शुदि ५ बुधे प्रतिष्ठां
- 10 श्री शुभं भवतु श्रीजयः ॥ श्रीकल्याणमस्तु ॥

## THAN

No. 163]

v. s. 1776.

[31-8-1720.

This inscription is copied from one of the *Pālīas* in the northern *pādar* of Thān.

It records that Kumar Śri Pratāpsimhji, son of Rāṇā Sangrāmasimhji son of Rāṇā Śeśamalji, son of Rāṇā Vajerāji, son of Rāṇā Abherāji, fell in a fight, against the enemies who had invaded Thāngadh, on Wednesday, the 11th of the bright half Bhādravā in v.s. 1776. Kumāra Pratāpasimhji was the sister's son of Paramāra Akherājji, son of Nāyāji.

It may be noted that Kumāra Pratāpasimhji was only a *bhāyāt* of the ruling family of Lakhtar, as his father, who was killed in v.s. 1757 (See No. 153 above) was a younger son of Śeśamalji.

## Text

- 1 संवत् १७७६ न वरषे
- 2 भद्रव सद् १० ना बध
- 3 दन राणश्रीअभरा
- 4 जजी सत् राणश्रीव
- 5 जराजजी सुत् राणा
- 6 श्रीससमलजी
- 7 सत् राणा सगरमलघजी

- 8 सत कूअर श्रीपरातप
- 9 सघजी श्रीथानगढ क
- 10 टक वालम (?) फरकर तदी
- 11 कम आवा छे श्रीसरज सं
- 12 परमर श्रीनथजी सत
- 13 परमर श्रीअघराजजी
- 14 न भणज छे

## HALVAD

No. 164]

v. s. 1779

[1-4-1723.

This inscription is copied from a *pālia* standing near the thirty-six pillared *deri* in Halvad.

It records the death of Mahārāṇā Jasvantsinhji, son of Mahārāṇā Gajasinghji, and grandson of Mahārāṇā Megharājji, evidently of Halvad, on the seventh day of the bright half of a Caitra in v.s. 1779.

The Kathiawad Gazetteer states that Jaivantsinhji ruled till 1718 A.D., which in the light of this *pālia* seems to be wrong.

## Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः संवत् १७७९
- 2 वरषे चइतर सुद ७ दने माहारां
- 3 ण श्रीमेघराजजी महाराण श्री
- 4 गजसंगजी महाराणश्रीजस
- 5 घंतसंगजीनी देरी छे । श्री ।

## SIYANI

No. 165]

v. s. 1781

[15-7-1724.

The following inscription is engraved on a marble stone fixed in a *deri* on the bank of a tank to the south of the village Siyāni in the Limbdi State.

It records that Kumār Śrī Adāji (Aderājji) son of Bai Rūpakuvar born of a Cāvḍā family caused a *deri* to be made in honour of Mahārāṇā BHOJARĀJJI on Wednesday, the 6th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1781 (Śaka 1646).

## Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीज
- 2 यो मंगलाभ्युदय स्वस्त श्रीमनवि
- 3 क्रमार्कसमयातिथि सवत् १७८१ वर्षे
- 4 शाके १६४६ प्रवर्त्तमाने दक्षणांन ग
- 5 ते श्रीसुर्ये वषारतु मासोत्तमा श्रावण
- 6 मासे शुक्लपक्षे ६ षटी बुधवासरे मा



- 7 હારાળા શ્રીભોજરાજજીનિ દેહેરિ ક  
8 રાવિ છે બાઈ શ્રીરૂપકુવર તુહાશયી સુ  
9 ત કુવર શ્રીઅદાજીયે કરાવિ છે શુભ ભવત ॥

## BHĀDROD

No. 166]

v. s. 1792

[30-6-1736.

This inscription is found in the Bhadreśvara Mahādeva temple at Bhādrod, a very old village at a distance of 4 miles to the north-east of Mahuvā in the Bhavnagar State.

It records that during the time of Vālā KHENGĀRJI the temple of [Bhadreśvara] Mahādevā was built by Gusāis Rūpabhārati and Jegama-bhārati, on Wednesday, the third of the bright half of Āṣāḍha in v.s. 1792, at a cost of 1125 koris.

Vālā Khengārji was a descendant of Vālā Hemalji, son of Cāmrāj-vālā, who ruled at Bhādrod. Khengarji entertained many Vanāra Ahirs in his service. Being much oppressed by them, they united together seized and bound him and threw him into the bonfire lit on the occasion of the *Holi* and burned him to death. (See Kathiawad Gazetteer p. 517).

## Text

- 1 શ્રીગણેસસાએ નમઃ ॥ કોરી ૧૧૨૫ જે રામભારથી
- 2 સંવત ૧૭૯૨ બાળદાનાં વરષ અસાડ શુદની
- 3 ૩ બુધવારે દેરુ સંપૂર્ણ કીધું છે ગુણ
- 4 ઈ રૂપભારથી તથા ગુસાઈ જેગમભા
- 5 રથીએ જણાવું છે વાળા યેગારજીની
- 6 વારમાં કામ થીયું છે માહાદેવનું નાં
- 7 શુ હતું તે માહાદેવને કામ આવું છે
- 8 ગુસાઈ હીરા ભારથી તથા ગુસાઈ ભીમ
- 9 પરી તથા વાળા વાઙજી તથા વાળા વીરજી
- 10 ની દીલની ટેલ છે સલાટ મીઠા ચળું છે પારે
- 11 સ્વ હરી પીતામર માફ માફ છે સુખં ભવતુ

## LIMBDI

No. 167]

v. s. 1793

[28-3-1737.

This inscription is copied from one of the *pālīs* standing on the bank of a tank at Limbdi. The inscribed portion measures  $1\frac{1}{2}'$  by  $5\frac{1}{2}''$ .

It records the death of Kumāra Śrī Beherājji on Monday, the eighth day of the bright of Caitra in v. s. 1793 or (Śaka 1659).

## Text

- 1 સ્વસ્તિ શ્રીમન્નૃપવિક્રમાર્કસમયાતિત સંવ
- 2 તં ૧૭૯૩ શ્રીમન્નૃપશાલિવાહનકત શાકે
- 3 ૧૬૫૯ પ્રવૃત્તે ચૈત્રમાસ શુક્લપક્ષે તિથિ ૮ સો
- 4 મવાસરે કુવરશ્રીવેહરાજીનો પાલિયો છે

## LOLIYANĀ

No. 168]

v. s. 1794

[9-5-1738.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the outer portion of the eastern wall of the Śiva temple in the now ruined village Loliyanā in the Vālā State at a distance of about 7 miles to the north-west of Vālā. The inscribed portion measures 7" by 5½".

It records that DAMĀJI GAIKWAD built the Śiva temple on the second day of the bright half of Jyestha in v.s. 1794.

Damāji Gaikvad is the founder of Gaikvad family of Baroda. The inscription is in the Marathi language.

## Text

- 1 ॥ श्रीशिवचर
- 2 णी तत्पर ॥ दामाजी गा
- 3 णी\* यकवाड नीरंतर
- 4 ॥ समत १७९४ ज्येष्ठ
- 5 ॥ सुद बीज

## LIMBDI

No. 169]

v. s. 1794

[17-5-1738.

This inscription is copied from a *pālīā* standing on the bank of a tank in Limbdi. It measures 1'-5" by 4½".

It records the death of Kumāra Śri AMARASIMHJI on Wednesday, the 11th of the bright half of Jyestha in v.s. 1794, Śaka 1660.

Amarasimhji was the younger brother of Harbhamji, the ruler of Limbdi. He was killed while fighting with the Kāthīs of Pālīād (Kathiawad Gazetteer p. 534).

## Text

- 1 संवत १७९४ शाके १६६० ज्येष्ठमास शु
- 2 कल्पक्षे तिथि १० बुधवासरे कुवरश्रीभ
- 3 मरसंघजीनो पालियो चोढो छे ॥

## MORVI

No. 170]

v. s. 1797

[21-11-1740.

The following two inscriptions are engraved on two of the many *pālīās* standing in the crematory to the north of the Morvi City. The first measures 2' in length and 1'-2½" in breadth, and the second 2'-1" in length and 7" in breadth. Both of them are incised with big letters and are of the same date, viz., Friday, the 14th of the bright half of Māgassara in v.s. 1797 (Śaka 1662).

The first inscription records the building of the *Deri* of Thākur ALIYĀJI, son of KĀYĀJI of the JĀPEJĀ family. The second inscription records the

\* This letter is engraved here through mistake.

erecting of the *pālīā* of Jādejā ViSĀJĪ, son of BHĀRĀJĪ, while fighting together with Thākur Aliyājī.

The event referred to in these records is that Thākur Aliājī, son and successor of Kāyājī of Morvi was treacherously murdered by Hāloji, the Girasia of Paḍadhari, when Aliyājī was returning from pilgrimage to Dwarka (See Kathiawad Gazetteer p. 549).

*Text*

( १ )

- 1 ॥ संवत् १७९७ ना वरषे साके १६
- 2 ६२ प्रवर्तमाने रवी दक्षिणाने ग[ते]
- 3 श्रीसूर्य मांहामांगल्य पवीत्रकारी [ मा ]
- 4 गसरमासे शुक्लपक्षे १४ भृगुवास
- 5 रे ठाकर श्रीकांहींआजी सुत जाडेजा श्री
- 6 अलइआजीनी डेरी संपुरण करी पालिओ...

( २ )

- 1 संवत् १७९७ वरषे सक व्रषे ( १६६२ ) मागसर सुद १४ वा
- 2 र सोकरे जाडेजा सा[हेब] भाराजी सुत वीसाजी का
- 3 म आवा छ ठाकर श्रीअलीआजी आगल काम
- 4 आवा छे साहेब वीसाजीनो पालिओ उभो कोष छे

WADHWAN

No. 171]

v. s. 1797

[20-8-1741.

This inscription is copied from a *pālīā* standing in the place called after 'Hāḍimā' in Wadhwan. It measures 12½" by 16".

It records that DEVAKUARBĀI, daughter of HĀPĀ AMARSIMHJI burnt herself (i.e. became *sati*) with her husband, MAHĀRĀNA ARJUNSIMHJI on Thursday, the 5th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1797. The *deri* was built in her honour by the MAHĀRĀNĀ SABALASIMHJI, son of Achābā(?), of the Paramāra family.

*Text*

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः स्वस्ति श्रीमन्पुत्रविक्र
- 2 मार्कसमयातीत संवत् १७९७ शके १६६३
- 3 प्रवर्तमाने दक्षिणायने गते श्रीसूर्य वरषारतो
- 4 मासोत्तममासे श्रीश्रावण वदि ५ गुरौ तदिने
- 5 महाराण श्रीअरजनसिंहजीसाथे हाडाश्री
- 6 अम[ र\* ]सिंहजी सुता बाई श्रीदेवकुंवर सागवन
- 7 न लीधुं छे ॥ परमारजी श्रीआछबसुत
- 8 महाराणश्रीसबलसिंहजीअे प्रसाद क
- 9 राव्यो छे श्रीरस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

## BEYT

No. 172]

Date Lost.

This inscribed slab was found in the Rāmavāḍi on the bank of the Raṇchod talav in Beyt-Śankhoddhār.

The inscription is in Marathi and records that the tank was dug up by Bhagavant Dādā Kulkarni, inhabitant of Jāmb Jalgaon in the Wai Deśa and in the employ of Samshe Bahadar Subhedar Damāji Gaikwad, son of Pilāji.

A Gujarati inscription on white marble fixed in the right hand wall of the stairs to the Raṇchod talav shows that in subsequent times when this tank which was called Dāmāsar was out of repairs it was rebuilt in v.s. 1861 by Bābāji Appāji Kalambeke of Satara. It is clear from this that the present Raṇchod talav was originally called by Dāmāsar.

A question arises here how could Damāji, son of Pilāji, who ruled from v.s. 1788 to 1824 have built a tank in Beyt which was conquered by the Gaikwads in v.s. 1873 (1817 A.D.) ?

## Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशायनमः । श्रीरणसोडराय ॥
- 2 श्रीभगवंत दादा...कुलकर्णी मौजे
- 3 जांब जलगाव प्रांत वाई देश दी
- 4 मत पिलाजीसुत दमाजी गायकवा
- 5 ङ सुभेदार समशेर बहादुर
- 6 याणी तलाव करविला...
- 7 भीवाजीपंत ह...
- 8 ... जाला
- 9 कडिआ...संवत्
- 10 ... ९ माघ सुद...

## PĀTḌĪ

No. 173]

v. s. 1801

[25-3-1745.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in a wall of the *devadi* at the inner door of the Darbargadh at Pātḍi. The inscribed portion measures 26½" by 10".

It records that during the time of the emperor MUHAMMAD SHAH (of Delhi) Desai UDAKARAṆA of VIRAMGAON caused the fort of Viramgaon to be built and his son BHĀVASIṆHA caused the fort of Pātḍi to be built. The cost of this was Rs. 40361. Names of several officers of Bhāvasiṁhji employed at Pātḍi are given. The date, third day of the bright half of Caitra of v.s. 1801 probably refers to the time when the Pātḍi fort was completed and when the inscription was set up.

This Desai Bhāvasiṁhji fought bravely against the Marathas in defence of the Viramgaon fort. (See *History of Gujarat*, p. 323).

*Text*

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः [ १\* ] पातसा श्रीमहमदसाहानी पातछाइम मेजे
- 2 वीरमगमना देसई उदकरण मजे वीरमगमनो कट कर० तेना सत देसई
- 3 भावसघ मोजे पटडीनो कट करो तेनी बेसरण रु० ४०३६१ थआ छ तानो भाई  
केस
- 4 वदास ता. भा. वेणीदस उदकरण भा० पीतमरदास भणोजी भवानीदास दीवन परस
- 5 तमदस ताः हरखजी बाहाला तः पा० जेगता वीठलदास त्रीकमदास तः मोज० पाटडीना  
साच
- 6 घा अबा सकराण उपट रहीने कट कराव छ दसई भावसघजीना अमराव ज
- 7 रोसी हुमादभाई ता. सोलंकी जाफरा तथा मा० कमाल ममदा तथा
- 8 खेकरा जमुभाई तथा सोता० रहेमतखान तथा सोता दरीआखन
- 9 तथा खरोसी नाथु ता० ठाकर नारख तथा पणगी (?) डोसा तः सेलकी अमद
- 10 जी तथा खेकरा जमाल मेमदा तथा मोजे पाटडीना पटल अपरव तथ० प०
- 11 साखा आलेसा तथा संघवी अमरा भीमजी स्वंत १८०१ वरखे चईतर सुद ३ तथा  
स. सकरजी

## MAHUVĀ

No. 174]

v. s. 1805

[12-12-1748.

This inscription is found in a well called 'Dholia vāv' in the Darbar-gadh at Mahuvā. It is much worn out. It measures 14" by 15".

It seems to record that during the time of VAKHATSIMHJI, evidently the ruler of Bhavnagar, some men belonging to the Khatri community caused a well to be dug up and made a gift of 60 bighas of land on the fourth day of the bright half of Pauṣa in v.s. 1805.

This inscription was once published in the *Pkt* and *Skt* inscriptions of Kathiawad p. 167.

*Text*

- 1 ..... नाराय ...
- 2 . . . . .
- 3 पाणछरादा ! ... करावी
- 4 राज्य श्रीवखतसीं .. विजय[ रा ]
- 5 ज्ये .... खोरगढमधे परागयी ? तथा
- 6 क्षत्री मावजी .... सेठ मेता दे
- 7 वजी तथा मित ... यालाई संनीद्वौ
- 8 धोलो कुवो बंधाव्यो ... धरति विधा ६०
- 9 ..... बाबा रामदास तलसीदास रामा
- 10 ..... संवत् १८०५ पोस शुद्ध ४

(To be Concluded.)

# INDO-EUROPEAN GM-SK<sup>ó</sup> OR GM-SKH<sup>ó</sup>?

By

SIDDHESHWARA VARMA, Jammu.

C. R. SANKARAN's very learned article on "GM-sk<sup>ó</sup> versus GM-sk<sup>hó</sup>" in the January number (pp. 632 ff.) of Vol. I of this journal has deeply interested me. In this article he advances a new theory that in Greek forms like [skhídē], [skhízō], when, normally, "the accent preceded the cluster of the dental sibilant and the voiceless guttural stop phonemes, the voiceless guttural became *non-aspirate*; otherwise *aspirate* in Greek" (pp. 634, 636). But before this theory can be accepted, there are a few additional points which must be taken into account.

(1) As examples of Greek aspiration, SANKARAN gives forms of only *one* Greek stem, namely [skhíd—] and a theory based on only one stem has little chance to be established. In fact Greek has *only* this stem or the phonetically allied stem [sk(h)ēi-] in [skháō-] to offer [vide BOISACQ, *Dict. Ety. de la La Grecque* (1923), p. 932] as a clear example of aspiration after [s].

(2) But even this aspiration in the single stem [skhíd-] or [skhēi-] may be an illusion, or just a sporadic phenomenon, for side by side with the aspirate forms of THIS stem, we have also the NON-ASPIRATE forms, Cf. Gr. [skídnēmi] side by side with [skhízō], (cf. BOISACQ *Ib.* p. 932) [skidarón], [skindalmós] side by side with [skhindalmós] (WALDE-POKORNY'S *Lexicon*, II, p. 544).

(3) The inference from SANKARAN's statement that "we find the accent immediately after the voiceless guttural aspirate stop phoneme," (p. 634) is that if the accent does not follow the consonant-group *immediately*, the stop is a non-aspirate. But this inference is disappointed by the following examples, in which the aspiration is maintained, although the accent does not immediately follow:—

[skhistós], [skhindalmós], [skhasmós], [skhastérion],  
[skhastéria] (Vide WALDE-POKORNY, II, 544, BOISACQ, p. 932)

4. WALDE-POKORNY (I, 137) give another example of aspiration in Gr. [érkhomai], Skr. [ṛcchati], and if this etymology is accepted, we would expect [\*érkomai] by SANKARAN's theory, for the accent immediately precedes the consonant group. WALDE-POKORNY, however, connect the stem, not with [skho-] but with [sko-], [er-sko].

(5) On p. 635, footnote 5, SANKARAN notes [skōr] as an exception, but there are a few more exceptions, such as the following, collected from WALDE-POKORNY:—

Greek	Sanskrit
[ skúlos ]	[ chavi- ]
[ skiá ]      [ skánā ]	[ chāyá ]

(6) Greek [skedánnūmi] "I break into pieces" mentioned on p. 634, has no bearing on the main issue, for, according to WALDE-POKORNY (II, p. 558), it is connected with Skr. [skhadate] "he splits," and so has the Indo-European stem [sqhed-] or [sqed], not [skhed-].

In my opinion, the very occurrence of an Indo-European [skh] or even [kh] is extremely doubtful. The first article attempting to establish an Indo-European [kh] was by BARTHOLOMAE, who, in KZ 27, pp. 366 ff gave examples like [chadáyati], [púccham], [chāyá], the [ch] of which is now traced to a composite sound [sk̥], without any aspirate element, cf. WALDE-POKORNY on these words. The occurrence of [kh] has been once mentioned by BRUGMANN (*Grundriss* I<sup>2</sup>, 548), but the only sure example he gives thereof contains a composite sound, viz. gr. [skhízō] and he has not further mentioned [kh], even in the Indo-Iranian section, while HIRT has cut the Gordian knot by eliminating [kh] altogether, for he does not mention it at all in his *Idg. Gramm.* I, 245 (1927). He mentions only [kh], nor does he mention [sk̥h]: he gives only [skh]. In fact the motive to keep a [kh] seems to have been a feeling to complete a series, though no positive element was available to do so. No single sound in any Indo-European language is available, which may be traced to [kh].

Skr. [ch], as has been established by WACKERNAGEL and others (cf. WACKERNAGEL, *Ai. Gramm.* I, 156) is a composite sound, being a product of internal Sandhi. But to trace [ch] to an Intermediate group of spirants [ś ś], [ś śh] (WACKERNAGEL I b., 157) is a phonetic impossibility. [Ch] has been considered to be an affricate, but there is no conclusive evidence that it was so. Ancient Indian Grammarians never mention that it was an affricate, they always treated it as a *plosive* [sparśa-]. That it was possibly a plosive is further supported by some of the modern Indo-Aryan dialects, in which it is a plosive, cf. my "phonetics of lahnda" *JASB*, 1936, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 72, 75. Now when once a group of complete spirants like [ś ś] has been established in a language, it is not possible for it to develop into a sound with considerable occlusion like [ch], which was possibly, or very nearly plosive. In my view, Skr. [ch] preserves the traces of a very ancient Proto-Indo-Iranian stage in which [sk̥] had not yet become [ś ś]. SANKARAN's hypothesis (p. 633) is therefore certainly a definite improvement, as he deduces from [gr̥psk̥ho] a series of forms, in which the occlusive element has been maintained, viz. [śkh] > [śk'x'] > [śt'ś]: only his adherence to aspiration in [kh] has no convincing evidence, as has been shown above. When there was already in Indo-European a spirant with a palatalized plosive in [sk̥], the ground was possibly enough for the occurrence of [ch]: the supposition of an additional aspirate [h] is an unnecessary and unproved encumbrance.

I would therefore prefer [gmskŏ] to [gmskhŏ] as the origin of Skr. [gáccha-].

A few minor points in SANKARAN's article deserve some consideration :—

(1) On p. 632 he says, in Sanskrit “ [ġ] and [ġh] came to be represented by [j] and [h] remaining thus in an intermediate stage of development,” the other Satem languages further changing the intermediate sounds to sibilants. Now this is true of [j], but not of [h], for [h] cannot precede a sibilant in the development of a language: rather the reverse is the case. We know, for instance, that even in Sanskrit [s] has become Visarga, a sound akin to [h], while in many modern Indo-Aryan languages [s] has become [h]. The fact, therefore, seems to be that Sanskrit further developed the sibilants into [h].

(2) On p. 633, footnote 4, there occurs the following quotation from POULTNEY :—“ Sanskrit [chinatti], Lat. [scindo] .....give good evidence for the existence in I. E. of a nasalized root-form [sqind-]”. A little inaccuracy has here crept in. It is not Skr. [chinatti], but [chindanti] which is an evidence for an I. E. nasalized root, for forms like [chinatti], as BRUGMANN (*Gundriss* II<sup>2</sup>, 3, 276 ff.), (*MU*, III, 150, 153, 154) has pointed out, are pure Indo-Iranian innovations: the exact correspondent of Lat. [jungit] is not [yunákti] but [yuñjáte]. The fact that in Sanskrit forms like (bhuñjáti) [rundhāti], exist side by side with [bhunákti], [ruṇáddhi] indicates the preservation of the inherited forms with an infixed nasal side with the analogical forms like [chinatti].



## NOTES OF THE MONTH.

The royal court was the patron of learning in ancient India. Its place has now been taken up by the learned bodies, which stand for promotion of learning in modern times. These bodies, however, are in many cases too poor to help materially all the learned men of the land who have completely dedicated their lives to the advancement of knowledge but they appreciate occasionally at least the work of some select scholars who have already put their stamp on the subjects they have made their own and who have thus made themselves famous throughout the world by their life-long intellectual effort guided by the inner vision only. In accordance with this practice of honouring learned men the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society presented last month medals of honour to Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. K. AIYANGAR, M.A., Ph.D., and Mr. R. P. MASANI, M.A., the present Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. The tribute paid to these two scholars by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay on the above occasion is well worth putting on permanent record as it voices the genuine feelings of admiration we entertain for the services of these scholars in the cause of knowledge.

"Diwan Bahadur Dr. AIYANGAR'S contributions to a knowledge of the history and traditions of this vast sub-continent," said His Excellency "will be guide and an inspiration to all future explorers in these fields of difficult and laborious study. It is in every way fitting that one who has made by his teachings and writings, such a great contribution to history in South India should be honoured by this Society."

"Mr. R. P. MASANI has a special place of his own in the life of Bombay and India. He is indeed one of the 'wise men' whom Plato would have loved to appoint as a ruler of his perfect Republic, for he has combined high intellectual effort in the sphere of pure knowledge with practical ability in the world of everyday affairs, a versatility which is given to very few indeed. We are indeed lucky to have him today as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University." The history of Indian literature bears ample testimony to the fact that Indian Scholars of old, Jaina, Buddhist or Brahmanical, unmindful of the political conflicts of their days, kept on the torch of learning ever burning through centuries of unsettled conditions of life due to political turmoil and occasional vandalism caused by foreign invasions. We of modern times maintain the same tradition in minding our own business and by honouring our learned men at a time when the greatest of the modern wars is now raging in Europe. There is undying optimism in the human breast even in the pursuit of the mundane things. Things of the mind are not of clay and that touch of the Immortal which has enlivened our ancient glorious history and civilization will safely guide us through the present gloom, if we but stick fast to our aims and ideals in the pursuit of knowledge, pure and simple. As Kalidāsa said :

“हेन्रः संलक्ष्यते ह्यमौ विशुद्धिः श्यामिकापि वा ”

Verily the test of gold lies in the fire !

# EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MALAYĀLAM PROSE WRITTEN BY CHRISTIANS\*

By

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Ernakulam.

## CONSONANTS

1. Old *-cc-*, denoting a stage anterior to *-śś-*, is retained in the following:—  
*Kurēcce* < ultimately *Kurai-y-a-c-ceyda*; *vācca*, the past relative participle of *vāy-kk-*.

In modern *kurēśše* or *kurēśša*, the stop element in the long affricate has completely dropped out.

The other form *vāśša* (< *vācca*) is not heard in the Cochin State today.

2. *t* and *d* become changed to *-s-* in vulgar corruptions like the following:—

*kausukham* < *kautuka-*; [Skt.] the influence of *sukham* [Skt.] has also perhaps been operative.

*sōppa* 'garden' < *tōppa*.

*dēvasa* < *dēvatā* [Skt.]

*varasaṇ* 'uninvited guest' < *varattaṇ*.

*ḍinasa-ppeṭṭa* < *ḍinata* [from Skt. *dina*]

*agimōssiyam*, a corruption of *aikamatya* [Skt.]

*aṇuvasicca* 'having allowed' < *aṇuvadicca* [from Skt. *anuvad-*]

*carasi-kk-* 'to be careful,' "corrupted" from *śraddhi-kk-* adapted from

Skt. *śraddhā*

*sarggam*, a "sanskritization" of the native word *tarkkam* 'quarrel,' under the influence of Skt. *sarga*

3. Colloquial forms like the following show the assimilative change of the *alveolar* nasal *ṇ* to other nasals:—

*tiṅga-y-illa* [< *tiṇṇuga-y-illa*]

*mumbā* [< *muṇṇbā*]

*imbam* [*iṇbam*]

*timma* [*tiṇma*]

*kāmmāṇ* [*kāṇmāṇ*]

4. *velmāḍam* [< *veṇmāḍam*], *kālmāṇ* [< *kāṇmāṇ*] show *l* < *ṇ*

5. *ṇ* is substituted (by analogy) for *n* (arising from the meeting of *l* and *m*), in *peṇṇaṇmār*, *kaṇmaṇmār*.

6. Skt. *b-* appears as *v-* in forms like *veṇḍicca* (Skt. *bandh-*), *vālyam* (Skt. *bālya*), etc.

7. *solppaṇ* (Skt. *svalpa*) in collocations like *solppaṇ poḷudā* has final *ṇ* < *m*; cf. vulgar colloquial *samayaṇ* for *samayam*.

8. Forms like *pōrālīga* (<*pōrāyga*), *varālīga*, *mēlālīga* are met with ; these are heard occasionally today.

9. *ellāppolūm* or *ellāppalūm* does not have the *y* of modern *ellāyppolūm*.

10. *sāndhiga* (for Skt. *sandhyā*) and *praḷegam* (for Skt. *pralaya*) have -g- in the stead of -y-. Instances like colloquial *cāndriya* beside *cāndrika*, *iṣṭiya* beside *iṣṭika*, etc. may have led to the feeling that the velar plosive was original in popular colloquial *sāndhiya* (from *sandhya*) and *praḷeyam*. Such a process of wrong back-formation has operated in *tirige* (*tiriye* < *tiriya*) and *oḷige* (*oḷiye* < *oḷiya*), both of which are modern.

11. *Kār-kk-* for (*kā-kk-*) and *kaṇar-kk-* (for *kaṇa-kk-* formed from Skt. *ghana*) have an intrusive *ṛ*. These are colloquial. Literary Mal. has *kalar-kk-*, *kōr-kk-*, *pīlar-kk-*, in all of which *ṛ* is an intrusive. Tam. colloquials have *kār-kk-*, *kōr-kk-*.

12. The change of the post-dental *ṛ* to the palato-cerebral *ṛ* is met with in forms like *pallikkāṛar* which shows the dissimilative change of old *ṛ* to *ṛ*.

13. Skt. *ṣ* is adapted as *ḷ* in *ḷal*, *anvaḷi-kk-*, *puḷuḷan*, etc.

14. *Kūdal* 'hesitation' [ < *kūsal* < *kūśal*] shows the change of *s* > *d*.

#### SANDHI.

1. The colloquial practice of using the front on-glide after consonants preceding, even where there is no breath-pause, is represented in some of these texts, as in *avar yengilum*, etc.

2. The Mal. fondness for the front glide *y* which from an earlier period began to replace in many contexts the back glide *v* (which was originally normal in these contexts) is reflected in instances like *vaññū-y-eññā*, etc.

3. Rules regarding doubling of stops are here not consistently or "correctly" observed.

#### FOREIGN NAMES.

There are a number of names of European places, towns, countries, subjects of study and religious functionaries, which are sought to be spelt in Varttamāṇappustagam according to the pronunciation current at the time in the Mediterranean countries (particularly Italy and Portugal). The spellings used in Vartt. are transliterated here.—The interpretation of the phonetic facts has to be made separately with reference to the actual sound-values of the European names.

allemāññā 'Germany'  
 āśya 'Asia'  
 grammāṭica 'grammar'  
 ittālya 'Italy'  
 iñglēsā 'English'  
 ispāñña 'Spain'  
 iñdia 'India'  
 evaṅgēliōṇ

evurōppa 'Europe'  
 kardiṇāl 'cardinal'  
 kāppa dē bōṇo esperānsa 'Cape of Good Hope'  
 kumbasāram 'Confession' from Portuguese 'confessare'  
 koṇsūl 'Consul'  
 kvārentēṇa 'Quarantine'.  
 lisbōa 'Lisbon'.  
 trōṇōs  
 dōje 'Doge'  
 pātriārkaṇmār 'Patriarchs'.  
 pilosūpia 'Philosophy'.  
 pyirēṇsa 'Florence'.  
 plenipotensārio 'Plenipotentiary'.  
 prāsāṇ 'Frenchman'.  
 prattugāl 'Portugal'.  
 proppagāṇḍa phīde 'Propaganda fide'.  
 Bolōñña 'Bologne'.  
 muṣiññōr 'Monsignor'.  
 miserakkōrdia 'Misericordia'.  
 lāsaretta 'Lazarette'.  
 Viṣkōṇṭi 'Visconti'.  
 viṣkōṇṭessa 'Viscontessa'.  
 vattikāṇa 'Vatican'.  
 siyēṇṇa 'Sienna'.  
 siññōra 'Signora'.  
 sekretāri 'Secretary'.  
 rettorikā 'Rhetoric'.  
 rōma 'Rome'.

## VI MORPHOLOGY

1. The third case postposition *koṇḍa* is used in contexts where to-day the postposition *āl* would be preferred.

2. The Skt. *prati* when used as a postposition in this dialect has not only the meanings 'concerning' 'towards', but also the force of 'for the sake of', as in *avar prati*, *daivatte prati*, etc.

3. *-ēl*, as in *marattēl*, *kayyēl*, appears fairly often; this type is still heard in parts of Travancore.

4. *eḍō* for singulars and plurals, masculines and feminines, as commonly in the older stages.

5. The frequency with which the terminative expletive *ē* is used in instances like *irikkayilē*, *adiṇṇālē*, etc., is a noteworthy old feature.

6. Among pronouns, the following are noteworthy :—*iṇikkā* a colloquial form < *eṇikkā*.

*ñōm* [for *ñām*] owing to the influence of the bilabial *ñom* and *nōm* are heard to-day.

*tande tande* 'of each', modern *avanavande*; *taññal taññalude* 'of each group', modern *avaravarude*; *ā dēham* 'that personage' [modern *addēham* the honorific third person singular pronoun].

7. Among feminine forms, one may note the old *aḍiyāṭṭi*, *paḍdalāṭṭi*, *aḡaḍiyāṭṭi*.

8. Rational plurals like *dōṣāttālar*, *kūli-y-ālar*, *puṇya-v-ālar*; *paḷḷikkārar*, *paḷḷikkāṟar* and *kartaṇaṇṇal* are other old plurals.

9. Though the personal endings of finite tense-forms had disappeared already in Mal., certain traditional forms continued to be used in formal prayers and utterances. Since the history of the Malayāḷi Christians goes back to a period when these personal endings were still current, there is nothing surprising in the fact that such endings were retained in their prayers and formal ceremonies. The prayers cited in SV contain many types of personal endings.

10. Past stems like *vīññ.* (for *vīñ-*) and (conversely) *ūñi* (for *ūññ.i.*) are peculiar.

11. The "indeterminate" tense with *ū* is represented in more contexts than those in which they are used to-day :—*vāstavamāyirippū*; *aviḍe paṟkka hallū*.

12. *Okka* which originally was a pure infinitive began to be declined (like a noun) in the New Mal. period. *Okkakum*, *okkayude*, *okke* are all met with here.

13. The collocations formed of the relative participles and *āṟa* express 'manner'; future relative participles followed by *āṟa* (as in *ceyyum-āṟa*) express 'effect' also; past relative participles followed by *āṟe* denote 'time'—Older *kāṇmāṟ-unḡa*, *vicārippāṟunḡa*.

14. The combinations of present relative participles and *appōl*, like *ceyyuñṇappōl* are rare to-day.

15. *Kolgā*, *celgā*, *eḷuñṇēkkā* are imperatives with final long *ā*.

16. *Vēṇḍuvadā* or *veṇḍvadā* for modern *vēṇḍadā*.

17. Verbal nouns with *-ga*, *-kka* are used with the "seventh case" ending *-il*, as in (*paraññott.*) *irikka-y-il-ē*; this is uncommon to-day in Cochin colloquials.

18. Among negative tense-forms the following may be noted :—

(i) Beside the negative finite type of *ceyyāññu*, the type of *pōgāttu*, *illāttu* so common in 18th century Mal. literary texts, is also used.

(ii) *tāmasirādē*, *bōdhirādē*, *vicārirādē*, *sammadirādē* which show an *r* instead of the glide-developed *y*. This *r* is met with in the negative participles of dissyllabic verb-bases which have *i* for their past stems.

(iii) Negative "purpose"-participles with *-āyivāṇ* occur fairly frequently in the texts under reference :—*udappiṇḍe avagāṣam koḍukkāyivāṇ*; *veliccam-ākkāyivāṇ*; *āḡāyivāṇ*; *pūḡāyivāṇ*, *vighṇam varuttāyivāṇ*; etc.

(iv) *ñillādē, peraṭṭaḍiyādē* as negative imperatives (met with dialectally even to-day).

(v) *pūgikkollāyē* is another old form with *ollā*.

## VII VOCABULARY

### *Native elements.*

The words that I have discussed below are (a) those which are not in common currency to-day, except (if it so happens) in regional or communal colloquials; and (b) those which show structural or semasiological peculiarities.

These words include (i) old words forming part of the native heritage, (ii) words and forms specially adapted for expressing purely Christian religious ideas, and (iii) peculiar pseudo-Sanskritic formations derived from native words.

Many of the words discussed below are, it is true, met with in non-Christian texts and documents also; but the question how far some of these words enjoyed a special popularity in the language of the Christians (in respect of structure, meaning, connotation or associations) is a matter deserving of a more intensive investigation than I have been able to make in the course of these pages. I have, however, indicated in connection with a few words that they may have had a 'communal' popularity on account of social, cultural or historical considerations.

Wherever a word in the following lists is listed in VD (as cited by GUNDEBT), or in BAILEY, I have indicated the fact within square brackets. Though presumably the materials gathered by the compilers of VD (in the 17th and 18th centuries) and by BAILEY (at the very beginning of the 19th century) were chiefly drawn from the language of the Christian communities of North Travancore and South Cochin, it must be understood that the mere fact that a word is listed by VD and BAILEY does not necessarily mean that it was "communal" or that it enjoyed a special popularity among the Christians. This question, as I have pointed out more than once in the course of these pages, is a complicated one, and further materials (not available now) alone will satisfactorily solve the problem.

The words discussed below are all taken from Vartt., SV or BG. Many of the words are common to all the three. There are, however, a few which are exclusive to one text or the other; and these have been marked off as such by me.

*aḍutta* 'suitable, fitting' and *aḍṭṭa* 'unworthy, unsuitable,' as in the following, are not common to-day; *ṭaṇikk-aḍutta yōgyaṇṇaḷ* or *makkalkk-aḍutta āṣaṇṇa*; and *vargattin-aḍṭṭa kṛtyaṇṇaḷ*, etc.

*aṭṭa* 'sorrow'.

*amaḷi* 'tumult' [VD]

*amboṇ* 'fine gold' not *aimboṇ* 'five metals', but cf. Tam. *am*, 'beautiful', or cf. Tam. *paim-poṇ*.

*ayarpya* 'estrangement' 'discord' [VD]. Cf. Tam. *ayar-kk-* 'to forget.'

*ariśam* 'revengefulness' [SV defines it thus as 'revengefulness']—In literary Mal., it means 'anger'. 'Black pepper' is the meaning in Tam.

*araśar-irikkā-sthānam* 'seat of kings' 'capital of a country'.

*alarhñā* 'having become fatigued, on account of a long march' [Vartt.] appears to be a blend of *alanñā* and *ayarhñā*. Perhaps there is also the influence of *ular-* 'to be hot, dry.'

*arappā* 'qualm' 'aversion' [VD]; the verb *arai-kk-* 'to feel aversion' also exists in Mal.

Tam. *arai-* does not have this meaning; perhaps Tam. *arai-pō-* 'to become bewildered or nonplussed' may ultimately be related to the Mal. form.

The form *arappā* is used in expressions like *arappu ketṭi-* 'without any qualm or aversion.'

*alivā* 'repentance' [VD], as in *maṇassinḍe alivā* in SV. Cf. 'loosening of the mind', 'distress', a meaning that is associated with the word in classical literary texts. 'Distress' is a meaning shown by Tamil also.

*iṟummal* 'gnashing' in *pal-l-iṟummal* 'gnashing of the teeth'—VD has *iṟambal*.

*udappā* 'offence' [VD].—Cf. Tam. *udai-kk-* 'to kick,' 'to strike.'

*uyir-kk-* 'to be resurrected', *uyirppu* 'resurrection' [Bailey], *uyirovar* 'those alive.'—Cf. Tam. *uyir-* 'to be animated to life.' *uyir-kk-* and *uyirppā* (as in *mariccavarude uyirppā*) convey the Christian idea of 'resurrection.' *uvavi* [also *upavi*] [VD] incorrectly perhaps owing to a dissimilative change] 'love.' VD has a new *upavi-kk-* 'to love' based on *upavi*.

*uvavi* is based on the old base *uva-kk-* 'to feel glad.' Tam. has *uvavu* 'great pleasure' 'religious ardour.'

*uvavi* is a classical word met with in Rāmacaritam; but *upavi* and *upavi-kk-* appear to have been specially popular in Christian literature.

*ūṇi* *hīrūpi-kk-* 'to consider carefully or intently.'

*ūṇi* < *ūhñi* < *ūṇḍi*, the conjunctive participle of the verb *ūṇḍ-* 'to be fixed, steadfast,' etc.

The peculiarity here is the somewhat rare change of *hñ* to *ṇ* (through an intermediate stage of *ñ* simplified from *hñ* after a preceding long syllable). The cerebralisation (raising of the tongue-tip on the mouth roof) arises from the influence of the back vowel preceding.

There are some rare analogies in Mal:— < *āṇā* < *āhā* < *āhñā* < *āgiṇḍu* [present tense of *ā-* 'to become'.] *varunu* [the colloquial variant of the present tense finite *varuññu*] < *varuñu* < *varuññu*.

*ūlam* 'turn' [VD and Bailey], as in *pala ūlavum* 'many times'.—Cf. Tam. *ūl* 'turn' 'time'.—SV has the pseudo-Sanskritic form *ūṣam*.—Cf. the from *kṣvaṇ* used in BG for *kīlavan*.

*erivā* 'religious zeal' [VD].—Cf. Tam. *erivu* 'burning' 'agitation' 'wrath,' which meanings exist for the Mal. word also even to-day.—The meaning may have been specially adapted in the religious vocabulary of Christians:

*ellāppolūm* 'always' appears in this dialect often without the intrusive-y- of modern *ellāyppolūm*.

*ellāvan-um* 'all people' is a "corruption" with "wrong" singular masculine ending--(a)u, occurring in BG.—The "correct" form is *ellāvar-um*.

*eḷima* 'humility' [VD and Bailey].—A common word in the 18th and 19th century Kēraḷa Christian vocabulary.

*ēg-* 'to rebuke' [VD and Bailey]. In classical Mal *ēg-* generally means 'to direct, command,' 'to order a boon to be conferred.'—This classical *ēg-* corresponds to Tam. *ēv-*.

*ērakkuravā* [VD and Bailey], *ērakkurayam* 'assault' 'indignities,' 'illtreatment'—The first word is a noun, while the second is a noun formed from the old infinitive *ēra-k-kuraya*.—*ērakkuravā* occurs in old granthavaris [Cf. Cochin Arch. Report for 1103 M.E.].

Tam. *ērakkuraya-p-pēs* means 'to vilify or abuse.'

*ēttam* and *kai-y-ēttam* 'assault' derive their meaning from *ēr-* 'to attack', whereas *ērakkuravā* derives its meaning from 'what is more or less than propriety.'

*oppāri* 'comparison' 'parable'.

*orimbāḍa*, *orumbāḍa* 'concord' [Bailey]. Cf. Tam. *oruppāḍu* 'unanimity' 'concord', Tam. *orum-paḍ*- and Tam. *oru-maṇa-p-paḍ*-

*karēr-* and *kēr-* 'to climb, ascend' are both met with in this dialect.—The former base appears to have disappeared in Mal. colloquials by about the 19th century. [see my EMM, p. 42].

*kaḷalappāḍa* 'election,' 'nomination' [VD]. Cf. Tam. *kaḷal-* 'to become loose, free, marked off as a separate unit.'

Bailey's *kaḷalappāḍa* means 'groin'.

*kār-kk-* 'to guard, watch, etc.' [Vartt. and BG].—The intrusive -r- in this word is not met with in other Mal. colloquials.—*Kaṇar-kk-* [BG] is another base which has an intrusive r not heard in other colloquials.

The intrusive -r- appears in literary Mal. *piḷar-kk-* [cf. Tam. *piḷa-kk-*], *kōr-kk-* [cf. Tam. *kō-kk-*], *kaḷar-kk-* [cf. Tam. *kaḷa-kk-*] and in colloquial Tam. *kōr-kk-*, *cumar-kk-* [for *cuma-kk-*] and *kār-kk-* [for *kā-kk-*].

The r is inserted in these forms as an intrusive, on account of the analogy of forms like *kuḷir-*, *kuḷir-kk-*.

*kiḷi-kk-* 'to cover or traverse a distance of' [Vartt].

*kuṛai-kk-* 'to cut short' is used literally in *kuṛeccu koṇṇa*; cf. *ṇilattil kuṛayāḍē* in Uttaraṛām. gadyam.

*kūḍal* 'hesitation' < *kūṣal* [the usual modern Mal. form] < *kūṣal* [cf. Tam. *kūṣal*, *kūccal*].

*kūṭṭ-arutta* 'definitely'.—Cf. *aruttu para-* 'to speak decisively,' *arutta paḷiṣa* 'fixed interest,' *vilā-y-aruk-k-* 'to fix the price.' VD has *arāṭṭa vākkā* 'conditional promise.'

Bailey equates *kūṭṭaruppa* to 'want of friendship' 'arrogance, haughtiness,' in which *aru-kk-* appears to have the meaning 'to sever.'



*kai-y-āl-* 'to rule' [VD], and *kai-y-āli-kk-* 'to entrust, hand over charge to' [VD and Bailey].

*kurala* 'backbiting; calumny'.—E[uttaccan] has *kuralakkāraṇ*.—Cf. Tam. *kuralai*.

*cavaḷ-* 'to be soiled'. [VD and Bailey].—Cf. Tam. *cavaḷ* 'to become crumpled.'—Tam.—Mal. *cavaṭṭ-*, *caviṭṭ-* 'to trample on, to tread on' are causatives of *cavaḷ-*, *caviḷ-*.

*ciṭṭāḷma* 'services performed by personal attendant' [VD].—Cf. Tam. *ciṭṭāḷ*. *cey-* 'to do' appears very often as *cai-* in SV and BG.—This *cai* or *cay-* is common in old mss. and inscriptions.

*cemmōrtta* [VD and Bailey], *cummōrtta*, *cemmūrttam* [this last in Vartt. only] 'blessing, benediction.' VD has also *cemmōr-* (<*cemmuvar-* 'to become prosperous') and *cemmōrtt-* (<*cemmuvarutt-* to make prosperous 'to bless.')

*cemmuvar*—occurs in Kṛṣṇagāthā and other old classical texts. The structural contraction and the particular meaning 'benediction' for the derivative *cemmōrtta* are due probably to the incorporation of the form in the religious terminology of the Christians.

The *u* of *cummōrtta* is due to the bilabial following; and *cem-mūrttam* is a corrupt variant.

*tagarppa* 'demolition, destruction,' as in *manassinde tagarppa* 'contrition of the mind,' used in religious phraseology.

*taṇma* 'lowness, vileness.'—This is the sense in which the word is sometimes used in classical texts like Kṛṣṇagāthā. Cf. *taṇ-peḍ-* of this 15th century text.

*taṇuppa* 'comfort' is another meaning, as in *rakṣayum taṇuppum* [SV]. *taṇya* 'wicked,' as in *taṇya hṛdayam* 'wicked heart,' shows in its formation the influence of *taṇ* above and of Skt. *daṇḍya*—*taṇya* does not occur in any classical texts, so far as I know.

*tatra-p-peḍ-* 'to be in a hurry' 'to hustle' [VD].—Cf. Tam. *tattaram* 'flurry.'

*tala-p-peḍ-* 'to be the first' 'to commence.'—Cf. Tam. *talappaḍ-*.

*tigai-* 'to be fulfilled' 'to be completed' is used in phrases like *pustagaṇṇaḷ tigayuvāṇ* which is the literal translation of "in order that the scriptures might be fulfilled."

*tirva* and *tirmma* 'final settlement.' In Vartt., *tirmma-y-aṭṭa* means 'definitely.'

*tēṛ-* 'to become aware of (fault), to be mended or reformed,' as in *pilacca-dinmēl tēṛi*.

*tuḍarmāṇaṇṇal* 'continuations.'—The *-āṇam-* here is due to analogy of forms like *tir-māṇam*.

*tuḍassam* 'beginning' [VD and Bailey] (for *tuḍakkam*, *toḍakkam*) owes its -ss- to the analogy of *taḍassam* perhaps.

*tuṛassə* 'opening' [Bailey] is another form with -ss- introduced on account of the analogy of words like *baḷassə*.

*teḷṇṇā* 'having become glad.'

*ṇaḍē* 'formerly, for the previous time.' This is used in classical Mal. and in some modern regional colloquials.—*ṇaḍṇaḍē* 'for the first time,' heard in the northern parts of Cochin State, is derived through haplogy, from *ṇaḍṇaḍē*.

*ṇaṇḍi* 'gratitude.'—The "correct" Mal. form is *ṇaṇṇi* [< older *ṇaṇḍi*]; but the influence of Skt. *nandi* 'joy' has led to the spelling *ṇaṇḍi* in the "learned" Mal. of some people. In literary Tamil and in older Mal. the form has both the meanings 'goodness' and 'gratitude.'

*ṇaruṇṇāṇi* 'insolent language' 'abuse' [VD]. The form is connected with *ṇarukk*—'to mash, cut into pieces'.—I have not come across *ṇaruṇṇāṇi* elsewhere.

*ṇerappə, ṇirappə* [BAILEY] 'reconciliation, levelling of differences' 'peace'—Eḷuttaccan has *ṇirappu parai*.

*ṇigaḷam* 'pride, haughtiness' [VD and BAILEY]; this is perhaps a popular back-formation from *ṇūḷam*, like *tegal* 'scorpion' [BG] from *tēḷ*.

*ṇombaram* 'pain' 'distress' [BAILEY]—Cf. Tam. *ṇombalam* and North Mal. *ṇombalam*.

*paṭṭāṇṇa, paṭṭāṇṇa* [BAILEY], *paṭṭāḷṇṇa* [BG] 'truth'. The "correct" form is *paṭṭāṇṇa* [cf. Tam. *paṭṭāṅgu*].

*paṭṭāṇṇa* with final *a* instead of *ə* appears to be a colloquial variant.

BAILEY has *paṭṭāṇṇa-y-uḍe* as the "sixth case" form of *paṭṭāṇṇa*.

*paṭṭāḷṇṇa* occurring in BG is a "corruption", with an intrusive *ḷ*.

*paḍava* 'boat'.

*paṁmāṭṭa* 'deceit' [BAILEY].

*poruḷ paḍavārtta, (poruḷ)paḍārtha, piḍārtha* [this last in BG].—In Vartt., the word has the meaning 'religious discourse' in contexts like the following: *upavi mēḷ uḷḷa poruḷpaḍārta*;

*poruḷpaḍārta parāṇṇaḍinde śeṣam; ī ṇagariyil uḷḷa poruḷpaḍārta-k kāraruḍēyum*.

The same meaning exists for the expression in SV :—*ōttum poruḷ-paḍavārttayum*, and *taṇṇaḷ taṇṇaḷuḍe pēccil paḍārta parayugayum*.

*piḍārtha* (which is apparently a corruption appearing in BG) means 'speech' 'expression' in *ṇinnuḍe piḍārtha ṇinne ariyikkunṇu*.

*paḍavārtta* occurs in the old commentary on Lāl in *pāl pōle paḍavārttayum* where *paḍavārtta* may mean 'speech' or 'expression'.

GUNDERT cites VD as explaining it as 'disputing'. This appears to me to be unsatisfactory.—In the Christian texts under reference, the expression appears not only as *paḍārta* but also as *poruḷ paḍavārtta*. Can it be that the expression was phrasal to start with, and that from the collocation *poruḷ paḍa vārtta parayuga* 'to hold a discourse in such a way as to make the meaning clear' the expression *poruḷ paḍavārtta* was isolated?

*paḇava* 'bird' [BAILEY] 'bird in general'.—

*peśar* 'rain'.—Cf. Tam. *puyal* 'storm', colloquial, *peśal* 'beating rain'.—Cf. *piśir* 'rain-drops.'

*puṛavar* 'outsiders'.—This form occurs in Uttara-rāmāyaṇam gadyam.

*punnāram* or *ponnāram* 'false praise, flattery' [VD and BAILEY], as in *punnāram-āya vacaṇaṇṇal*.

*peraṭṭa* 'adultery', as in the sixth commandment *peraṭṭ-aḍiyādē* 'non moechaberis'.—Neither the literary dialect nor the colloquials that I know of have *this* meaning for *peraṭṭa*.

*pūg-* 'to enter' (a Mal. base formed from older *pug-*) often interchanged with *pōg-* 'to go.'

*paidalāṭṭi* 'young woman or girl'.—Note the association of *-āṭṭi* with *paidal*, in order to indicate the feminine gender.

*perppa* 'copy.' [VD and BAILEY]—*pagarppa* is a comparatively late form. *porudi* 'forgiveness, pardon', [BAILEY] as in *dōṣattiṇḍe porudi* 'forgiveness of sins'.

*poruppāṇ-um* 'Arrangements for lodging', as in *tiṇṇāṇum poruppāṇum poru-kk-* has the meaning 'to abide', 'to stay' in Mal.

*pōrum* 'enough' [BAILEY], beside *madi*.

*pōriga* in *madi pōriga* 'sufficiency' 'ability'.—BAILEY has *pōrima* with the same meaning.

*maṛudali-kk-* 'to oppose' 'to contradict', from *maṛu-tala*, 'opposition'.—Cf. *maṛu-kk-* 'to oppose.'

*miṇḍ-aḍaṇṇ-* 'to be silenced'.—VD has *miṇḍu-māṛ-*, and BAILEY has *miṇḍ-āṭṭam muṭṭ-* with the same meanings.

*muṇḍugār* literally 'those who wear the loin-cloth' is used for native Christians as distinguished from *kuppāya-k-kār* 'those who wear coats' i.e. Eurasian Christians (who are called *caṭṭakkār* to-day).

*muṇḍu muṛigal* 'miscellaneous *sāmāns*'.—The generalisation of meaning is evident in contexts like *ponnum velliyum koṇḍulla muṇḍumurigal*.

*mēśakk-iri-kk-*, *mēśa-kali-kk-*, literally 'to dine at table' means 'to take food' in contexts like *pul puṛattu mēśakk-iruttuvāṇ*. *mēśa-kali-kk-* or *mēśakk-iri-kk-* is generally used to-day only in connection with the dinner or meals of Europeans.

*mēni* 'rank' 'honour', as in *mēni-kṣayam* [SV]. VD has *mēni-y-aṛiyuṇṇavan* 'courteous man'.

*maiya* 'twilight' 'dusk' [VD and BAILEY]—Cf. Tam. *mai-* 'to be dim'.

*mōṇṇ-* 'to bark or howl, like a dog' [VD], as in *mōṇṇuvāṇ pōguṇṇa ṇāya*.—Cf. *moḷaṇṇ-*, *muḷaṇṇ-*.

*mṛuṇṇali-kk-* 'to become benumbed' [BG] is a corruption of *viṛaṇṇali-kk-*. In corrupt colloquials, *v* changes to *m*; cf. *mikk-* for *vikk-*, *amasaram* [BG] for *avasaram*.

*vaga-* 'to arrange', as in *vagaṇṇuṇḍākkiya puṣtagam*. VD *vagaccal* is equated to 'composition of work, fiction'; and BAILEY has 'to compose a work'.

*vaḍuḡar* 'bondsmen or slaves' [VD and BAILEY].—These were generally Pulayas. Though slavery has disappeared, Pulaya servants (and families, sometimes) remain attached to Christian families permanently even to-day in Kēraḷa.

*varattar* 'uninvited guests' [VD and BAILEY], from *varattā* 'coming, arrival'.—BG has *varasan* (with  $s < t < tt$ ).

*vaḷarmi-kk-* 'to rear up' is based upon the colloquial *vaḷarmma* (= literary *vaḷarcca*).

*vaḷaṇṇi-kk-* 'to hatch a plot' [Vartt.]

*vācca* 'some', 'any' is the past relative participle of *vāy-kk-*. The meaning has undergone considerable generalisation.—BAILEY has *vāśśadam* 'anything'.

*viḥcugār*, literally 'throwers (of nets)' 'fishermen'.—VD has *viḥcalkkāraṇ-viṇḍu viḷuvāṇ* 'in order to redeem or recover.' *viḷ-* is a Late Mal. base corresponding to Early Mal. and Tam. *mīl-*.

*viḷṭaccan* 'pater familias'.

*vēṇḍuvada*, *vēṇḍvada* 'what is required'.—Modern *vēṇḍada*.

*vēṇḍādhīnam* 'objectionable, malicious words'.—A corruption of *vēṇḍādanam* under the influence of forms like Skt. *parādhīnam*. One hears in the corrupt colloquials *ācchādhīnam* for Skt. *āchādāna*.

BAILEY has *vēṇḍāsanam* which is also a "corruption" with  $s < t$  (through the fricative stage).

*veḷusam* in *veḷusamāyi ppara-* 'to speak openly'.—Cf. *vaḷusam* and *palusam*.

*vellaṅguḍi* (*vellaṁ kuḍi*), literally 'drinking of water', is used for 'food taken during a journey' and for 'food' in general. BAILEY gives the meaning 'provisions for a journey'.

*veḷmāḍam* 'terrace', for *veṇmāḍam*.

*sargam* 'quarrel' for *tarkkam*, is one of those numerous pseudo-Sanskritic forms that abound in this dialect.

*sōppa* 'garden' 'a *tope*' [VD] shows *s* for the initial *t-* of *tōppa*.

## INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD\*

By

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LĀTHI

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v. s. 1808

[6-8-1752.

This inscription is found in the temple of Bhīḍbhanjana Mahādeva at Lāthi. The length and breadth of the inscribed portion is 6".

It records that Sanghavi Hemarāja and Viṭhal, sons of Kalyānji, belonging to the Vanik Kapol community caused the temple of Bhīḍbhanjan Mahādeva to be built in Lāthi during the time of GOHEL ŚRISIMHJI, on Thursday, the eighth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1808.

This inscription was once published in the *Pkt. and Skt. Inscriptions of Kathiawad*, p. 168.

*Text*

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्री सारदाजे नमः ॥ श्रीरणछोडजी
- 2 सत छे ॥ श्रीजयो मंगलाचरणं श्रीश्रीसंवत्
- 3 १८०८ वर्षे मासवतममासे श्रावणमासे
- 4 शुक्लपक्षे तथौ अष्टमी वार गुरु जोग अंड
- 5 एवं पंचांगसधौ तदा देवल भीडभंजन शंभु
- 6 नुपणात ? आदिश्रीलाठीमधे गोहेल श्री
- 7 संघजी वैराजमान राज करे छे श्रीवणिककपो
- 8 लगनाती गोत्र मंडल संघवी श्री ५ कल्याणजी
- 9 केसव तदा भार्या बाई उभयकुलवसुधाबाईअ
- 10 मलस पुत्र संघवी हेमराज तथा संघवी वीठल
- 11 जी पुत्र पीतांबर ॥ श्रीभीडभंजनसंभुनुं देवल
- 12 चणावतां जे बेसारण जे थै होय ते सर्व तुलसीपत्रे छे श्रीकृष्णा ण

DHRANGDHRA

No. 176]

v. s. 1815

[9-5-1759.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the southern wall near the image of Gaṇapati, in the Maṇi-Nāgeśvara temple at Dhrangdhra.

It records that Āvaradāsa and his sons began building the temple, (of Mahādeva) on Thursday, the 9th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa of v.s. 1809 = 6-8-1753) when AHMED SHAH was the emperor (of Delhi) and Mahārāṇa RAISIMHJI was the ruler of Zālāvād. The construction of the

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\* Concluded from p. 382 of Vol. III.

temple was completed on Wednesday, the 13th of the bright half of Vaiśākha of v.s. 1815 in the time of Rājā GAJASIMHJI (of Zālāvād) and his son JASVANTSIMHJI. The cost of the building was Rs. 7101. Āvardās spent 91 *kalasis* of corn in charity and promised to grant 10 *kalasis* every year for the maintenance of the temple.

### Text

- 1 श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायण ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीवमणी नागेस्वर ॥ श्रीअंबाजी ॥ हनुमान
- 2 ॥ संवत् १८०९ ना वरषे सावण शुद्ध ९ दने वार
- 3 गरेड श्रीपरसादपंचतीरथीनो आरंभ मांडो छे
- 4 बादसाहा श्रीअेमदसाहा वीजे राजे श्रीजाहा
- 5 लावाडना देसपति महाराण श्री राअेसंघजी
- 6 ना राजमां श्रीद्रांगदरामधे वास श्री आवरदास
- 7 मुलजी भारया बाई दतबाई सुत दानसंघ सुत
- 8 कसुभाई तथा नवलसंघ सुत बनेलसंघ तथा आणंद
- 9 राम तथा बन जामबाई तथा बालगोपाल श्रीपरसाद
- 10 करावो छे तेनी बेसराण रुपैआ ७१०१ ) अंके ईको
- 11 तेरसेहेने अेकनी बेसराण थई छे तेनी पुराणाहुती
- 12 संवत् १८१५ ना वैशाख शुद्ध १३ बुधे सपर चडाव छे ता
- 13 र राजा श्रीगजसंघजी कुअरश्री जसवतसंघजी पा
- 14 ट पाटोघर छे श्रीधरमखाते वास आवरदासे दांणा
- 15 कलसी ९१ एकांणु धरमखाते करा छे वरस १ कलसी १०
- 16 ने आसरे मन धरु छे श्रीपरमेसर अपावे तार सुधी आ
- 17 पे करवा कारवता श्रीईस्वर छे परसादना सेवक रावल नांहां
- 18 ना सुत ओधवजी तथा भाई माधवजी श्रीव
- 19 डेराना कारीगर सलट सामलजी जीवणजी

### LĀTHI

No. 177]

v. s. 1820

[27-11-1763

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of the image of Gaṇapati in the temple of Bhidbhanjan Mahadeva at Lāthi. The inscribed portion measures 10" by 3".

It records that Sanghavi Kalyāṇa Keśava caused the image of Gaṇapati to be set up on Sunday, the seventh of the dark half of Kārtika in V. S. 1820 in Lāthi (in the time) of Gohel LĀKHĀJI.

The inscription was once published in the *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawad*, p. 169.

### Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ संवत् १८२० वर्षे कारतक वद ७ दने रवीवाशरे श्री
- 2 गणपतिचुं सरूप थयुं छे श्रीलाठीमधे गोहल लाषाजीनी
- 3 शंघवी कलाण केसव सुत पीतामर श्रीगणपति नमः

## HALVAD

No. 178]

v. s. 1822

[3-10-1765.

The inscription is copied from one of the many *pālās* standing in a *deri* near the temple of Bhavāni Mātā in Rājehara in Halvad.

It records that Mahārāṇā Gajasimhji, son of Raisimji was slain in a fight with the cavalry of Vāghaḍa on Thursday, the fourth of the dark half of Āso in v.s. 1822.\* Hathī Sanga, son of Gaṇṇia Kesari was also slain with him.

## Text

सवत् १८२२ वरषे आसो वद ४ व  
र गरु मारण श्रीराभसंघजी  
सुत महरण श्रीगजसंगजी वा  
र चडतान काम आवा छ घुडां वागड  
ना साथमांमला थअ ते कम आवा  
छ गजणआ केसरज सत गजणी  
आ हठीसंगजी कम आवा छ.

## VALĀ

No. 179]

v. s. 1828

[4-5-1772.

This inscription is engraved on a white marble slab in the possession of the Thakur Saheb of Valā. The inscribed portion measures 12" by 8".

It records that Bhāroji Frāmji made repairs to the well, in which the inscription was first fixed, on the second day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1828, during the time of BHĀVASIMHJI. The well was formerly built by Vālā Shri Shurāji.

The inscription was once published in the *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawad*, p. 170.

## Text

- 1 संवत् १८२८ वर्षे वैशाख शुद्ध २ दने वा
- 2 ला श्रीशुरजीए बंधावी छे ते वाव अंधा<sup>1</sup>
- 3 रीमां भारोजी फरामजीए बंधावी छे
- 4 नारो श्रीशूरजे<sup>2</sup> छे राज्यश्री रावल० बी
- 5 शाभाई भावसंघजीनुं छे श्रीरस्तु

## LIMBDI

No. 180]

v.s. 1830

[16-5-1774.

This inscription is found engraved on a marble slab fixed in the wall of the *deri* of 28 pillars on the bank of a tank at Limbdi. It measures 13" by 6".

\* The v. s. seems to the *Aṣāḍhādi*.

1. The mango grove in the vicinity of a village is called अंधारी.
2. i.e. the passage of the well is to the east.

It records that Mahārājādhirāja ADĀJĪ and Kumāras VERĀJĪ and AMARA-SIMHJĪ who belonged to the Zālā family, which is one of the 36 royal families and is of the Mārkaṇḍeya gotra were killed in a battle. In their honour a *deri* was built at the cost of Rs. 2,321. The building of the *deri* took 2 years and 4 months, and was completed on Monday, the sixth of the bright half of Vaiśākha in V. S. 1830.

*Text*

- 1 श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्पुत्रविक्रमार्कसमयातित संवत् १८३० वर्षे श्रीमन्पुत्र
- 2 शालिवाहनकृत शाके १६९६ प्रवर्तमाने वैशाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे ६ सोमवा
- 3 सरे पुष्यनक्षत्रे वृद्धिनाम्नि ज्योगे क्षत्रिकुलमुद्योतकारि षट्त्रिंशराज
- 4 कुलिमध्ये मार्कण्डेयगोत्रपवित्रगौब्राह्मणप्रतिपालक झाला श्रीमा
- 5 हाराजाधिराज अदाजी पंचत्वं तथा कुवर श्रीवेराजी शस्त्राघाते पंचत्वं
- 6 तथा कुवर श्रीअमरसंघजी शस्त्राघातेन पंचत्वं प्राप्नोति तस्य हिताय दे
- 7 वलौकिपुत्रिप्रितये सर्वतो भद्रप्रासाद संपूर्णमगमए प्रासाद वर्षे
- 8 २ मास ४ पूर्ण थयो द्रव्यधरच रुपैया सहस्र २३२१ बेत्रण्यसे एकविस
- 9 धरचा छे प्रसादनी रक्षा येको झाला श्री अदाजीनी
- 10 करज्यो

WADHWAN

No. 181]

v. s. 1833

[30-12-1776.

This inscription is found in the *deri* of Candrasimhji at Wadhwan. The inscribed portion measures 10½" by 12".

It records that Mahārāṇā PRITHVIRĀJĪ caused a *deri* to be made in honour of Mahārāṇā CANDRASIMHJĪ on Monday, the 5th of the dark half of Māgashirsha in v.s. 1833. Prithivirajji's mother was the daughter of JAYASIMHJĪ of the Vāghelā family, and was named Kuśala Kuvarbā.

*Text*

- 1 संवत् १८३३ ना वर्षे शाके १६९८ प्रवर्तमां
- 2 न्ये रवि पक्षणान्ये गते मासोत्तममासे मा
- 3 गेक्षिर्मासे कृष्णपक्षे तिथि ५ वार चंद्रे महारा
- 4 णाश्रीचंद्रसिंहजीनो प्रासाद बाघेला श्रीजेसि
- 5 जी० तस्य सुता बाई श्रीकशल कुवर सूत
- 6 माहाराणा श्रीप्रथीराजजिये प्रसाद क
- 7 राव्यो छे ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

GHELA SOMANATHA

No. 182]

v. s. 1850

[3-2-1794.

This inscription is found engraved on a slab which is fixed near the door of the temple of Nilakaṇṭha Mahādeva adjoining the temple of Somanatha, called Ghelā Somanatha, on the bank of the river Ghelā, at a dist-



ance of eleven miles to the north-east of Jasdan, and a mile from the village named Piplia.

It records that Thākor Śrī Vakhtsinhji, evidently the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, had come to worship Somanatha with his Diwan and Kāmdārs and about 1000 cavalry, on Monday, the fourth of the bright half of Māhā in v.s. 1850.

The visit of Vakhtsinhji to the place might have taken place on his way back from Jasdan where he had gone to humble Vājsur Khācar, the powerful Kathi ruler of Jasdan.

An earlier inscription of v.s. 1798 fixed in the wall near this inscription shows that the temple evidently of Nilakantha Mahadeva was built (repaired?) at a cost of Rs. 7625, by Davagar.

Outside the courtyard of the Somanatha temple is a *pālīā* of Jamni, wife of Jasa who became Sati in v.s. 1675

### BEYT

No. 183]

v. s. 1855

[31-3-1799.

This inscription is inscribed on one of the six *pālīās*, all of the same date, standing in an enclosure in front of the new Śankha Narayana temple in Beyt. It records the death of Bhanji Pujaji in the fight with the English, on Sunday, the 11th of the dark half of Phālguna in v.s. 1858. The other five *pālīās* record the death of other soldiers in the same fight.

This fight must have taken place between the people of the Vāḍel Rāṇā of Aramḍā and Beyt and the English who had attacked the island in A.D. 1799. In the light of these inscriptions the date of the first connection of the British with the island given as 1804 A.D. in the Kathiawad Gazetteer (p. 594), requires to be corrected. It took sixteen years to completely subjugate the island in 1816 by the combined forces of the British and the Gaikwad. By the treaty of 18th November, 1817 the island passed under the sovereignty of the Gaikwad of Baroda.

### LIMBDI

No. 184]

v.s. 1860

[14-1-1804

This inscription is engraved on a marble stone slab fixed in a wall of the *deri* of 28 pillars on the bank of the tank at Limbdi. The inscribed portion measures 6½" by 7½".

It records that Mahārānā *Harisinhji* caused the *deri* of *Harbañji* to be made on Saturday the second of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1860 at a cost of Rs. 725.

### Text

- 1 स्वत् १८६० ना माघ शुदि २ शने
- 2 उ माहाराणा श्रीहरभंमजी
- 3 नि देरी करीवी छे रु० ७२५ चणा

- 4 वता थया छे मास० ६ ये पुरी थ
- 5 ई छे माहाराणा श्रीहरिसंघजीये
- 6 चणावी छ ला० सखिदाश ॥ श्री ॥

### TARANETAR

No. 185]

v.s. 1867

[9-5-1811

This inscription is found in the temple of Mahādeva at Taranetar.

It records that *Vithal Bābāji* in the service of the *Gaikwād* caused a temple of Trinetra i.e. Mahādeva to be built in v.s. 1867 or Śaka 1733.

This Vithal Bābāji was the famous general of the Gaikwad, who conquered Kathiawad, and established the power of the Marathas there.

### Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
- 2 श्रीमद्विक्रमराज्यतः परिमि
- 3 तेऽब्देऽश्वांगनागेंदुभिश्चोवे
- 4 णीतटसंस्थितत्रिनयनप्रा
- 5 सादमानिर्ममौ ॥ श्रीमद्रायक
- 6 वाडसेवकशिरोरत्नस्य बाबाजि
- 7 नः सेवातत्परदेवजित्सुतनयः
- 8 श्रीविठ्ठलाख्यः सुधीः ॥ १ ॥ चित्रभा
- 9 नुसमे सौम्येत्वयने मासि माघवे
- 10 कृष्णे गुरौ प्रतिपदि प्रतिष्ठाविधि
- 11 रप्यभूत् ॥ २ ॥ श्रीरस्तु सर्वजगतां ॥
- 12 शके १७३३ संवत् १८६७
- 13 श्रीचरणि लेखक आनंदराव लक्ष्मण....

### JADESHVARA

No. 186]

v.s. 1869

[13-3-1813

This inscription is engraved on a black stone slab fixed in a niche near the image of Ganapati in the famous Jaḍeshvara Mahādeva temple at a distance of 6 miles from Vānkāner. The inscribed portion measures 14" by 11". Though the man who composed the inscription seems to be learned the engraver has done his work most carelessly. The mistakes are not corrected.

The inscription mentions that the temple of Jaḍeshvara Mahādeva was built by VITHALRAO BĀBĀJI, the general of the GAIKWAD, who conquered Saurashtra, on Saturday the 12th of the bright half of Phālguna, in v.s. 1869 or Śaka 1734.

### Text

- 1 ॥ श्री सांबसदाशियाय ॥
- 2 श्रीमद्रायकवाडसेवनसमुद्भूतप्रतिष्ठावनी
- 3 बानाज्याहित विठ्ठलस्वनयतः स्वायत्तसौ-

- 4 राष्ट्रकः ॥ अवर्द्धकांगुजंगचंद्रविमिते
- 5 मास सिते फालाने पुष्यर्क्षे शनिवा
- 6 सरे हरितियो जाटेशसद्य व्यधात
- 7 ॥ १ ॥ यद्गगाधरनोद्येन मया गंगाधरो
- 8 चितः ॥ मत्पूर्तपूर्वकतेन प्रीतो मेस्तु
- 9 जटेश्वरः ॥ २ ॥ जयं मूलमिति प्राहुः का
- 10 रणं चेति तद्विदः ॥ जगज्जन्मादिहेतु
- 11 त्वाद्वदतीम जटेश्वर ॥ ३ ॥ सं १८६९ श
- 12 के १७३४ फाल्गुन शुक्ल १२ शनो पुष्यनक्षत्रे
- 13 आयुष्ययोगे बालवकरणे सूर्योदयात् इष्ट
- 14 घटी १५ पल ३१ समय प्रासाद प्रतिष्ठा इष्टदास्तु ॥

## AMRELI

No. 187]

v.s. 1873

[28-4-1817

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab built up in the wall of the famous Nāgeśvara Mahādeva temple in Amreli. Unlike most of the inscriptions of the modern period this inscription is composed in good simple Sanskrit.

The object of the inscription is to record the building of the Nāganātha temple in Amaravalli by VITHALRAO VEVĀJĪ of the Prabhu community who was the minister of the king of Vāṭapura and who conquered SAURĀṢṬRA. The work was completed on Monday, the 12th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1873 (Śaka 1739). The inscription was composed by Jagannatha, a Brāhmin of the Praśnorā community.

## Text

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ सौराष्ट्रे पुण्यभूमौ जयति शुभगुणा
- 2 लंकृता भूविभूषा सा पूर्णावर्णवल्ली विलसति सततं यत्र नागे
- 3 श्वरोऽसौ ॥ पूर्व यः पावनेस्मिन्नुरगवरफणाच्छत्रचिन्हः स्वयंभुः
- 4 दुर्दैवः पुण्यहीनैरकलितमहिमा विद्रलायासतुष्टः ॥ १ ॥ देवा
- 5 जिच्छैवमुख्यः प्रभुकुलतिलको विठ्ठलस्तस्य सूनुर्दानी शूरो
- 6 दयालुर्वैद्यगुरुरूपतेर्भक्तिवर्ष्यः प्रतापी ॥ तेन श्रीनागना
- 7 थो व्ययचरदतुलं राजदुर्गं तु मध्ये पश्चाद्दुर्गं नगयूयां
- 8 निजपदकमलद्वंद्वदास्योत्सुकेन ॥ २ ॥ प्राच्यां श्रीवि
- 9 ङ्गलेशालयमुदधितटे चंद्रचूडालयं च त्रैनेत्रश्री
- 10 जटेशालययुगममुना कारयामास शंभुः ॥ प्रासा
- 11 द रैवतादेः प्रतिभट्टममरेत्यां तथा विठ्ठलेन प्राच्यां
- 12 यो जीर्णदुर्गाधिपयवनकरं मोचयामास शीघ्रं ॥
- 13 ३॥ वर्षे नंदागनागामृतकिरणमिते सिंधुवहनि
- 14 चंद्र ह्याते शाके च माघे मकरगमिहिरे शुक्लषष्ठ्या बु
- 15 धेव ॥ कर्कज्ये कुंभजैदौ परिघशतभिषाकौल-

- 16 वैर्युक्तमीने प्रारब्धा नागनाथालयकृतिरचना  
 17 कारुभिर्विद्वलेन ॥ ४ ॥ वर्षे वन्द्यद्रिनागामृतकिरण  
 18 मिते माधवे शुक्लपक्षे द्वादश्यां सोमवारेऽर्यमभग  
 19 वृषभे बालवे हर्षणादौ ॥ पार्वत्या नंदिनाथो क  
 20 मठगणपयोर्मरुतेः सुप्रतिष्ठा प्रासादस्य प्रति  
 21 ष्ठा सुकनककलशैः कारिता विद्वलेन ॥ ५ ॥  
 22 संवत् १८७३ वर्षे शाके १७३९ वैशाख शुद्ध द्वाद  
 23 शी सोमवारे विद्वल देवाजीये नाथेश्वरनो प्रासा  
 24 द संपूर्ण कराव्यो छे ॥ कवि जगन्नाथ प्रश्नोरा ब्राह्मण  
 25 शिल्पी सुस्यराम सोमपरा

## SIHORE

No. 188]

v.s. 1887

[20-10-1831

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the wall of a small *deri* in the north-western part of the famous Brahma Kuṇḍa which is in the southern part of the town Sihore in the Bhavnagar State. The inscribed portion measures 8" by 4".

It records that Svāmi Purushottama Sarasvati caused a temple of Brahmā to be built on the bank of the Brahma Kuṇḍa on Thursday, the seventh of the dark half of Āśvin in v.s. 1887.

It is to be noted that the image of Brahmā is now missing. This Brahma kuṇḍa is said to have been originally built by the Caulukya sovereign Siddharāja Jayasirīha.

## Text

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १८८७ ना शाक १७५३ प्रवर्त्त  
 2 माने आश्विनमासे कृष्णपक्षे तिथी ७ स  
 3 त्तमी गुरुवासरे ॥ स्वामी श्रीपुरषोत्तम  
 4 सरस्वतीये श्रीब्रह्मकुण्डउपर देहू चणा  
 5 बीने श्रीब्रह्मानी मुरतीनी थापना करी  
 6 छे ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

## MĀDHAVAPUR

No. 189]

v.s. 1896

[11-5-1840

This inscription is found in the famous Mādhavarai's temple at Mādhavpur, now in the Porbandar State.

It records that the temple of Mādhavarai was repaired by Rūpālibā, mother of Mahārāṇa Vikramātji of the Jethvā family, on Monday, the 10th of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1896. The same queen repaired the Kedāreśvara temple in Porbandar as an inscription of v.s. 1894 in the temple to that effect states.

## Text

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नः ॥ श्रीमाधवरायो जयति ॥ स्वस्ति
- 2 ॥ श्रीमन्पृथ्वीक्रमाऽकसमयात् संवत् १८९६ ना
- 3 साके १७६२ ना वैसाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे दसम्या १०
- 4 तीथौ सोमवासरे उत्तरा फालगुनिनक्षत्रे हरिषण्यो
- 5 गे गिरकर्णे मेऽषरासिस्थीते शुभ्यै रवौ उतायने
- 6 वसंतरितौ तुलरासीस्थीते देवगुरौ अवं पंचांग
- 7 शुभौ अत्र सुमदिने श्रीमाधवपुरमध्ये धर्मराज जे
- 8 छवसे माहाराणा श्रीविक्रमातजी तस्य मातुश्रीरु
- 9 पालीबाजे श्रीमाधवरायजीनु जीर्णमंदीर हतु ते नो
- 10 तमं कीधुं छेः ॥ कर्ता विध्वकर्मावसे सलाट पोरे
- 11 चा देवा वसरामे चणु छेः ॥ लीं अध्यारु हरजीवन स
- 12 वजी ज्ञाति अबदिचसह्र जोशी ईसामली (?)

## CHANDRASA

No. 190]

v.s. 1911

[19-4-1855

This inscription is found fixed in the northern dam of the Chandrāsar lake to the west of the town Rājasāthāpur in the Dhrangdhra state. It measures 1'10" in length and 10" in breadth and being quite modern is in an excellent state of preservation.

It records that in the *Jhalla* family, which is one of 36 Kṣatriya families, was born a king named *Candrasimhaji* who was eleventh in descent from *Mānasimhaji*, son of *Raṇmallaji*, who was the son of *Amarasimhaji*. This *Candrasimhaji* had caused to be dug a lake, called Candāsar lake, where an inscription dated Monday, the 5th of the bright half of Phālguna of v.s. 1624 was fixed. The lake had been very much out of repairs. Mahārāṇā *Raṇmalji*, therefore, ordered his Vazir Jādejā Sāngāji to dam it as strongly as before. Accordingly he repaired the tank on Thursday the third of the bright half of Vaiśakha in v.s. 1911 (Śaka 1777).

## Text

- 1 ई ॥ नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्योनमः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्पृथ्वीक्रमाकसमयातिसंवत्
- १९११ वर्षे शाके
- 2 १७७७ प्रवर्तमान्ये उत्तरायते शुभकारि वैशाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे त्रीतीयायां तिथौ गुरुवासरं
- तत्र दिने शुभ वेलायां
- 3 षट्त्रिंशद्वाजकलावनसफल्लवंशदिवामणिमाहाराणा श्री ७ अमरसिंघजी तस्यात्मज-
- विजयराज्ये माहाराणा श्रीर
- 4 णमल्लसिंघजी कुअर श्रीमानसंघजी येमना अग्यारमी पेडीयै माहाराणा श्री ७ चंद्र-
- सिंघजी पूर्व्या तेउये पोताना नाम
- 5 श्री आचंद्रासर तलावकरायुं तेनो शिलालेख दक्षण दिसा तरफ पाणी आववानी नाली छे
- तेना भारवट उप

- 6 र आ अक्षरलषेल छे संवत् १६२४ वर्षे फाल्गुन शुदि ५ सोमे ॥ श्लोक ॥ चंद्राहरं तडा-  
गंच ॥ कारितं दर्भ गोत्री
- 7 णा ॥ सत्त्वानां शातयेनुना दीपचंद्रेण क्षत्रीणा ॥ १ ॥ ये आ तलाव घणुं जीर्ण थई एक  
भागनुं बाकी रहलनेत्र
- 8 ण भागमां मुतलक रहेल नही तेनां जीर्णोधार महाराणश्री रणमल  
[सिंग]जीये वजीर जाडेजा सांगाजीने हुक
- 9 म करी आ तलाव प्रथम जेवुं हतुं तेवुं मजबुत काम करावी जीर्णोद्धार कराव्यां छे ॥  
श्लोक । चंद्रसिंहो ।
- 10 नरपतिर्शल्लवंशोद्भवो बली ॥ तेनाकरि चंद्रसरो निःपंकं मानसं यथा ॥ १ ॥ तद्वंशीयो  
महाना
- 11 सीदणमल्लाख्य भूपतिः ॥ मान्यो वदान्योधीमांश्च सत्यसंधो दृढव्रतः ॥ २ ॥ जीर्णोधार-  
कतस्तेन स
- 12 रसः सुफलप्रदः ॥ ( स्व ) वं ( शो ) द्दरणार्थाय देहिनां च सुखाय वै ॥ ३ ॥ सांगाजी  
छचिवस्तस्य क्षत्री
- 13 यो नीतितत्परः ॥ यथारामाद्यावनकर्त्ता धर्ममस्यरक्षकः ॥ ४ ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ ॥

## SHIMROLI

No. 191]

v.s. 1912

[8-2-1856

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a white stone slab fixed in a well near the temple of Shamnātha Mahādeva at Shimroli, which is at a distance of 7 miles from Kesod on the Kesod-Māngrol road. The inscribed portion measures 1'-7½" by 11".

It records that at Śimroli there was a very old well called Khodiyāl *vāv* which was dug deeper and granted in *girās*, in the time of Nabab *Bahādur-khānji* and his Diwan *Amarji*, in v.s. 1831. It was again repaired by Muṭārām, son of Jayaśankar in v.s. 1912 at the cost of 3216 *koris*.

## Text

- 1 : ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीमा  
2 ता खोडीयाल साहाय छे ॥ शंव  
3 त १८३१ नी सालमां नबाब श्री  
4 ७ बाहादुरखानजीनी नवा  
5 [ वी ]मां मोजे शीमरोली मोटीमां  
6 वाव खोडीयाल असल पुरा  
7 तनी हती तेमां पाणीनी मेन  
8 त करी [ आश सावो । काका  
9 तथा काला राखता ? ] ते उप  
10 र गांम गरास मेता श्रीअम  
11 रजी दीवा[न\*]नी वारमां आपु छे  
12 ते वाव पाळी सं १९१२ ना  
13 महाना शुद २ दीने च मगले

- 14 श्वर सु अणंदजी सु बीशेश्वर
- 15 सु वजेशंकर सु जेशंकर सु
- 16 मुगटरामे को । ३२१६। अ
- 17 खरे त्रणहजार बरो ने सवासो
- 18 ठ खरची वाव पछी बंधा
- 19 बी छे ॥ श्रीरस्तु । दो मेघजी

## SEKHAPĀT

No. 192]

v.s. 1914

[20-1-1858

This inscribed slab is fixed in the wall of a *deri* in the eastern part of the village Sekhpāt.

The inscription records that *Vibhā*, son of *Rāṇmal* repaired the temple of *Āsāpuri Mātā*, on the 5th day of the bright half of *Māgha* in v.s. 1914.

## Text

- 1 : ॥ श्रीआशापुराजी सहाय ॥ दोहा ॥ सतरसे स
- 2 तलोतरो ॥ फागणमास उत्तंग ॥ तथ तेरसेर
- 3 वासर भ्रगु ॥ रणरचीयो रासंग ॥ १ ॥ दलर
- 4 णसीसो ठोकलो ॥ उनडमाडे अभंग ॥ पडीया
- 5 ए तापागथी ॥ रण पड तेरासंग ॥ २ ॥ ओ
- 6 गणीसे चउदा अधक ॥ माहामासशुभसा
- 7 र ॥ रणमल्लसुतवीभेरजु ॥ कीनो जीरणोधा
- 8 र ॥ ३ ॥ तये अचल नविनापुरी ॥ पछम धराप्र
- 9 तपाल ॥ बीभो दलद्रविहंडणो ॥ के कविता
- 10 वजमाल ॥ ४ ॥ सर्वतु १९१४ ना माहा सुद ५ ॥

## BEYT

No. 193]

v.s. 1935

[13-8-1879

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the wall of the Śankha Nārāyaṇa temple situated in the central portion of the island Beyt Śankhadhāra near Dwarka at a distance of half a mile to the east of the main temple of Raṇchodrāi. The tradition goes that the image of Śankha Nārāyaṇa in this temple was set up by one Śiva Sangana in v.s. 1607.

The inscription mentions that in v.s. 1774 Mahārāv Prāgī repaired the temple and an inscribed slab was fixed to that effect. It was afterwards repaired in v.s. 1854. The inscription put to that effect was worn out. The temple was again repaired in v.s. 1902 and the inscription which was put at the time is preserved near the present inscription. Lastly, on Wednesday, the twelfth of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1935, the temple was rebuilt by order of Nānibā Zālī, mother of Mahārāv Khangārjī.

## Text

- 1 ॥ श्री शंखनारायणजी सत्य छे संवत् १७७४ नी शालमां कच्छ दे शाधिप
- 2 ति महाराओ श्रीप्रागजीये आ श्रीनु मंदिरं नवु कर तेनो शिलालेख नि
- 3 ज मंदिरना बारणाउपरे छे ते पछे सं १८५२ नी शाल मंदिरनु काम करावे
- 4 ल छे तेनो शिलालेख आ जोडे कायम छे ते पछे स १९३५ ना श्रावण वी
- 5 द १२ बुधेनु महाराजाधिराज मिरजां महाराओ श्रीखेगारजी बाहादुरनां मातुश्री
- 6 बाईसाहेब श्री नानीबा झालीये आश्रीना मंदरनुं काम तथा मंदिरने सा
- 7 मो श्रीहनुमानजीवालो दरवाजो छे ते उपर मजला बेनीभो बांधावी तेनुं काम सं
- 8 पूर्ण करान्यु छे ॥ गादिस्थ ब्रह्मचारिजी श्री. (लिखितं वि.....वासी.....)

## LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIPTION	OF SAMVAT	INSCRIPTION	OF SAMVAT
1 Dudāṇā	Vikrama 1258	39 Dhāmleḷ	Vikrama 1437
2 Viśavaḍḍā	" 1262	40 Mahuvā ? Sudā Vāv	" 1437
3 Ajaka	" 1262	41 Bhavnagar Museum	Date missing
4 Mahuvā	" 1272	42 Baḍulā	Vikrama 1440
5 Ghelāṇa	Valabhi 911	43 Rāpāvāo	" 14[4]0
6 Miṣṇāṇi	Vikrama 1290	44 Somanātha Pāṭaṇa	" 1442
7 Jasdan	" 1292	45 Phulkā	" 1443
8 Waḍhwāṇ	" 1301	46 Mesavāṇā	" 1444
9 Verāwal	Valabhi 927	47 Khorāsā	" 1445
10 Girnār	Vikrama 1305	48 Dhandhusar	" 1445
11 Ghumli	" 1318	49 Avāniā	" 1447
12 Girnār	" 1319	50 Phulkā	" 1448
13 Lāṭhodrā	" 1322	51 Bagasrā	" 1448
14 Porebandar	" 1334	52 Corwāḍ	" 1450
15 Kansāri	" 1347	53 Goreja	" 1450
16 Waḍhwāṇ	" 1350	54 Māngrol	Date missing
17 Somanātha Pāṭaṇa	" 1355	55 Māngrol	Vikrama 1452
18 Girnār	" —	56 Parṇālā	" 1453
19 Somanātha Pāṭaṇa	" —	57 Somanātha Pāṭaṇa	" 1454
20 Somanātha Pāṭaṇa	" —	58 Kankāsā	" 1456
21 Somanātha Pāṭaṇa	" —	59 Paṭaḍi	" 14[5]6
22 Somanātha Pāṭaṇa	" —	60 Bhūvaṭimbi	" 1457
23 Sūtrāpāḍā	" 1357	61 Jamlā	" 1461
24 Satrunjaya Hill (Pālitāṇā)	" 1371	62 Somanātha Pāṭaṇa	" 1462
25 Māngrol	" 1375	63 Verāwal	" 1464
26 Rāval	" 1375	64 Vanthali	" 1469
27 Hātasni	" 13[8]6	65 Mesavāṇā	" 1470
28 Div	" 1393	66 Vāghelāṇā	" 1471
29 Adpokar	Date missing	67 Vanthali	" 1472
30 Girnār	"	68 Junagadh	" 1473
31 Amreli	"	69 Corwāḍ	" 1485
32 Māngrol	Vikrama 1402	70 Mesavāṇā	" 1488
33 Kherālī	" —	71 Mesavāṇā	" 149[5]
34 Somanātha Pāṭaṇa	" 1423	72 Loḍhvā	" 1499
35 Somanātha Pāṭaṇa	" 1432	73 Mūl-Mādhavpur	Date not given
36 Thān	" 1432	74 Śimara	Date missing
37 Nagicāṇā	" 1434	75 Mahuvā	Vikrama 1500
38 Oṣā	" 1435	76 Junagadh (Uparkot)	" 1507
		77 Girnār	Date missing



INSCRIPTION	OF SAMVAT	INSCRIPTION	OF SAMVAT
78 Pasnāvḍā	Vikrama 1514	136 Rājasithāpur	Vikrama 1701
79 Jegaḍvā	" 1518	137 Beyt	" 1702?
80 Girmār	" 1519	138 Khārvā	" 1716
81 Jegaḍvā	" 1524	139 Sekhapāt	" 1719
82 Khāmbhaḍ	" 1531	140 Beyt	" 1720
83 Kutiyāṇā	" 1531	141 Anindarā	" 1721
84 Candrāsar	" 1534	142 Halwad	" 1722
85 Gosā	" 1536	143 Muji	" 1735
86 Rāmparā	" 1538	144 Beyt	" 1738
87 Khoḍu	" 1544	145 Gaḍhakā	" 1740
88 Bāḍi	" 1572	146 Mālia (Miyaṇā)	" 1740
89 Kuvā	" 1572	147 Mavāṇa	" 1746
90 Sarā	" 1579	148 Bāḍi	" 1748
91 Unā	" 1582	149 Jhinjhuvāḍā	" 1751
92 Dhrāsaṇvel	" 1582	150 Halvad	" 1749
93 Halvad	" 1583	151 Khambhālīā	" 1749
94 Veļāvdar	" 1584	152 Gopanātha	" 1750
95 Śatrunjaya Hill (Pālitāṇā)	" 1587	153 Khambhālīā	" 1751
96 Hāmpar	" 1588	154 Thān	" 1752
97 Nagicāṇā	" 1590	155 Rāval	" 1753
98 Paḍā	" 1594	156 Guṇḍi	" 1754
99 Bagasrā	" 1604	157 Berājā	" 1756
100 Koḍidarā	" 1609	158 Thān	" 1757
101 Waḍhwaṇ	" 1613	159 Dīhor	" 1758
102 Dahisarā	" 1622	160 Nagicāṇā	" 1758
103 Goghā	" 1634	161 Bhāvṇagar	" 1768
104 Mānkhetrā	" 1639	162 Bhāṇavaḍ	" 1771
105 Dhrol	" 1647	163 Thān	" 1776
106 Śatrunjaya	" 1650	164 Halvad	" 1779
107 Unā	" 1652	165 Siyāṇi	" 1781
108 Śatrunjaya	" 1652	166 Bhādrod	" 1792
109 Hāmpar	" 1656	167 Limbdi	" 1793
110 Dhrāṅgdhrā	" 1657	168 Loliyāṇā	" 1794
111 Kondha	" 1663	169 Limbdi	" 1794
112 Jāmṇagar	" 1666	170 Morvi	" 1797
113 Gāļā	" 1668	171 Wadhwan	" 1797
114 Dādar	" 1669	172 Beyt	Date missing
115 Goghā	" 1672	173 Pāṭadi	Vikrama 1801
116 Vartej	" 1674	174 Mahuvā	" 1805
117 Śatrunjaya	" 1675	175 Lāṭhi	" 1809
118 Śatrunjaya	" 1675	176 Dhrāṅgdhrā	" 1815
119 Māthak	" 1677	177 Lāṭhi	" 1820
120 Vānkāner	" 1679	178 Halvad	" 1822
121 Kāļāvaḍ	" 1682	179 Valā	" 1828
122 Kuā	" 1682	180 Limbdi	" 1830
123 Śatrunjaya	" 1683	181 Waḍhwaṇ	" 1835
124 Halvad	" 1683	182 Ghelā Somanātha	" 1850
125 Mūji	" 1685	183 Beyt	" 1855
126 Gaḍhakā	" 1687	184 Limbdi	" 1860
127 Māngrol	" 1687	185 Tarnetar	" 1867
128 Kuā	" 1687	186 Jaḍeśvara	" 1869
129 Dahisarā	" 1688	187 Amreli	" 1873
130 Bileśvara	" 1688	188 Sihore	" 1888
131 Dhuā	" 1688	189 Mādhavpur	" 1896
132 Halvad	" 1690	190 Candrāsar	" 1911
133 Jhinjhuvāḍā	" 1622	191 Simroli	" 1912
134 Jāmṇagar	" 1696	192 Sekhapāt	" 1914
135 Waḍhwaṇ	" 1699	193 Beyt	" 1937

## MISCELLANEA

### FEMALE EDUCATION AS EVIDENCED IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE.

In every respect, the period of Buddhism is marked with allround development. Buddhistic philosophy and theology had something quite conspicuous and specific in it that gave impetus and encouragement to education. It furnished a dynamic force which is so essential for any civilization if it wants to establish supremacy and gain ground.

We are dumbfound while reading the accounts of Universities like those of Vikramaśilā, Ajantā, Sāranātha, Nālandā and the last but not the least Taxilā,<sup>1</sup> which poured out a colossal force of Buddhistic culture and civilization. These Universities were so generously conducted that not only Indians but the peoples of Asia and Europe also received instruction on all the branches of literature, art and science, namely, philosophy, politics, painting, rhetoric, medicine, astrology, archery, architecture, and also alchemy.

Besides Taxilā and Nālandā, Chinese travellers in their travel accounts have mentioned quite a number of minor institutions which shaped and circulated Aryan Culture and civilization, far and wide. These were exclusively financed by the rich and the reigning princes of India. The most noteworthy feature quite characteristic of India's catholicity was that they imparted tuition free of charge to all and alike without observing distinction in caste, colour, and creed.

Prasenajit, the king of Kosala, and Jivaka<sup>2</sup> received instruction sitting together. A prince and a pauper were treated alike. It is written in one of the Jātakagranthas named Mahāsūtasoma that hundreds of princes were instructed in the uses of weapons and missiles on the lines of strict equality. All these accounts and the historical records lead us to the conclusion that there were very big Universities in Buddhistic times, which provided ample scope for education to males; but they are comparatively and teasingly silent as regards female education. To get an adequate idea on the point we will have to fall back upon the Buddhist Canon and the works allied to it because we are not at all prepared to believe that the nuns who wandered in the nook and corner of the country, leaving aside Lakṣmī and luxury to scatter the seeds of Buddhism, with a fanatic's zeal, were almost illiterate.

On the contrary, the splendid missionary work which they have so ably put forth is itself a good and reliable commentary on the broad outlook, clear vision, practical wisdom, unfailing foresight, intellectual width and what not. These and a train of merits did neither come to them as mere windfalls, nor were they Nature's bounties conferred so lavishly and thoughtlessly on them; but they were the outcome of the closest application and the unflinching devotion to the Goddess of Learning. Let us see in the following paragraphs what light we get and gather in this connection from the Buddhistic Literature. It cannot of course, be definitely asserted whether they received education after the fashion of the present day girls

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1. In the North and North-West of India there were great centres of learning such as the Universities of Nālandā and Taxilā where for hundreds of years not only all branches of secular knowledge, especially, medicine, but also the philosophical and theological literature of Buddhism, were cultivated with great zeal. Chinese pilgrims like Hsueh Tsang learned Sanskrit at Nālandā and translated Buddhist texts into Chinese. See Phanindra Nath Bose: *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*.

2. Jivaka was the son of a courtesan, named Sālavati. *Mahāvagga* VIII, I.

going to the educational institutions or by of private tuition. This much can be culled that they got first-rate training, both academic and spiritual.

It is now an admitted fact that the Ślokas of the work styled *Therigāthā*<sup>3</sup> were composed by learned nuns of those times.<sup>4</sup> Religious sermons of Sukkā and philosophic discussions of Dharmadinnā and Kṣeṃṣ entitle us to hypothesize that they were given a technical training regarding those subjects. We come across a reference of a learned lady named Sukkā in *Saṅguttanikāya*. She was a nun and had delivered an illuminating lecture in a great assemblage at Rājagṛha. This lecture of Sukkā was so impressive that a certain man of Yakkṣa caste wandered in every street and proclaimed to the effect that every one should go and hear her nectarine words. A nun named Kṣeṃā was very famous for reciting Vinayagranthas. She had crammed the Vinayagranthas and her melodious recital of those granthas was simply engaging.

It was considered a privilege to hear her singing. Her erudition also is brought out in high relief by the dialogue about the theory of rebirth between her and the king Prasenajit who was so convinced by her brief, bold and cogent arguments that there was not a single vestige of doubt left in his mind when he departed. Another brilliant star in the person of Kuntalakeśā shines resplendent in the whole galaxy. In Logic, she was discomfited only by one Sāriputta and none else. She ruled supreme in the intellectual world of those days. We get an account in *Vimānavatthu* of one of the learned nuns named Latā who had mastered the art of magic. She had a wonderful command on Vinayapīṭakas, which she taught according to Dīpavarṇā not only to nuns in Anurādhāpura but to monks also. Estimate of her scholarship will remain incomplete if we neglect to take into consideration the fact that she had a chance to bring out masterly editions of some of the Pīṭakagranthas. Uttarā had undertaken to teach seven works bearing upon Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma in the University of Anurādhāpura. Añjali had gone to Anurādhāpura taking sixteen thousand monks with her, to teach especially the Tripiṭakas. Is it not a privilege to lord over monks as large in number as sixteen thousands? And is it not a glorious achievement for a man (what to talk of a woman) to be appointed as the senior professor in a University like that of Anurādhāpura, Nālandā and Taxilā, which is decidedly ten times bigger than any of the present day Universities of the world. It was considered a red letter day in the History of India on which Sir RADHAKRISHNAN's appointment as Spalding Professor of Eastern Philosophy in the Oxford University was announced. It was considered the highest pinnacle for which an Indian can aspire in an academic line. What to talk of those times, then, in which even the ladies ruled the academic world? It means there is a long history of female education which has still got to be constructed out of the fragments lying hither and thither in Vedic, Buddhist and Jainistic literatures. This proves that female education was not only in vogue in those days but was appreciated and encouraged. It is also true that it was imparted on a more solid and sound basis because it could produce scholars of intrinsic worth and deep study. It is also manifest from the foregoing pages that female education was of a diverse character including instructions on magic, sculpture etc. Latā mastered the art of magic and Nanduttarā and Vidyā were adepts in the art of sculpture. This is also evident that it was considered more a duty rather than a matter of pride to educate the females because we have seen above that it was open to all. Besides those mentioned above, there is quite a good number of other ladies also no less superior. Their worthy names are Kālī, Channā, Sayallā, Uālī, Revatī, Sivalā, Mahāruhā, Culabhāgā, Dhannā, Sonā, Mahātissā, Culasumanā, Mahāsumanā and Hemā. It will be a long list of the female professors

3. *Therigāthā* forms part of the Khuddaka Nikāyā which is again included in Suttapīṭaka.

4. See OLDENBERG : *Literatur des alten Indien*, Page 101.

who actually worked in the University of Anurādhāpura<sup>5</sup> which also like Nālandā fulfilled the dictum of Carlyle that a true University is a collection of books as well as that of Newman that it is a school of Universal learning the alma mater of a host of distinguished logicians, grammarians and philosophers. I leave it to the scholars to find out whether there were separate institutions for female education or there was a system of co-education or they were privately tutored.

Andheri.

A. S. GOPANI

## JAGADDEVA PRATIHĀRA, A FORGOTTEN HERO

Everyone knows the great difference in the character of the earlier and latter periods of the reign of Bhīma II, the last Chaulukyan ruler of Gujerat. In the earlier portion, he defeated and drove back the Muslim invader Muhammad Ghorī, measured swords with Prthvirāja Cāhamāna, then regarded as the strongest ruler of Northern India, and successfully invaded the Paramāra kingdom of Malwa. In the latter portion, he was not only defeated by the Muslims, but also kept away from his ancestral throne for a short period, and even when restored was a mere puppet in the hands of the faction headed by Viradhavala and his ministers. He was a young boy when he ascended the throne. Had he been overpowered by someone at the time, or failed in administering well his kingdom, it would have been regarded as the natural consequence of his inexperience and childhood. But his failure in all directions when he had grown up to manhood and was expected to show even greater heroism and administrative ability than formerly, requires some explanation; and for this one would look in vain to the Jaina chroniclers of Gujerat, who, loud in the praises of Vastupāla and Tejapāla and their patrons, have omitted the name of Jagaddeva Pratihāra, the heroic general and prime minister of Bhīma II, to whom really belongs the credit of the early successes of this king's reign, merely because he happened to be a non-Jaina and a worshipper of Śiva and Viṣṇu. The purpose of this short paper is to rescue from unmerited oblivion this very hero of the history of Gujerat.

The *Kirtikaumudī* of Someśvara, though in the main a panegyric of Vastupāla, the powerful Jaina minister of the Viradhavala, gives in a single but pertinent verse what Gujerat owed to this great Pratihāra. It represents the guarding deity of Paṭṭana appearing to Lavaṇaprasāda and bewailing the absence of Jagaddeva in the words, 'In the absence of Jagaddeva, I have been reduced to this plight by my own people as if they were my enemies. As long as that Pratihāra was alive, the enemies, being afraid, never entered the city of Gujaraś.'<sup>6</sup> From the *Kirtikaumudī* we also learn that another general, responsible for the defence of the kingdom, and most probably one of his colleagues or subordinates was one Pratāpamalla Rāstrakūṭa.

An earlier and better notice, showing him not only as the guardian of the kingdom, but also of the child-king Bhīmā II is to be found in the Verāval inscription, which states explicitly that on the death of Mūlarāja II, the administration of the kingdom was carried on by the 'famous Jagaddeva Pratihāra' who 'brought up with care the young Bhīmadeva II along with his companions.'<sup>7</sup> It was at this time of his regency that Muhammad Ghorī invaded Gujerat, and sustained a severe defeat. The inscription calls Jagaddeva, the 'Sun to the lotus in the form of the queen of

5. See BURLINGAME'S *Buddhist Parables*.

6. विना जगद्देवमिमावस्थां नीता निजैरेव परैरिवाहम् ।

यत्र स्थिते वेत्रिणि शङ्कितैर्न द्विष्टैः प्रविष्टं पुरि गूर्जराणाम् ॥ II. 19.

7. जगदेव इति प्रसिद्धः । यो बालपौतैः सहितं प्रयत्नाच्छ्रीभीमदेवं

समवर्द्धयच्च ॥ Line 32. ....प्रातीहारशिरोमणिः ॥ ३४ ॥ Line 35.

Prthvirāja.<sup>8</sup> This refers, most probably, to his fight against Prthvirāja III of Ajmer. According to the *Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvalī* of Jinapāla, a contemporary work of great historical value, this war came to an end before v.s. 1244, and the night-attack by the Jāṅgaleśa, mentioned in the *Pārthaviyaya* of Prahlādāna was most probably one of its many incidents, about which we should have learnt something more from the Verāval inscription had it, unfortunately, not been so very fragmentary.

The *Paṭṭāvalī* just referred to supplies some important and additional details. It mentions him as the chief minister of Bhīmadeva II. When the pilgrims from Sāpādalakṣa visited the holy places in Gujerat, they did so with his permission. It was he who concluded a treaty of peace with Prthvirāja of Ajmer,<sup>9</sup> and it was an army under him which was invading Malwa in v.s. 1244. That he was a man of his word is shown by his refusal to grant Abayaḍa, a *daṇḍanāyaka*, the permission that he sought for to mulct the pilgrims from Sāpādalakṣa with a view to provide provisions for Jagaddeva's cavalry then operating in Malwa.

The colophon of the *Sāntināthacarita* of Māṇikyacandra mentions Jagaddeva Pratihara along with Kumārapāla, but here again the portion dealing with him is unfortunately obliterated.<sup>10</sup>

Jagaddeva Pratihāra was most probably a Vaiṣṇava. But he built also a temple of Śiva.<sup>11</sup> The colophon of the *Sāntināthacarita*, just referred to seems to indicate that he could grant favour to Jainas also. If we succeed in getting further materials about him, these will be presented to the readers in some subsequent number of this very journal.

Gwalior.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

### SIGNED ARROWS : A NOTE

In an interesting and illuminating article entitled "Signed Arrows" contributed to *Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume* (pp. 155-158), Mr. C. SIVARAMAMURTI draws attention to the ancient custom of marking the arrows with the name of the archer, and cites instances in support from Vālmiki, Kālidāsa, Māgha, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Kṣemendra. The accompanying illustrations of actual specimens from the Madras Museum bearing the name of Sarabhoji of Tanjore supply corroboration for the literary evidence.

In this connection, I wish to point out that Bhāsa, whom I place in the Mauryan epoch,<sup>12</sup> furnishes us with one of the earliest references to the custom mentioned above. In the *Pañcarātra*, arrows inscribed with the name of Arjuna are referred to.<sup>13</sup> In the *Abhiṣeka*, we come across arrows bearing the name of Rāma.<sup>14</sup> These instances from Bhāsa go to show the continuity in the ancient tradition. As I hold Bhāsa and Kauṭilya to be contemporaries, I tried to find confirmation of the tradition recorded by Bhāsa in the *Arthaśāstra*, but did not come across any reference of inscribing the arrows in Kauṭilya's work.<sup>15</sup>

Bombay

A. D. PUSALKER

8. प्रथिराजराज्ञीराजीविनीजीवितशीतरोचिः ॥ ३१ ॥ Line 33.

9. 'मया महता कष्टेन सांप्रतं पृथ्वीराजेन संधिः कृतोस्ति'

Jagaddeva's letter to Abhayada.

10. Catalogue of the MSS in the Pattan Bhaṇḍāra, P. 204.

11. See verses 32 and 33.

12. Cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, Lahore, 1940, esp. Chap. IV.

13. *Pañcarātra*. Trivandrum, 1917, II. 50; III. 17, 18.

14. *Abhiṣeka*, Lahore, 1930, p. 11.

15. Cf. *Rangaswami Com. Vol.*, pp. 87-94.

## REVIEWS

*Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* of Burhān Ibn ḤASAN, Translated into English by S. Muhammad Husayn NAINAR, M.A., LL.B., PH.D., Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, University of Madras, 1939, Pp. 292 ; Size :—6½"×9¼" ; Price : Rs. 5 or 8s. 6d.

The volume under review is No. 4 of the *Madras University Islamic Series* which is being published under the direction of the General Editor Dr. S. M. H. NAINAR. The first volume of these sources of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic was published about six years ago. The present volume carries on the history of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic from the battle of Ambur to the fall of Pondicherry (A.D. 1749-1761). This period saw the gradual rise of the supremacy of the East India Company on the Coromandel Coast. The volume contains detailed references pertaining to the "indebtedness of the English to the rulers of the Wālājāhī dynasty in the Carnatic".

The sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic are Persian MSS., of which Burhān's *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* translated into English by Dr. NAINAR is an important one. This chronicle comes to an end with the present volume.

The history of India of the 18th century presents many difficulties to the historian, not on account of paucity of materials, but on account of their abundance. To synthesize all these materials by a detailed comparison of all available sources for all important political events is no easy task. But by translating the old accounts of historical events into one language like the English language we provide a medium now accessible to every educated Indian and thereby provide an instrument of historical investigation which exercises a healthy check on one-sided statements made by contemporary writers, who were sometimes blinded by prejudice or patriotism of the narrow type which disabled them from hearing and recording the other side of the occurrences dealt with by them. The fault lay not always with these writers but at times with the peculiar circumstances under which they recorded their impressions, that were not always based on accurate data or reliable documents. All the same we must thank these contemporary and subsequent chroniclers for what they have done for Indian history because in the absence of these chronicles there would have been a complete void of historical knowledge of the different periods which bristled with epoch-making political and social changes in Indian history.

In the present volume Dr. NAINAR has not given us the mere translation of the original chronicle but has supplemented it with occasional informative foot-notes regarding the persons and events mentioned in the chronicle. These footnotes serve as a historical corrective to the author's statements, which are at times likely to be exaggerated. They also link up the narrative to other contemporary sources bearing on the narrative and hence lead to a proper understanding of the history enshrined in the text of the narrative.

The *glossary* of Persian terms with their explanation in English as also the two Appendices given at the end of the volume will be found useful to the close students of the history of the period. As the *Bhārata Itihāsa Samshodaka Mandal*, Poona, has been publishing summaries of Persian sources of the Maratha History and as the chronicle before us is one such source we trust that some day they will give us a scholarly summary in Marathi of the present chronicle translated by Dr. NAINAR for the benefit of the Marathi knowing public interested in the Persian sources. The present translation has paved the way for such undertaking and we have no doubt that Dr. NAINAR would willingly help any brother-

scholar in the Mahārāshtrā who takes the trouble of mastering the present sources in the original and presenting a critical summary of them in Marathi divested of all hyperboles and other superfluous matter which sometimes characterize the Persian sources.

P. K. GODE

*Citracampū* by Mahamahopādhyāya Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṅkāra Bhaṭṭācārya, with a Foreword by M. M. Gopinātha KAVIRĀJA; Edited by Pandit Ramcharan CHAKRAVARTI, Headmaster, Jay Narayan High School, Benares, 1940; Pp. 40+4+90. Price : Rs. 2-0-0; Size :—5½"×8½".

Though Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṅkāra is famous as a poet and jurist of the transitional Bengal of the 18th century in his own province his works have not attracted much attention of outside scholars. The present *Campū* from his pen is edited by Pandit CHAKRAVARTI with scrupulous care with an exhaustive Introduction of 40 pages dealing with (1) the Poet and his Works, (2) the Quasi-historical and Quasi-geographical nature of the poem, (3) the description of the rare India Office MS. of the work on which the present edition is based, (4) the date of Composition of the work (about 1744), (5) an Analysis of the poem and (6) a Short Sanskrit Introduction. This Introduction gives us a correct literary and historical background of this interesting poem, which aims at "describing the gradual ascent of the soul from earth-bound consciousness into the summits of Divine Life and consciousness" as Principal Gopināth Kavirāja puts it in his interesting Foreword (p. 4).

Bāṇeśvara came of the well-known Śobhākara family of Guptapalli or Guptipārā in the district of Hooghly in Bengal. This family produced many Sanskrit scholars. He was born about A.D. 1672 according to the Editor (p. 8). He was patronized by Maharāja Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia (A.D. 1710-1782). He left Nadia after some time and later sought the favour of Nawab Aliverdi Khān of Murshidabad. From Murshidabad he went to Maharāja Citrasena of Burdwan after whom the *Campū* takes its name "*Citracampū*". He lived with Citrasena till A.D. 1744 and during his stay at Citrasena's court he produced his works (1) *Citracampū* and (2) *Candrābhīṣekam*. Citrasena died in A.D. 1744 and Bāṇeśvara again went back to Maharāja Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia. He later lived under the patronage of Maharāja Navakṛṣṇa Deva of Śobhābazar, Calcutta. Navakṛṣṇa had the greatest regard for Bāṇeśvara, for whom a house was constructed by him on the Upper Chitpur Road near Śobhābazar. The house no longer stands but the poet's descendants are still living near the old site. In 1755 Bāṇeśvara went on a pilgrimage to Benares and composed his *Kāśīśatakam*.

Warren Hastings asked Bāṇeśvara to compile a code of Hindu Law. This book was written in Sanskrit under the name of *Vivādārnnavasetu* in collaboration with many other scholars, among whom we find one Sitārāma Bhaṭṭa who was possibly a Maratha Brahmin according to the Editor. This book was then translated into Persian, from which it was again translated into English under the title "*A Code of Gentoo Laws*" and was printed in England in 1776. Bāṇeśvara composed a mahākāvya called *Rahasyāmṛtam* and many other *khaṇḍakāvya*s.

On p. 12 we get a reference in this *Campū* to the Maratha raid on Bengal ("साहूराज चमसमूहः—गौड जनपदजनगणसमुन्मूलनहेतुः महाधूमकेतुः इव समुत्तस्थौ"). The poet also records the date of this raid viz. śaka 1664 when the sun was in the first *rāśi*. This date appears to be correct as we know from history that Bhaskar Ram Kolhatkor, the general of Raghūji Bhosala was in Bengal in April 1742 (Vide

p. 485 of G. S. SARDESAI's *Riyāsat, Madhya Vibhāg*, Part II). The poem has some geographical value as it describes the holy places and their deities seen by the poet probably in company with his patron Citrasena. The romance ends with the pedigrees of the poet and his patron. "Though a Śākta by practice and persuasion Bāṇeśvara seems to inculcate Vaiṣṇavite Vedantism in his work."

We congratulate Pandit CHAKRAVARTI on this scholarly edition of *Citracampū* published for the first time, as also his devoted pupils, Messrs. Choubay, Chakravarti and Sukla who have borne the greater part of the cost of this publication. Verily this example of pupils rendering financial help to their *guru* is worthy of imitation, especially in literary spheres.

P. K. GODE

*Kayātaram*, edited by Rao Saheb S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI, B.A., B.L., Reader in Tamil. Bulletin of the Tamil Department, No. 4, University of Madras, 1939. Price RE. 1. pp. i-xviii. 1-107.

The world of Tamil scholars should be indebted to Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI for editing this important metrical lexicon in Tamil. This work is next in importance only to *Divākaram*, the oldest of Tamil nighaṇṭus. It belongs to about the middle of the 15th cent., A.D. It was sufficiently popular in about 1575 A.D. The usefulness of this work is pointed out by the editor (Foreword, pp. vii-viii). It will be of a great use to a student of synchronic linguistics of the Tamil of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The editor seeks (p. x) to establish the name *Kayātaram* as more correct than *Kayākarar* (for contra, see Rao Sahib M. Raghava AIYANGAR, *Sen Tamil*, Vol. V. p. 121). *Kayātaram* is the first metrical lexicon in Tamil in which the last word of each stanza in every section is so arranged as to be structurally similar to the first word of the following stanza. This device facilitates the committing to memory of the entire work. (p. xiv).

This printed edition of *Kayātaram* has doubtless thrown light on certain scribal errors which crept in the printed edition of *Divākaram*. For instance, in the latter, one of the names of Buddha is printed as *pāriṇmiçaiyēṇ*; but this is obviously meaningless. The correct form '*pāramitaiyavaṇ*' given in *Kayātaram* removes the error (pp. vii-viii and xv *Kayātaram*. St. 14. p. 3). *Kayātaram* helps us also to correctly determine the meaning of certain words. For instance, in the printed edition of *Divākaram* we have "*paimmaiyum Kauṇṭiyum aruṇṭavappenṇeyar*" '*paimmai* and *Kauṇṭi* are names of women-ascetics.' Clearly, the meaning of *Kauṇṭi* should have been more restricted as it referred only to 'ascetic women of arhat order' (cf. *Silappadigāram*. U. V. SWAMINATHAIYAR'S ed. Madras, 1927. pp. 263, 265, 266, 357, 391, 401). This is emphasised by stanza 118 of *Kayātaram* also '*Kavunṭiyum paimmaiyum ārukata tavap peṇ*' (p. 18) this showing that what has been printed in the *Divākaram* text was due to a scribal error (p. xv).

*Divākaram* which belongs to the 8th century A.D. was published by Vidvān Tāṇṭavarāya MUDALIAR in 1835. His edition is untrustworthy as there are interpolated in it many of Tāṇṭavarāya MUDALIAR'S own sūtras. But *Kayātaram* follows the original *Divākaram* (cf. *Pōṇḍiya munṇar porul teriṇḍu—Keyātaram Çeytamaittāṇ*, St., 285. p. 45. Here *munṇar* undoubtedly refers to *Divākaram*, p. xvi. Again stanza 220. p. 33 *paṭaiyir koṭaiyirar cātīl Vemṇōr Yāṇḍum puṇaivatu Vākaiyam pōṭṇṇiyampṇarē* which is certainly after *Divākaram* '*ṇalliçai yamparc çelvaç cen-tamiḷ*, Vallin Kalviyir *paṭaiyir Koṭaiyil*.

*Velluṇṇaraiṇvākai Verriṇṇavē* which is however not found in the printed edition of *Divākaram*. p. xvi. Therefore, it is possible with the help of the text of *Kayā-*



*taram*, to eschew the interpolated stanzas in the text of *Divākaram* (not only in the printed edition but in several manuscripts as well) and determine the *original text* which will in its turn serve as an effective tool for a student of synchronic linguistics who studies the Tamil of the 8th cent., The alveolar phoneme *ɾ* perhaps ceased to be distinct one in Tamil during the 12th cent., when *ottakūṭṭar* flourished (See S. Krishnaswami Aiyangār, *Ancient India*, p. 153) for in his *Tokkayāgapparni* (U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's ed., Madras, 1930, 35. *Urai*, p. 16) it is treated merely as a phonemic variant of *ɾ* (substituted for Sanskrit *ṛ* for instance in Skt. *mṛta* = *miṛta* for *mītra* of another Tamil dialect; *amiṛta* of one dialect for *amīta* of another.)

Similar is the practice in *Kayātaram* (for instance *Kaṇḍarpo kaṇḍarpan* st., 21 p. 4. pp. xvi-xvii). In his time, possibly in some dialect the alveolar *ɾ* replaced *t* or *d* also in some words (see for instance *paṛman*, st., 2, 7 and 225, for Skt. *padma*, pp. 33 and 35 and xvii) and *p* in some others (*corpan* for *coppnan* Skt. *svapna* st., 347, p. 55). In *Kayātaram* we come across some interesting modifications of the various forms of certain words. For instance, in st., 124 (p. 19) we meet with the word *makunān* instead of the usual form *makiṇān*. In this connection, it is interesting to remember that this word appears as *makinaṇ* in IRAIYANĀR *Kaḷaviya* I, p. 18 and *makinon* (*Śilappadigāram* under 6, 37 in a quotation occurring in *urai* p. 192 of U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's ed.,) 'husband'. Another such word is *aṇimai* which appears as *aṇumai* in st., 334 (p. 53). The same form occurs in *paṭṇupattai*, *urai* (p. 132 of U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's ed., 1920 Madras), and in *aṇḱuru nāru urai* also (cf. U. S. Swaminath Aiyar's ed., 1920. pp. 26, 67, 134, *Introduction*, p. 6). The importance of a study of these words in modern linguistics, can never be exaggerated.

The etymology of *K uṭṭa* (st. 113, p. 17) as given by *Kayātara* is *kulamīlavan* got from the equation *kula* + *iṇṇ* = *kuliṇṇ* is evidently due to some scribal error just like the erroneous *iṛāmiṣurakkōvai* (st., 402, p. 64) for *iṛāmēṣurakkōvai*. The meaning of certain words like *kulitta* (st. 207, p. 31), *tuvarē* (st. 444, p. 70) and *tuyiril* (st. 517, p. 79) are not clear. The editor could not properly reconstruct sts., 468, 477, and 496 (see pages 73, 74 and 76). Many lines are perhaps irretrievably lost in stanzas 479, 494, 503 and 519 (pp. 74, 76, 77, 79 and xviii). How certain Sanskrit words changed their forms when they were borrowed into Tamil is yet another interesting problem we meet with in *Kayātaram* (cf. Skt. *Sarma* becomes *caruma* in Tamil. *Pari* (*pāḍal* 21, 3. p. 155. U. V. Swaminath Aiyar's ed., 1935 also *ibid.* p. x.). What a difficult task the learned editor set himself to, would be evident to any one who tries to reconstruct the original of stanza 517 from the hopelessly corrupt readings in the manuscripts used by the editor (p. xvii).

The first ten sections of *Kayātaram* deal with synonyms and the last one with homonyms (p. vii). The book is neatly got up with few mistakes and the Madras University, particularly the Tamil department, deserves our warm congratulations for bringing out this important work. Indeed, Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri Pillai has placed all the lovers of Tamil language under great obligations.

Poona.

C. R. SANKARAN.

## THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA

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The epoch (320 A.C.) of the Gupta Era, as determined by Dr. FLEET, is considered to be, with that of Candragupta Maurya (c. 320 B.C.), one of the sheet-anchors of Hindu chronology. In recent years some attempts have been made to challenge its accuracy, but they have not met with general acceptance. This is due in part to the inadequate presentation of the points in favour of an earlier date. But the chief reason is certainly the general disinclination to unsettle accepted dates, in the absence of compelling evidence. The epoch of 320 A.C. seems to work fairly well and to fit in with ascertained facts of Hindu history, and if now and then some fact is discovered, which is inconsistent with that epoch, it is sought to be explained away or simply ignored. But when a fly, with the whole world to choose from, persists in sitting on my nose, it is not wisdom to ignore it. I therefore determined to face all facts which refused to be charmed away and tried to discover an epoch, which would be in harmony with all of them. The result is given below.

I tried first to find out how the epoch of 320 A.C. came to be so generally accepted, and even by those who had before persistently advocated an earlier date. I was surprised to find that almost the sole evidence on which the epoch was settled was Dr. FLEET's discovery of the Mandasor inscription of Mālva years 493 and 529, (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 18), which mentions a Kumāragupta. It was supposed that only one Kumāragupta could possibly have been ruling in Mālva year 493=436 A.C. This evidence therefore, seemed conclusive for dating the Gupta epoch in 320 A.C. Since then, however, another Kumāragupta has been found to have been ruling in year 154 (*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1914-15, p. 124); and the natural interpretation of the Mandasor inscription is to take Kumāragupta as the Suzerain of Viśvavarman, father of Bandhuvvarman, who was ruling in year 493 = 436 A.C. Dr. FLEET was aware of another Kumāragupta, son of Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, but as Bālāditya was identified with the Bālāditya who, according to Hieun-Tsang, took Mihirakula captive, and as Yaśodharman, of Mālva year 589 = 532 A.C. claims to have subdued Mihirakula, Dr. FLEET thought it impossible that Bālāditya's son could have been ruling nearly a century before Yaśodharman. But in my paper on the *Hun Invasion of Hindusthān* (under publication in *New Indian Antiquary*), I have proved that the Bālāditya, who defeated Mihirakula, was not Narasimhagupta, but a much earlier king of Magadha, and there is no reason to suppose that Kumāragupta, son of Narasimhagupta, was different from Kumāragupta of year 154, who ruled between Skandagupta and Budhagupta. Now, there-

fore, we have to consider the possibility of Kumāragupta II being the Kumāragupta of the Mandasor inscription, and the epoch of 320 A.C. is thus no longer the sheet-anchor it was supposed to be. It must here be pointed out that so far no other proof has been adduced for this epoch, except the evidence of Alberūnī (1030 A.C.)

In his *India* (tr. SACHAU, v. 2, pp. 5-7), Alberūnī identifies the Gupta era with the Valabhī era, placing its epoch 241 years after the Śaka era, in 320 A.C. ; and adds that it was called Valabhī era from Vallabha, King of Valabhī, that the Guptas were wicked, powerful people, and, when they ceased to exist, this date was used as the epoch of an era, and that it seems that Vallabha was the last of them. Dr. FLEET accepted Alberūnī's epoch for the Gupta era, but argued that the era used by the Guptas themselves could not have begun from their destruction. Others, notably CUNNINGHAM, relied on Alberūnī's statement that the Valabhī era dates from the destruction of the Guptas and argued that the era used by the Guptas themselves must be different and earlier than the Valabhī era. Both forgot that Alberūnī was only recording local traditions, and that he probably misunderstood what he heard. Of the Śaka era, he likewise wrote that it dates from their destruction by Vikramāditya. But this statement has been proved to be wrong by the earliest inscription dating in that era by name, the Bādāmī inscription of Caḷukya Kīrtivarman, which definitely refers to the years as those of the anointment of the Śaka King (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 3, p. 305). It is equally certain that the Guptas could not have dated their inscriptions in an era dating from their destruction ; and Alberūnī's statements cannot be accepted without corroboration. Alberūnī's epoch of 320 A.C. for the Valabhī era is, however, confirmed by the Verāval inscription of Arjunadeva, dated in Valabhī year 945, Vikrama year 1320, and Hijra year 662 (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 11, p. 242). Vikrama year 1320 = 1264 A.C., and the epoch of the Valabhī era must therefore be 1264—944 = 320 A.C. This epoch for the Valabhī era is further confirmed by the Ūrā plates of Mahendrāyudha (890-907 A.C.) (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 9, No. 1), dated in Valabhī year 574, and by the Verāval inscriptions of Valabhī year 850, (*Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 186), which mentions Caḷukya Kumārapāla (1143-1173). Regarding the origin of the Valabhī era, Candraprabhasūri in his *Prabhāvakacaritam* (1277 A.C.) gives a hint (p. 74, st. 81-82) that in year 845 after Vira-nirvāṇa = 319 A.C., Valabhī was destroyed by Turushkas. It is probable that Valabhī was rebuilt soon after in 320 A.C. and that the Valabhī era dates from that event. Alberūnī also refers to this tradition, when he says that Vallabha and his city Valabhī were destroyed in a night-attack by the lord of Almansūra (tr. Vol. 1, pp. 192-193). We may therefore, conclude that the Valabhī era dates from its rebuilding in 320 A.C., and not from the destruction of the Guptas.

But there is no reason to think that the Gupta and the Valabhī eras are identical, and it is not clear why the Guptas should date their inscriptions in a local Valabhī era. Modern scholars, therefore, prefer to believe that the

Gupta era dates from their coming to power and that, because it was continued by the Maitrakas of Valabhī, it later on came to be known also as the Valabhī era. This theory involves two assumptions that the Gupta and Valabhī eras are identical, and that the Guptas started the era, which was continued by the Maitrakas of Valabhī. The proper procedure would be to ascertain when the Guptas and the Maitrakas flourished, and whether they used the same or different eras, and then to try to fix the epochs of the eras as exactly as the available data would permit.

The Gupta inscriptions and coins range between 61 and 224 (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 21, No. 1 ; Vol. 15, No. 7 ; Vol. 17, No. 13) ; and they were succeeded in Magadha by the later Guptas. Hiuen-Tsang, who visited Magadha in 637 A.C., says of Śaśānka, king of Karmasuvārṇa, that he murdered Rājyavardhana and that he destroyed the Bodhi tree, which, after his death Pūrṇavarman of Magadha restored to life (*Si-yu-ki*, tr. Beal, Vol. 1, pp. 209-213 ; Vol. 2, p. 118) ; and Pūrṇavarman too seems too have passed away before 637 A.C. (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 174). It is therefore certain that Śaśānka died before 637 A.C. But he was ruling in Gupta year 300 (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 6, No. 14). In connection with Rājyavardhana's murder by Śaśānka, Hiuen-Tsang says that Harshavardhan Śīlāditya set out to avenge it as soon as he came to the throne (606 A.C.), and in 6 years he conquered the five Indies and thereafter had ruled peacefully for 30 years, when Hiuen-Tsang met him (*Si-yu-ki*, tr. Vol. 1, pp. 209-213). Hiuen-Tsang does not say definitely that Harsha subdued Śaśānka, but neither does he say that Śaśānka succeeded in repulsing Harsha, as Pulikeśin II is stated to have done by Hiuen-Tsang himself ; and his statement that Harsha succeeded in reducing the five Indies in 6 years implies that Śaśānka had either ceased to live or was no longer independent in 612 A.C. The Ganjam plates, therefore, of Gupta year 300, which refers to Śaśānka as Mahārājādhirāja, must date before 612 A.C., thus placing the epoch of the Gupta era before  $612-300 = 312$  A.C. Again, the Aphaṣṭ inscription of later Gupta Ādityasena refers to his ancestor Kumāragupta as having fought with Maukharī Iśānavarman (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 42). Iśānavarman can be dated definitely in Mālva year 611 = 554 A.C. from his Hārāha inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 14, No. 5). Before his time, three Maukharis are known to have ruled at Kanauj, Harivarman, Ādityavarman and Iśvaravarman (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 47) ; and Iśānavarman's contemporary Kumāragupta had also three predecessors in Magadha, Krishṇagupta, Harshagupta and Jivitagupta I (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 42). Thus three generations of Kings were ruling at Kanauj and in Magadha before 554 A.C., and their period could not have been less than 50 years. Since these kings were evidently successors of the early Guptas in their own kingdom, the early Guptas must have ceased to rule by c. 500 A.C. at the latest ; and, as they were still ruling in year 224, the epoch of the Gupta era cannot have been later than  $500-224 = c. 276$  A.C.

The early Guptas are known to have ruled in Central Hindusthān also.

The Eraṇ inscription of the brothers Mātrivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 19) refers to Budhagupta as the ruling king in Gupta year 165. Of these, Mātrivishṇu had ceased to live, when Dhanyavishṇu refers to Toramāṇa as the ruling king in his first year (Eraṇ inscription, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 36). Toramāṇa's first year must therefore be dated after Gupta year 165, and he is known to have ruled for at least 52 years, as one of his coins is dated in that year (CUNNINGHAM : *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 20). After Toramāṇa, his son Mihirakula is known to have ruled for at least 15 years (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 37), before he was conquered by Yaśodharman Vishṇuvardhana (*ibid.*, No. 33). Yaśodharman's conquest of Mihirakula cannot be dated before 532 A.C. as it is not mentioned among Yaśodharman's achievements in the Mandasor inscription of Mālva year 589 = 532 A.C. (*ibid.*, No. 35). On the other hand, when Hiuen-Tsang visited Mālva in 642 A.C., he heard that Śīlāditya of Mālva had been ruling for 50 years, some 60 years before (*Si-yu-ki*, tr. Vol. 2, p. 261). Śīlāditya must therefore have ruled from 532 to 582 A.C., and his predecessor Yaśodharman cannot be dated after 532 A.C. Thus Yaśodharman's conquest of Mihirakula cannot be dated either before or after 532 A.C. It must, therefore, be dated in that same year ; and since Toramāṇa and Mihirakula had already ruled for at least 52 and 15 years respectively, the early Guptas had ceased to rule in Central Hindusthān before 532—(52 + 15) = 465 A.C. But in year 191, Bhānugupta is mentioned as the ruling king in another Eraṇ inscription (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 20). The epoch of the Gupta era cannot therefore be dated after 465—191 = 274 A.C. ; and, if the reference in that inscription to Bhānugupta's waging a mighty battle indicates the war that ended in transferring Central Hindusthān to Toramāṇa, the Gupta epoch may be dated in c. 274 A.C. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the interval between year 165, when both Mātrivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu were alive, and Toramāṇa's first year, when only Dhanyavishṇu had survived, cannot be more than a single generation, that is, not much beyond year 191, when Bhānugupta was still ruler of Central Hindusthān.

The date here arrived at for Toramāṇa (c. 465-517 A.C.) and Mihirakula (c. 517-532 A.C.) are confirmed by Jain legends of Kalkirāja. Jinasena, in his *Harivamśa*, composed in Śaka 705 = 783 A.C. (Ch. 66, st. 52) says that the Guptas ruled for 231 years, that thereafter Kalkirāja ruled for 42 years, and that he was succeeded by Ajitanjaya at Indrapura (ch. 60, st. 491-492). From Jinasena's chronology, it would appear that the Guptas ruled from 200 to 431 A.C., and Kalkirāja from 431 to 473 A.C. But Guṇabhadra, in his *Uttaraṇpurāṇa* of Śaka 820=898 A.C. (Ch. 77, st. 35), says that in year 1000 after Vīra-nirvāṇa (= 473 A.C.), a Māgha year, Kalkirāja was born in Pāṭaliputra as son of Śiśupāla, that he ruled for 40 years and lived altogether for 70 years, and that his son was Ajitanjaya (ch. 76, st. 397-401 and 428). This implies that Kalkirāja ruled from 503 to 543 A.C. Thus Guṇabhadra's date for Kalkirāja is 70 years later than that of Jinasena ; and 473 A.C. was in fact not a Māgha year. The nearest Māgha year was 474-75 A.C.

But both agree that Kalkirāja was son of Śiśupāla, succeeded the Guptas and ruled for 40 or 42 years, and was succeeded by Ajitanjaya. Kalkirāja seems to be identical with Toramāṇa, who succeeded the Guptas in Central Hindusthān, and had a reign of 52 years; and his true date (c. 465-517 A.C.) lies between the dates given by Jināsena (431-473 A.C.) and Guṇabhadra (503-543 A.C.). The statement that he was son of Śiśupāla of Pāṭaliputra seems to be confirmed by the Pahladpur inscription (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 57), which mentions a Pārthiva Śiśupāla as commander. Toramāṇa seems to have inherited the post and used it to revolt against Bhānugupta, becoming ultimately independent in Central Hindusthān.

The epoch of the Gupta era has been shown to be not later than c. 274 A.C. The earlier limit may now be fixed. The interval between Budhagupta and Yaśodharman cannot be more than 3 or 4 generations, as Dhanyaviśṇu was a contemporary, first of Budhagupta and then of Toramāṇa, and Yaśodharman was a contemporary of Toramāṇa's son Mihirakula. Budhagupta's year 165 cannot therefore date more than about a 100 years before Yaśodharman's Mālva year 589 = 532 A.C. The earlier limit for the Gupta epoch seems therefore to be c. (532-100)-165 = c. 267 A.C.

Sylvain LÉVI has proved from Chinese sources (*Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 316, 401) that Śrī Meghavarna of Ceylon sought permission of Samudragupta to build a vihāra for Ceylon pilgrims at Buddha-Gaya; and Samudragupta too refers to relations with Simhaḷa (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 1). Samudragupta was therefore a contemporary of Śrī Meghavarna. Both *Rājāvaliya* and *Pūjāvaliya* place Śrī Meghavarna's accession 845 years after Buddha-nirvāṇa in 845-543 = 302 A.C. The Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II, dated in year 61, cannot therefore be placed before 302 A.C., when his father Samudragupta's contemporary Śrī Meghavarna came to the throne, and the Gupta epoch cannot thus be dated before 302-61 = 241 A.C. Some identify Śrī Meghavarna with Goṭhakābhaya (252-265 A.C.); but Goṭhakābhaya had only a title Meghavanṇābhaya, and was never known as Śrī Meghavarna.

Fan-Chan, again, of Funan (Cambodia) is said to have sent an embassy to Mu-lun (Murunda), king of Hindusthān, whose capital (Pāṭaliputra) was 7000 li up the Ganges from its mouth, in 240-245 A.C. (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 1, p. 612). Since thus in 240-245 A.C. a Murunda was king of Pāṭaliputra, the early Guptas and the Gupta epoch must be dated after 240-245 A.C.

Another datum for the earlier limit of the Gupta epoch is found in the Mandasor inscription of years 493 and 529 (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 18). It says that when Kumāragupta was ruling the earth, Viśvavarman was protector (goptā) of Mālva, and that when his son Bandhuvarman was ruler of Daśapura (Mandasor), the sun-temple there was built in Mālva year 493 = 436 A.C. Thus before 436 A.C., Viśvavarman had become a Gupta feudatory. But in Mālva year 461 = 404 A.C., his father Naravarman had been independent (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 12, No. 35), and Viśvavarman

too was still independent in Mālva year 480 = 423 A.C. (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 17). Viśvavarman, therefore, had become a Gupta feudatory between 423 and 436 A. C. and Skandagupta was probably the Gupta, who conquered Western Mālva. Viśvavarman's contemporary Kumāragupta must thus be dated 423-436 A.C. Among the early Guptas, there were two Kumāraguptas. The first was ruling from year 96 to year 130, and the second was ruling in year 154 and was succeeded by Budhagupta in year 157 (*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1914-15, p. 125). Budhagupta's year 157 cannot hence be later than 423 A.C., when Mālva had not yet come under Gupta suzerainty. The Gupta epoch cannot therefore date before 423-157 = 266 A.C. Thus the earlier and the later limits of the Gupta epoch have been found to be 266 and 274 A.C. and the Gupta epoch may therefore be dated in c. 270 A.C.

The Maitraka era may now be considered. Their inscriptions range only from year 183 to year 447. They cannot therefore have founded an era of their own. But as they ruled over Surāshṭra, which was formerly under the Guptas down to at least Gupta year 138 (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 14) and as the first two Maitrakas Bhaṭārka and Dharasena I are styled Senāpati, it is probable that the Maitrakas were originally gupta generals in Surāshṭra, who later became independent, but continued the Gupta era in their own inscriptions. On the other hand, it is equally probable that they used the local Valabhī era. But it will be shown presently that the astronomical data of their inscriptions do not fit in with the Valabhī era of 320 A.C.; and, if they are supposed to have used this era, their rule should have extended to at least  $320 + 447 = 767$  A.C. But Surāshṭra came under the Arabs of Sindh shortly after 712 A.C.; and it is not probable that the Maitrakas could have continued to rule 767-712 = 55 years later. It is therefore more likely that the epoch of their era is not much later than c.  $712-447 =$  c. 265 A.C. This epoch closely agrees with the Gupta epoch (c. 270 A.C.) already arrived at. We may therefore conclude that the Maitraka inscriptions too are dated in the Gupta era.

In 642 A.C. Hiuen-Tsang found a Dhruvapaṭu ruling at Valabhī (*Si-yu-ki*, tr. Vol. 2, p. 267), who was nephew of Śīlāditya of Mālva and son-in-law of Śīlāditya of Kanauj. But no Valabhī king is so far known to have had the title Dhruvapaṭu, and no chronological inference can be drawn from his identity.

Another Valabhī king is mentioned in Dhananjaya's *Śatrunjaya-māhātmya*, composed in Vikramāt 477, when Śīlāditya was king of Valabhī. This statement is discredited on the ground that in Vikrama 477 = 420 A.C. there could have been no Śīlāditya of Valabhī. But the date is not given in the Vikrama era, but 'from Vikrama'; and the Śaka era is sometimes believed to commemorate Vikrama's destruction of the Śakas. Alberūnī says (tr. Sachau, Vol. 2, pp. 5-7) that Vikramāditya killed a Śaka at Karūr and that the date became famous and was used as an epoch by astronomers; and the Vikrama and the Śaka eras were often confounded with each other, the Śaka

era being even referred to as the era of 'Vikramānka-Śakarāja.' Supposing Dhananjaya's 'Vikramāt 477' refers to Śaka 477 = 555 A.C. and his Śilāditya to be Maitraka Śilāditya I who issued grants from year 286 to year 292 and succeeded Dharasena II, whose latest date is 270, Maitraka year 270 cannot date after 555 A.C. and the Maitraka epoch must date before 285 A.C.

We have thus arrived at c. 270 A.C. as the true epoch of the Gupta era. Let us see how it fits in with the astronomical data given in Gupta and Maitraka inscriptions. There are 16 such inscriptions and I have made careful and exhaustive calculations to find suitable epochs between 240 and 340 A.C. I could find only one suitable epoch (273 A.C.) in this century. 273 A.C. *must therefore be the true epoch of the Gupta era.* The data are given below with references and equivalents, if available, for the epochs of 273 A.C. and 320 A.C.

Nos.	References.	Astronomical data.	Epoch 273 A.C.	Epoch 320 A.C.
1	E. I. v. 21, No. 1	Year 61 (Candragupta II), adhika month (Unnamed)	334 A.C., <i>adhika</i> Āshāḍha	380 A.C. <i>adhika</i> Śrāvaṇa
2	G. I. No. 21	Gupta year 156 (Hastin), Vaiśākha year	429-30 A.C.	—
3	A. S. I. Ann. Rep., 1914-15, pp. 124-25	Gupta year 157 (Budhagupta) Vaiśākha Kriṣṇa 7, Mūla	12th March 429 A.C.	—
4	G. I. No. 22	Gupta year 163 (Hastin), Āśvina year	434-35 A.C.	482-83 A.C.
5	G. I. No. 19	Year 165 (Budhagupta), Āshāḍhasukla 12, Thursday	1st July 437 A.C.	21st June 484 A.C.
6	G. I. No. 23	Gupta year 191 (Hastin), Caitra year	464-65 A.C.	511-12 A.C.
7	E. I. v. 19, No. 21	Year 191 (Sarvanātha), Adhika Āshāḍha	464 A.C.	510 A.C.
8	E. I. v. 21, No. 20	Gupta year 198 (Hastin), Āśvina year	470-71 A.C.	517-18 A.C.
9	E. I. v. 8, No. 28	Gupta year 199 (Sankshobha), Mārgaśira year	472-73 A.C.	519-20 A.C.
10	G. I. No. 25.	Gupta year 209 (Sankshobha), Āśvina year	482-83 A.C.	529-30 A.C.
11	E. I. v. 21, No. 30	Year 254 (Dharasena II) Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā, solar eclipse	28th March 526 A.C.	19th March 573 A.C.
12	E. I. v. 6, No. 14	Gupta year 300 (Śaśānka), solar eclipse	23rd September 572 A.C.	21st March 619 A.C. or 10th March 620 A.C.



Nos.	References.	Astronomical Data.	Epoch 273 A.C.	Epoch 320 A.C.
13	I. A. v. 15, p. 340	Year 330 (Dharasena IV), Adhika Mārgaśīra	602 A.C.	—
14	J. B. R. A. S. (N. S.), v. 1, pp. 38-40	Year 343 (Śilāditya III), Adhika Āshāḍha	616 A.C.	662 A.C.
15	E. I. v. 22, No. 19	Year 357 (Śilāditya III), Adhika Pausa	629 A.C.	—
16	I. A. v. 2, p. 258	Gupta year 585 (Jāika), solar eclipse	27th May 857 A.C.	10th November 904 A.C. or 7th May 905 A.C.

From the above it is seen that, while the epoch of 273 A.C. satisfies the data of all the 16 inscriptions, the epoch of 320 A.C. satisfies those of only 12 inscriptions. The data are of four kinds. Inscriptions 1, 7 and 13-15 give adhika months. Inscriptions 2, 4, 6 and 8-10 give Jupiter's years. Inscriptions 3 and 5 give tithi and nakshatra or week-day. Inscriptions 11, 12 and 16 give solar eclipses. The adhika months are evidently mean adhika months, as otherwise there could be no adhika Mārgaśīra or Pausa; and mean intercalations continued in use, till Śrīpati (1039 A.C.), in his *Siddhānta-śekhara* protested against their continued use. Jupiter's years are of two kinds, the heliacal-rising system, and the mean-sign system. The former requires actual observation or calculation of apparent motions of Jupiter, while the latter system is based only on mean motions of Jupiter; and observation was not common among early Hindu astronomers. For several centuries after even the Gupta period, they preferred mean motions of Jupiter and other planets. For the Gupta period, we have therefore to take the Jupiter's years as those only of the mean-sign system. The tithis likewise of Gupta inscriptions must be mean tithis and the nakshatras of the equal-space system, mentioned in *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa*. The lunar months must then have been pūrṇimānta, as Caitra Śukla 13 is equated with Caitra 27 in the year 209 inscription of Sankshobha and Māgha Krishṇa 3 is equated with Māgha 3 in the year 191 inscription of Hastin, and because, with an amānta month, it is impossible for the nakshatra to have been Mūla on Vaiśākha Krishṇa 7, as stated in the year 157 inscription of Budhagupta. Lastly, solar eclipses were considered auspicious occasions for making gifts and hence were often mentioned in inscriptions, though invisible.

These inscriptions may now be discussed in detail, to see how their data fit in with the two epochs of 273 A.C. and 320 A.C.

1. In Gupta year 61, there was an unnamed adhika month; and there were a mean adhika Āshāḍha in 334 A.C. and a mean adhika Śrāvaṇa in 380 A.C.;

2. Gupta year 156 was a Vaiśākha year. *This datum is satisfied only by the epoch of 273 A.C.*, as 429-30 A.C. was a mean-sign Vaiśākha year, while neither 475-76 A.C. (Phālguna year) nor 476-77 A.C. (Caitra year) was a mean-sign Vaiśākha year ;

3. In Gupta year 157, Mūla was the nakshatra on Vaiśākha Krishṇa 7 day. *This datum too is satisfied only by the epoch of 273 A.C.*, as on 12th March 529 A.C., pūrṇimānta mean Vaiśākha Krishṇa 7 began 4 hours 5 minutes after sunrise, when the moon's longitude was  $246^{\circ}$ , and the nakshatra was therefore Mūla. But neither on 1st April 476 A.C. nor on 21st March 477 A.C., when Vaiśākha Krishṇa 7 began 23 hours 17 minutes and 8 hours 10 minutes respectively after sunrise, was the nakshatra Mūla, for the moon's longitude on those days was  $226^{\circ} 30'$  and  $255^{\circ} 7'$  respectively, and the nakshatra can have been only Pūrva Āśāḍha, not Mūla ;

4. Gupta year 163 was an Āśvina year. The date in the inscription is clearly given as 163. But on the mean-sign system, it is impossible for year 163 to have been an Āśvina year, when year 156 was a Vaiśākha year. Dr. FLEET has therefore admitted that 'tri' in the inscription might have been wrongly engraved for 'dvi'. Accepting this emendation, both epoches satisfy the given data, for 434-35 A.C. and 482-83 A.C. were both Āśvina years ;

5. In Gupta year 165, the day of Āśāḍha Śukla 12 was a Thursday ; and both 1st July 437 A.C., when Āśāḍha Śukla 12 ended 5 hours 2 minutes after sunrise, and 21st June 484 A.C., when Āśāḍha Śukla 12 ended 11 hours 46 minutes after sunrise, were Thursdays ;

6. Gupta year 191 was a Caitra year, and both 464-65 A.C. and 511-12 A.C. were Caitra years ;

7. In year 191 of Śarvanātha, there was an adhika Āśāḍha. Uchchakalpa ŚARVANĀTHA does not indeed specifically date his inscription in the Gupta era, but his inscriptions range from year 179 to year 214, and he issued a joint inscription (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 24) with Parivrājaka Hastin, whose inscriptions range from year 156 to year 198 of the Gupta era. Śarvanātha's inscriptions also must therefore be dated in the same era. Accepting his year 191 to be a Gupta year, there were an adhika Śrāvaṇa in both 464 A.C. and 510 A.C., which, according to Brahmagupta's rule that the second month is the adhika month, would be named Āśāḍha. But in both years the adhika months were true and not mean adhika months and the Uchchakalpas must have preferred true months. If this supposition is not accepted, both epochs fail to satisfy the given datum.

8. Gupta year 198 was an Āśvina year, and both 470-71 A.C. and 517-18 A.C. were Āśvina years ;

9. Gupta year 199 was a Mārgaśīra year ; and both 472-73 A.C. and 519-20 A.C. were Mārgaśīra years. With both epochs, we must assume that year 198 was current and year 199 expired ; and for all these inscriptions, we get satisfactory results only by assuming some to be current and others expired years. Even to-day when we ask of men their ages, some give expired

and others current years, and the same must have been the case in old times times also ;

10. Gupta year 209 was an Āśvina year ; and both 482-83 A.C. and 529-30 A.C. were Āśvina years ;

11. In Maitraka year 254, there was a solar eclipse on Vaiśāka amāvāsyā ; and there were solar eclipses on Vaiśākha amāvāsyā of both 28th March 526 A.C. and 19th March 573 A.C. The solar eclipse on 28th March 526 A.C. was probably not visible in India ; but, as pointed out already, it is not necessary that solar eclipses cited in inscriptions should be visible ; and, as the sun's distance from the node on 28th March 526 A.C. was  $179^{\circ} 33'$ , solar eclipse was certain on that day. The opinion of Prof. JACOBI (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 423), the greatest modern authority on Hindu astronomy, may be cited here :—"The eclipses mentioned in inscriptions are not always actually observed eclipses, but calculated ones. My reasons for this opinion are the following : Firstly, eclipses are auspicious moments, when donations, such as are usually recorded in inscriptions, are particularly meritorious. They were therefore probably selected for such occasions, and must accordingly have been calculated beforehand. No doubt they were entered in panchāngs or almanacs in former times, as they are now. Secondly, even larger eclipses of the sun, up to seven digits, pass unobserved by common people, and smaller ones are only visible under favourable circumstances. Thirdly, the Hindus place implicit trust in their Śāstras, and would not think it necessary to test their calculations by actual observation. The writers of inscriptions would therefore mention an eclipse, if they found one predicted in their almanacs" ;

12. There was a solar eclipse in Gupta year 300 ; and there were solar eclipses on both 23rd September 572 A.C., and 21st March 619 A.C. ;

13. In Maitraka year 330, there was an adhika Mārgaśīra. *This datum is satisfied only by the epoch of 273 A.C.*, as there was an adhika Mārgaśīra in 602 A.C., while there was no mean or true adhika Mārgaśīra in 649 A.C. or 650 A.C. ;

14. In Maitraka year 343, there was an adhika Āshāḍha ; and there were an adhika Āshāḍha in 616 A.C., and an adhika Śrāvaṇa in 662 A.C., which, by Brahmagupta's rule, would be called Āshāḍha ;

15. In Maitraka year 537, there was an adhika Pausa. *This datum is satisfied only by the epoch of 273 A.C.*, as there was an adhika Pausa in 629 A.C., while there was no adhika Pausa in 676 A.C. or 677 A.C. ;

16. In Gupta year 585, there was a solar eclipse ; and there were solar eclipses on 27th May 857 A.C. (not visible in India) as also on 10th November 904 A.C. and 7th May 905 A.C.

## EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MALAYĀLAM PROSE WRITTEN BY CHRISTIANS\*

By

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Emakulam.

### *Indo-Aryan elements.*

The adaptations from IA, discussed below, are words that have structural or semantic peculiarities or those that are out of vogue to-day. Some of the words are curious hypersanskritizations which may have been artificial creations of shallow people with pretensions to Sanskrit scholarship. Some of these adaptations may have enjoyed currency not only in the speech of the Christians but also in the language of non-Christian communities. Here again, the extent to which some of these words may have been specially popular among Christians has to be clarified by further research.<sup>1</sup>

*anūsaraṇam* and *anūsaraṇa* are both met with.—Cf. adaptations *anūsaraṇai* and *anūsaraṇam* occurring in Tamil.

*apūṛva-p-peḍ-* has developed the meaning 'to marvel at' in some contexts in this dialect.

*araṇi-kk-* 'to be separated by a schism, perversely' appears to be the meaning in contexts like *paṭṭāṇṇaiyil ṇiṇṇum araṇippippāṇ* or *araṇikkappetta ida-ttūttukāraṇ*.

*araṇ* 'stronghold' 'fortress' appears to have been derived from Skt. *śaraṇam*.

BG has *haruṇikkappetta*, with an intrusive *h*.

*aśakyam* 'miracle, marvel'. *aśakya-p-peḍ-* 'to be astonished'.

*aṣṭahāsam* [BG] for *aṭṭahāsam* 'loud laughter'.—The word is used in BG also for 'speaking aloud, or 'crying aloud,'

Cf., for the intrusion of foreign sounds in 'vulgar' speech, *rāstri* for *rātri*.

*avakāśam* has the meaning 'opportunity, occasion' in these texts. The meanings 'title' 'claim', 'right' do not appear.

*astamāṇam* 'sunset', for *astamaṇam*.

*āsta*, *āstha*, *āyistam* have all the meaning 'prepared' or 'made ready.' I think that the original word from which these forms were derived was Skt. *āyatta* and that this has been confused with Skt. *āsthā* structurally. VD. has *āstham-ākk-* 'to get ready.'

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\* Concluded from p. 397 of Vol. III.

1. In transliterating the adaptations just as they are used in Mal., I have used Dravidian symbols wherever IA sounds are replaced by Dravidian ones. I have also symbolically distinguished *ṇ* and *ṇ̣* in these adaptations from IA.

*āśraṇa*, *āsraṇa* are “transmutations” of Skt. *āśrayaṇa*, ‘dependence, obedience’.

*iṣal*, *iḷal* [from Skt. *iṣat*] have in Mal. the meanings ‘slightest doubt,’ ‘slightest displeasure or unwillingness.’

*ugramam* ‘vehement’ ‘fierce’ for *ugram*.—The hypersanskritization is due to the influence of forms like *uttamam*.

*uttari-kk-* ‘to reply’ [VD] from *uttara* ‘reply’ which meaning this form has developed in some South Dravidian languages.

*ejastā* [only in Vartt.], a very remarkable blend-formation. Here three different adaptations of Skt. words converge : *yaśassa*, *tējassa*, and *āntastā*.

*kaṇmaṇ-mār* ‘chiefs’ ‘lords’.—*kaṇmaḷ* (corresponding to modern *kaimmaḷ* or *kammaḷ*) is from *kaṇmiyaḷ* < *karmigaḷ*. The original meanings are ‘workers’.—For the replacement of *ḷ* before *-m* by *n*, cf. *peṇṇaṇmār*, *rājāḱkaṇmār*, etc.

*kaṛṣam* or *kariṣam* is used in Vartt. with the meanings ‘cruel’ ‘unsympathetic’. VD has *kaṛṣi-kk-* ‘to be unfeeling, impetuous’.

*kaṛṭṭavyaṇ* ‘leader’, as in *jāṭikku kaṛṭṭavyaṇ* [Vartt].

*karkkiṣaṇ-mār* [Vartt.] ‘very avaricious persons, hard to deal with’.—The Mal. form *karkkaṣa-kkār* is equated to ‘avaricious persons’ by VD.—*Karkkiṣaṇ* is a curious instance of forcible alteration (by those who were ignorant of Skt.).

*kāvyar* ‘Hindus’ ‘heathens’, a form perhaps adapted from *kāvyaṃ* ‘Hindu literary work.’ The word appears to be an ancient one in the vocabulary of Christians. Dr. P. J. Thomas suggests that the word may have been derived from Arabic *Kāfir* ‘infidel’ ‘heathen’.

*kausukham* [Vartt.] ‘show, spectacle’ shows the influence of *sukham* on the structure of the word *kautukam*.

*klēśam* has developed the meaning ‘effort involving distress’.

*guṇa-v-adhikāram* shows a glide produced by Dravidic sandhi rules.

*camayam* [VD and BAILEY] ‘ceremonial dress.’—this meaning is met with in classical literary texts [cf. *Uttararām*, *gadyam*]. Tam. *camayam* does not have this meaning.

*caradam* ‘parsimony’ [VD].—BAILEY gives the meanings ‘carefulness’ ‘laying up in store’.—The word occurs in the 14th century *Uppuññi saṇḍēśam* with the meaning ‘carefulness’. It occurs with this meaning in other classical texts also.—I am told that in North Malabar to-day the word is used for ‘carefulness.’

The pejorative meaning ‘parsimony’, given to it in these Christian texts, is a noteworthy semantic development.

BG has *śaradikkūñṇu* and *śarasi-kk-* ‘to be careful about’. These forms may all be ultimately connected with Skt. *śraddhā*.

*cidam*, as in *cidavum padavum*, means 'propriety' 'agreeableness'. The Tam. Lexicon gives the meanings, and suggests for the word a connection with Skt. *cit*.

*curudi* 'report' 'rumour' is adopted from Skt. *śruti*.—The Mal. evaluation of *r* (in *śr*) as *z* is normal, but the anaptyctic vowel is not heard today.

*janmāṇḍaram* appears in all the three texts with the meanings 'noble manners' 'virtues' [VD].—This word occurs very frequently in Christian religious writings. Colloquially, one hears it often even today both among Christians and among others, with this and other derivative meanings.

BAILEY gives the meanings 'kindness' 'generosity', 'gratitude' besides the meaning 'another birth'. SV which is a religious work gives a full-dress explanation of *buddhi janmāṇḍaram* 'the foresight which enables one to avoid falling into deception, and the virtue which prevents one from deceiving others'.

Today, I have heard some Christians use *janmāṇḍra-k-kēḍa* with the meaning 'original sin'.

*tuppāyi* 'interpreter' 'East Indian or Eurasian' [BAILEY 'interpreter'] is from *dvibhāṣi*.

*diṣṭadi* 'need'.—The word *tiṭṭadi* 'need' occurs in old texts like Kṛṣṇagātha. [Bailey *tiṭṭadi*]. Is *diṣṭadi* a Sanskritization of *tiṭṭadi* (which itself may have been a *tadbhava* form)?

*duṣi*, as in *duṣi-padam*, *duṣi-vākkā* means 'abuse'.—*duṣi-kk* [from Skt. *duṣ-*] and *dūṣi-kk* 'to abuse, speak ill of' are common in Mal.

*dēvasa* (for *dēvata* < Skt. *dēvatā*) 'evil spirit, demon', appears frequently in BG in the phrase *dēvasa gōṣṭhikkāraṇ* 'a man possessed with the devil'. Bailey has *dēvatā gōṣṭhi* 'possession by an evil spirit'.

*daivaṇila* 'devotion' [VD]

*ṇaṇibham* 'coin' from Skt. *nāṇakam*.—For the *bh*, cf. *vālibham* [corresponding to Skt. *bālya*]

*ṇimiṣada* [SV and Vartt.] has the meaning 'facility', 'ease'. VD has *ṇimiṣatvam* 'facility'.

*ṇiccal* 'always' 'daily' [VD].—*ṇiccal* and *ṇiccam* [BAILEY] are adapted from MIA forms.

*ṇidāṇam* 'carefulness' 'rectitude' [VD].—Though spelt with *-t-*, *-d-*, and *-dh-*, the meanings in Mal. are all connected with Skt. *nidāna*.

*ṇirūvaṇa* 'consideration' [VD].—Cf. Tam. *nirūvaṇai*.

The modern form is *ṇirūpaṇam*.

*ṇivṛtti* 'termination, end,' as in *alikkū ṇivṛtti*.

*ṇirmāṇam* 'disgraceful, insolent,' as in *ṇirmāṇavum duṣṭadayum* is only a popular variant of Skt. *nir-mānam*, confused with Skt. *nirmāṇa* and also Skt. *nirvāṇa*.—VD has *ṇirmāṇam*.

*parahasyam* 'what is published', 'open fact' is a form (corresponding to modern *parasyam*), appearing in all these texts, as the opposite of *rahasyam* 'secret'.—Is *parahasyam* < *para-rahasyam*?

*parādhīnam* 'difficult' [BAILEY].

*palusam*, as in *palusam-āya vacaṇaṇṇaḥ* [Vartt.], may have been a variant of *balassə* formed from *balassan* [VD] [Skt. *balasthaḥ*].  
*pāḷa* is from *bhāṣā*.

*pramādam* has the meanings 'danger' 'misfortune' in SV :—*marikkāṇ pramādam-āyi* ; *marāṇapramādattə*.

GUNDERT cites VD as equating *pramādikēṇḍā* to 'don't despair.'

BAILEY gives the meaning 'misfortune' among others.

*bhaktima* (for *bhakti* 'piety') shows a *-ma* perhaps under the influence of native forms like *ṇaṇ-ma* and of Skt. forms like *bhaktimān*.

*bhāṣitam* 'ridicule' 'scoffing' [VD].—The Ēambūdiris use it even today. Kṛṣṇagātha has *bhāṣi-kk-* 'to talk prattlingly.'

*bhūṣ-* 'to decorate oneself with ceremonial dress' is not common to-day.—Tam. has *bhūṣi-kk-*.

*māryādi* 'custom.' Today *maryāda* means 'civility', 'conventional propriety.'

*mārggakkārār* 'converts to Christianity' 'Latin Christians' converted within recent centuries, as distinguished from the Syrian Christians of Malabar'.

*muṣkaratvam* 'power' a common word in these texts. *muṣkaram* in Tam. means 'obstinacy'.

*yāvāṇa*, *yāpaṇa* 'maintenance' 'victuals' 'meal' [VD and BAILEY], are occasionally heard even today. *Yāvi-kk-* 'to subsist on' occurs in very old west coast inscriptions.

*rājīdam* (for *rājyam*) 'kingdom' 'royal authority'.

*vaśaṇṇaḥ* 'capacities' [BAILEY].

*varggam* 'case', 'dispute'.

*vasānta* 'small-pox' owes its meaning, according to GUNDERT, to the belief that spring winds cause the disease. BAILEY gives the meanings 'dysentery, diarrhoea'.

*vahiya* 'not possible', the older form of modern *vayyā*.

*vālibhakkārār* 'young men'.—*vālibha* is an adaptation ultimately traceable to OIA *bālya*.

*vāsta-p-peṭṭa* (for *vāstava-p-peṭṭa*) ; cf. *vāstapeṭṭavaḥ ṇīyē* [PALph].

*vidayam* and *vidhayam* for *vidhēyam* 'to be made ready, brought under control'. [VD].

*vīlasan* 'man in the enjoyment of luxuries', from *vīlas-* [Skt. *vi-las-*].

*viravadham* [Vartt.] for *virōdham*, as if it had some connection with *vadhām*.

*vivāda* [Vartt.] for *vivādam* (Skt. *vivādaḥ*) 'dispute'.

*veñjaṇṇadigaḷ* 'household accompaniments' [VD], from Skt. *vyañjanam*.

*velēsidam* [BG] *beḷēsidam* [BG], *meḷēsidam* [BG] for *melēcchitam* [Skt. *mḷēcchita*].—The change of *l* to *ḷ* in the Mal. adaptation of the Skt. group *ml* is normal. The anaptyctic vowel in the initial syllable and the change of *m* to *b* and *v* are colloquial corruptions.

*vēsta* (for *vyavastha* from Skt. *vyavasthā*) means 'certainty', 'ascertainment' [VD and BAILEY].

*vyāpti* 'trick', 'dissimulation'.

*śaraṇa-p-ped*—'to confide in, trust, hope' [VD].

*śarasi-kk-* a "corruption" of *śradhhi-kk-* occurs in BG.

*śōbha-kēḍa* ('insult' 'disgrace' < the literal meaning 'loss of brightness'; the verb base *śōbha keḍu-kk-* is represented in Uttaraṛāmāyaṇam gadyam.

*sādhiga* [Vartt.] for *sandhya* [Skt. *sandhyā*] is a wrong reconstruction with -g- of a popular form like *sandhiya*, the *g* being introduced as a result of the analogy of alternative forms like *caṇḍriga* and *caṇḍriya*.

*samukṣattam* for *samakṣam* (Skt. *samakṣam*) is due to the wrong incorporation of the sixth case -att- appearing in the constantly used inflexional form *samakṣ-attā*.

*savuḷṭam* and *sabuḷṭam* appearing in BG in *vaḷi savuḷṭam-ākkuvāṇ* is a mutation of *sauṣṭhavam* 'beauty' 'elegance'.

*samvadiccā* 'having acquiesced, agreed' is often used in the stead of *sammadiccā* (from Skt. *sammatih*). VD gives the meaning (to converse'.

*sādhanaṁ* 'document' is common in granthavaris.

*sāmarthyam* 'wealth' as in *viḍugaḷuḍe sāmarchyavum* [Vartt.], is rarely used to-day with this meaning. Skt. has 'wealth' as one of the significations of the word.

*sotvam* is a 'mistake' in BG for *svastham* 'at ease', 'healthy', 'happy'.

*sudē* 'by oneself' [< *svadē* < *svadavē* < Skt. *svataḥ* + Drav. *ē*].

*sūkṣam* 'carefulness' for *sūkṣmam* [Skt. *sūkṣma* 'minute'].

*sauryam* [BG] for *svāiram* (from Skt. *svāira* 'free'). The structure *sauryam* may have been due to the influence of the adaptation *saukaryam* which appears "corrupted" sometimes as *sauryam*.

*svarumicā*, *sorumicā* [frequently in Vartt.] are "corrupted" forms of the verb *svārūpi-kk-* (adapted from Skt. *svārūpa*), under the influence of native *orumi-kk-*.

#### VIII SYNTAX

As is only to be expected, SV (composed as it has been by a European missionary) evidences the influence of foreign syntax to a considerably greater extent than Vartt. which is the work of an Indian priest who inveighs against the tyranny of the western missionaries. The BG, said to have been translated literally from the Syriac Bible, contains very curious constructions which (I am told) are influenced by Syriac syntax. The syntax of BG in some



places strikes the reader as exceedingly bizarre and unnatural ; and I feel that many of these artificialities may have been due to the interference of a non-Malayāli or an extremely “ denationalised ” Malayāli who wanted to twist and bend Mal. constructions to suit the needs of foreign syntax. I have not, therefore, discussed here the syntax of BG, generally speaking.

The style of Vartt. is full of raciness and native vigour, particularly in the descriptions of European scenes and in the indictment of the western missionaries. Here and there one comes across native proverbs rich in mother-wit and wisdom :—

*mōññuvāṇ ṁiñña ṁāyude talayil tēññā vīṇu eññu!ḷa collupōle.*

*āḷēreppōguñṁadīñē-k-kūyil tāṇēre-p-pōguñṁadu ṁallū.*

*aṁḍi kaḷaṁñña aṁṁāñde kūṭṭa.*

*kaṇḍaṁkāl eññu colli kaḷudakkālummēl piḍiccu eñṁadu pōle.*

*oñṁugil paṁhiccirikkēṁam alleṁgil kuḍiccirikkēṁam eññu malaṁgare paṁayuhṁa bhāṣitam pōle.*

*tāṇ kaṇḍa kaḍavil kāryam keṭṭuvāṇ sañṁadi varigayilleññu!ḷa bhayam.*

The peculiarities of the syntax of these texts may be considered under two headings :—A. Native features that have become out of vogue to-day.

B. Features which directly reveal or indirectly betray the influence of foreign syntax.

#### A

1. The use of the postposition *koṇḍa* to denote a “ second case ” force, as in *ñāññale-k-koṇḍu vēṇḍā-vacaṁaṁñal paṁaṁñña* or in *maṭṭ-ārāṇe-k-koṇḍum poḷisatyam ceyyaruda.*

2. The use of Skt. *prati* in contexts like the following :—(i) *kāryam prati ālōciccā.*

(ii) *dāivatte prati ; ellāvarudēyum rakṣaye prati mariccā*

(iii) *prati prati avarude vīṭṭil ceñṁa*

(iv) *paḷṣaṁprati-y-āyi.*

3. The use of pronouns as expletives in contexts like the following is common in BG. The practice is carried to a fantastic extent in BG ; yet, fundamentally the use of such pronouns is not foreign to the genius of Dravidian. A few instances from BG are the following :—

*accāṇ-avaṇ ;*

*lōgaril kalakkam-ad-āgāyivāṇ ;*

*aṁḍi-y-ad-āyappōl.*

*kōḷi-y-adu kūvi.*

SV has *bhāryāvaḷ.*

Instances of this use of pronouns exist in classical literary texts, as in the following :—

*gurubhūtaṁmāravar taññāḷude ;*

*ucca-y-ad-āgumbōl ;*

*gaḷam-adil māla karēṭṭi varikum ;*  
*vambanmāril munban-ad-āgum umbar kōṇ, etc.*

The history of this practice goes back to the parent stage, since Tolkāp-piyam, colladigāram, envisages this peculiarity for Old Tam. In the history of Mal., however, the purely expletive character of the pronoun became so definitely marked that the non-rational singular (*a*)*dā* was sometimes associated with rational nouns.

4. The final *-(a) dā* in the following illustrations from SV may be regarded as a transitional tense-expletive ; such constructions are unusual to-day. Participial nouns in origin, the forms with *-(a)dā* become finites here :—

*śuddhamāṇa mārppāpa palliyude talavāṇ āguṇṇadā* [modern *āguṇṇu*, or (if *āguṇṇadā* is retained as a participial noun), *mārppāpa āṇ-āguṇṇade*].  
*ī kāraṇaṁṇālāl miśihāde maraṇam palarkkum duṣṣṭhalam-āyi pōguṇṇadā.*  
*āṇṇu ṇamaskarippāṇ ellāyilum ṇalla samayam āguṇṇadā.*

5. Collocations like *ceyyuṇṇappōl* (present relative participle followed by *appōl*), *ceyḍāṇṇē* (past relative participle followed by *āṇṇē* denoting 'time') ; *ceyyum-āṇṇē*, *kāṇṇmāṇṇē*, *marippāṇṇē* (future relative participles followed by *āṇṇē*) have already been noted.

6. —*ām pakkam* following a "neuter" participial, as in the following :—  
*ariṇṇiṇṇadiṇ-ām-pakkam ;*  
*āguṇṇadiṇ-ām-pakkam.*

7. The use of *ṇyāyam* in constructions like *ēṇṇu colli ṇyāyam* appears in SV frequently, to indicate a clear truth.

8. *arigayum-ām*, (as in *ōrttukandāl ī paramārtham ariyugayum-ām*), *koḷgayum-ām* are old constructions not common to-day.

## B

1. The government of cases in contexts like the following is due to foreign influence ;—

*ī avasthamēl paṇṇāṇṇu ;*  
*cākkō-k-katta ṇāruḍe mēl samśayam viḷugayum ceydu* [the use of the post-position *mēl* is foreign to Mal.]  
*bāvūyilṇiṇṇu pirakkappettādiṇekkoṇḍa* [the use of the "fifth case" is peculiar].

*dōṣattiṇe dvēṣippāṇ vēṇḍuṇṇa velivā* [the use of the "second case" in this particular context, i.e. *dōṣattiṇe* followed by *dvēṣi-kk-* is unusual].

2. Literal translations, like the following, of foreign (European) constructions :—

*paṇḍiōs piḷattiṇḍe ṇālūgalil* 'in the days of Pontius Pilate' ;  
*tiṇmakku cāṇṇu pōguṇṇa ṇammude duṣṣīlavum* 'our evil nature which tends towards sin'.

*piḷagalude poṇudi* 'forgiveness of sins'.

*hṛdaya kaḷḷam* 'the wickedness of the heart'.

*puḷi-y-āṇa* 'false oath'.

*maṛiccavarude uyirppa* 'the resurrection of the dead'.

*punyaṅālāṇmāruḍe puḡaḷccaḱḱum tanyavarude ṇṇāṇattinnum* 'for the praise of those who have done good, and for the shame of the wicked.'

*kūḍāsayuḍe maddhyattāl dōṣaṇṇaḷ pōkki-k-kolvāṇ* 'for warding off evil through the sacrament.

*kattolikkappalliylṇiṇṇu puṇatt-irikkūṇṇavarkka* 'those who remain outside the Catholic fold.'

*pālōḍu kūḍē tāṇ kuḍicca ṇalla valarttippiṇuḍe* 'of the good training that one has imbibed with the mother's milk'.

*ṇāṇṇale paṛiṇṇayil pūḡikkallāyē* 'lead us not into temptation'.

*ṇāṇṇaluḍe aṇṇaṇṇē appam iṇṇu ṇāṇṇalkku tariga* 'give us to-day our daily bread.'

*puḷikku sāḱṣi ṇillādē* 'do not bear false witness'.

*samudrattinupuraltu malsyam eṇṇapōle* 'like fish out of water (the sea).

*ceṇṇāḍe hṛdayattōḍu kūḍiya kuṇṇāḍiṇḍe kuppāyam* 'the clothing of a lamb with the heart of a wolf'.

*udappiṇḍe avagāṣam koḍukkāyṇāṇ* 'in order not to give room for offence'.

*bāvā-y-ilṇiṇṇu piṇakkappettāḍiṇe-k-kōṇḍa* 'since he is born of the Father'.

*cāvudōṣam* 'mortal sin'.

*pramāṇam tiḡaya-p-peḍuṇṇu* 'the scripture is fulfilled'.

*pravṛttiyaḷē tiḡappāṇ* 'in order to fulfil through deeds'.

*bhayāṇkaramāya kaṇakkā tamburāṇḍe tirumunbāḡē ēḷppikkēṇḍivarum* would have to give a terrible account before the sacred presence of the lord'.

*ṇammude māḡgattiṇḍe kāḍalāya eḷimayum padavum kūḍappiṇḍāpiṇḡalē uḷḷa upaviyum* 'the qualities of humility, moderation and love of fellow-beings, which form the essence of our faith.'

## MISCELLANY

### THE HĀRĀHĀ INSCRIPTION AND THE GUPTA ERA

In a note entitled 'The Hārāhā Inscription of Maukhari Mahārājādhirāja Iśānavarman' contributed to the *Indian Culture* for July 1938, I tried to prove from the evidence of that inscription that Dr. FLEET's epoch of the Gupta era is in error by at least a hundred years. In the January issue (1939) of the same journal Mr. JAGANNATH in a note entitled 'The Bearing of the Hārāhā Inscription on the Epoch of the Gupta Era' adduced arguments to show that my objections do not in any way upset the epoch of the Gupta era as determined by Dr. FLEET.

I am really sorry to find the types of arguments advanced by Mr. JAGANNATH to disprove my findings. His arguments are the following :

Mr. JAGANNATH admits that Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman was reigning in Mālava year 589 and that Sūryavarman was born about Vikrama year 590. But he denies the fact that Iśānavarman had achieved his glorious conquests and became a Mahārājādhirāja before that date, inasmuch as he says, there is nothing in the inscription to prove that. He then assumes that Iśānavarman's victorious career may be supposed to have begun ten years after the birth of Sūryavarman i.e., about Vikrama year 600 = A.D. 542 before which date Iśānavarman could not have become a Mahārājādhirāja. As Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman's known date, Mālava year 589, supposed to be equivalent to A.D. 532 on FLEET's epoch, is some 10 years prior to A.D. 542 when according to Mr. JAGANNATH Iśānavarman became a Mahārājādhirāja, there is ample room for the 'meteor like' Yaśodharman to disappear by A.D. 542. Thus the contemporaneity of the two great rulers on FLEET's epoch as shown by me, in the opinion of Mr. JAGANNATH, is not proved.

I would request Mr. JAGANNATH to study the Hārāhā inscription carefully, especially verse 13 which runs thus :

जित्वान्नाधिपतिं सहस्रगणितं त्रेधाक्षरद्वारणं  
व्यावल्गन् नियोतातिसङ्ख्यतुरगान् भङ्क्त्वा रणे शूलिकान् ।  
कृत्वा चायतिमोचितस्थलभुवो गौडान् समुद्राश्रयान्  
अध्यासिष्ट नतक्षितीशचरणः सिंहासनं यो जिती ॥

'who, being victorious and having princes bending at his feet occupied the throne after conquering the lord of the Andhras, who had thousands of threefold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Śūlikas, who had an army of a large number of galloping horses, and after causing the Gauḍas, living on the seashore, in future to remain in their proper realm'. So that any careful reader of this inscription will come to the same conclusions as arrived at by the late N. G. MAJUMDAR (*I. A.*, 1927, p. 127), that the defeat of the Andhra King, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas happened during the reign of Iśvaravarman and thus the glorious campaign of conquests of this king's son Iśānavarman 'preceded his sitting on his father's throne.' This will be evident from a study of the fragmentary Jaunpur inscription of Iśvaravarman where the defeat of the Andhra king is mentioned. The mention of the Raivata mountain in Surāṣṭra in this fragmentary inscription seems to be in connection with the defeat of the Śūlikas or the Cālukyas as stated in the Hārāhā inscription. 'In any case the three victories of the Maukhari ruler made it easier for him to assume lord paramountcy i.e., the title Mahārājādhirāja.' From verse 16 of the

Hārāhā inscription Mr. JAGANNATH will kindly see that while Iśānavarman was ruling the earth a son was born to him who was named Sūryavarman :

यस्मिन् शासति च क्षितिम् क्षितिपतौ.....श्रीसूर्यवर्माजनि

So that Mr. JAGANNATH'S remark 'There is nothing in the inscription to indicate that Iśānavarman had achieved these conquests before the birth of Sūryavarman, or 21 years before 611 v.s.' is really deplorable. If now Mr. JAGANNATH admits that v.s. 611 is the date of the Hārāhā inscription and Sūryavarman was born about v.s. 590, he has no other option but to admit that Mahārājādhirāja Iśānavarman was ruling at least from Vikrama year 589 assumed to be identical with Mālava year 589 when Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman was ruling and consequently also to admit the overlordship of Mahārājādhirāja Iśānavarman over Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman. Thus the contemporaneity of the two follows and the meteoric origin and career of Yaśodharman on FLEET'S epoch, as stated by Mr. JAGANNATH cannot save the situation. Even assuming with Mr. JAGANNATH for argument's sake, that Yaśodharman ruled till A.D. 542 after which Iśānavarman became a Mahārājādhirāja, we find that at this time the Imperial Gupta Monarch Mahārājādhirāja, Kumāra Gupta of Sam. 224 = A.D. 542 on FLEET'S epoch was ruling. Does not the contemporaneity of two Mahārājādhirājas and Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman show as clearly as possible the utter incorrectness of FLEET'S epoch of the Gupta era?

Moreover, *savants* will kindly see that the real meaning of (verse 21 of the inscription) *Ekādaśā-tirikṭeṣu ṣaṣṣu śātita vidvīṣi | śateṣu śaradām pātyau bhuvah-Śrī-śānavarmani* || is that the dilapidated temple of Śiva was repaired by Sūryavarman when six hundred years is already superfluous by eleven i.e., in Saṁvat (600-11, or) 589, while the illustrious Iśānavarman who had crushed his enemies, was the lord of the earth. "In the *Annual Report of the Lucknow Museum* (for the year ending 31st March, 1915, p. 3. footnote) it was suggested that 'Taking *atirikta* (see the verse quoted above) in the sense of *superfluous*, the other possible meaning will be 589' " (the late N. G. MAJUMDAR, 'A Hārāhā stone inscription', *I. A.* 1917, p. 125 ff.) i.e., v.s. 589 = A.D. 532 = Śaka 454. That this is the really correct meaning will be evident from the silver coins bearing the names of Iśānavarman, dated 54 and 55, and of his son Sarvavarman, dated 58. These dates are evidently in the Śaka era with omitted hundreds and equivalent to Śaka (4) 54, (4) 55 and (4) 58 = A.D. 532, 533 and 536 = v.s. 589, 590 and 593 respectively. The first date Śaka (4) 54 is exactly the year (v. s. 589) of the Hārāhā inscription. The year 52 of Toramāna's coins was supposed by FLEET to denote years of Toramāna's reign. Gen. CUNNINGHAM suggested that the date is Śaka with omitted hundreds i.e. 52 = 452. The late Prof. RAPSON remarked on the former suggestion. 'This explanation is rendered less probable by the fact that the Maukharis Iśānavarman and Sarvavarman and also Bhīmasena apparently date in years of the same era.' (*Indian Coins*, p. 29). In fact as already shown by me (in my paper on the Gupta era), the date 52 of Toramāna, = Śaka 52 = A.D. 130 = (Gupta) Vikrama Sam, 188 = Kṛta or Mālava year 588, only one year previous to Mālava year 589 when Yaśodharman defeated Toramāna's son Mihirakhula. Thus it is evident that Mahārājādhirāja Iśānavarman was ruling at least from about 20 years previous to v. s. 589 and was ruling till about v. s. 592 (= Śaka 457), after which Mahārājādhirāja Sarvavarman was ruling.

Again, the Chinese historians mention an emperor of India, called Yueg-nai, king of Kīapili who sent ambassadors to China in A.D. 428. This name has rightly been identified by Capt. WILFORD (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, pp. 42-44 and 110-11) with Yajñavarman. This was evidently the great king Yajñavarman about whom we learn from his grandson Anantavarman's cave inscriptions found near Gayā (seems to me to be 'Kīapili' or Gayapuri) written in Gupta script. That the date of Maukhari Yajñavarman was about A.D. 400 will be evident from the following : 'But

the letters of the inscriptions of Anantavarman are older in form than those of the Hārāhā inscription. The tripartite *Ya* which is a characteristic of the Kushan and the early Gupta alphabets, is used promiscuously *along with its later developed forms*, in the Hārāhā inscription. But in the inscriptions of Anantavarman only the tripartite form of *Ya* is to be met with. This is a clear indication that they are of *considerable earlier date.*' (N. G. MAJUMDAR, 'A Hārāhā stone Inscription', *I. A.*, 1917, p. 125 ff.). On FLEET's epoch, the Gupta Emperor Kumāragupta I was ruling India in A.D. 428 (=Sam. 108) and there was no room for any other Emperor Yueg-nai (Yajna) to send ambassadors to China during Kumāra I's rule, thus showing that kings other than the Imperial Gupta's were ruling in Magadha about A.D. 428. The late JAYASWAL also in his *History of India* (p. 115) comes to the conclusion from the drama "Kaumudi-Mahotsava" that the Varmans (Sundaravarman, Kalyāṇavarman etc.) (evidently the Maukharī Varmans) were ruling in Magadha about the fourth century A.D.

As for the Menālgadh inscription of the Chahamāna Prithvirāja (II) of v. s. 1226, Mr. JAGANNATH will kindly see that there the year is stated as '*Mālaveśa-gata-vatsara.*' Everyone knows that Vikramāditya was lord of Mālava (*Ujjainipuravarādhiśvara*) as well as of Magadha ('*Pāṭalipuravarādhiśvara*'). The composer of the inscription wanted to date the same in the era of king Vikramāditya who was lord of Mālava. This has nothing to do with the reckoning 'traditionally handed down by the Mālava tribe' (*Mālavānām gaṇ-āmnāte*) or 'from the date of the establishment of the Republic in Mālava' (*Mālavānām gaṇa-sthityā*). We should remember that the Mālava or Kṛta era fell into disuse several centuries before Vikrama year 1226 = A.D. 1169.

Mr. JAGANNATH accuses me by saying 'It is uncritical to say definitely that Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta, son of Narasimhagupta, has to be placed in c. A.D. 532 and thus FLEET's theory creates a conflict', and states that Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta, son of Narasimhagupta ruled in A.D. 472. If this date for the above Kumāragupta be accepted then on FLEET's epoch he must be assumed to be ruling in Vikrama (equivalent on FLEET's epoch to Mālava) year 530. We know that in Mālava year 524 Govindagupta, son of Candragupta II was governor of Vaiśālī (not to speak of Mālava year 529 when his brother Kumāragupta I, was ruling). Thus Mr. JAGANNATH and his authorities Mr. PANNALAL, R. D. BANERJEE, Drs. V. SMITH, H. C. ROY CHOWDHURY and R. C. MAJUMDAR cannot but admit that the interval between the known dates of Govindagupta and his great grandson Kumāragupta is one of six years only (or, one year only between Kumāragupta I and his great grandson) !!! For, from the Bhitari seal we know that Govindagupta's brother Kumāragupta I's son was Budhagupta wrongly read as Puragupta (Vide also S. K. SARASWATI, 'A Gold coin of Budhagupta', *I.C.* Vol. I. pp. 691-92) whose son was Narasimhagupta and the latter's son was Kumāragupta, thus exactly verifying Yuan Chwang's statement that Śakrāditya's (Kumāragupta I's) son was Budhagupta (Sam. 165, 175) who seized the throne (evidently from Skandagupta, his half-brother). From Yuan Chwang's Records and his Life we know that Budhagupta was succeeded by 'Ta-ta-ka-to-ku-to' rendered as Ta-tha-ga-ta-gupta. The Chinese word seems to be a copyist's error for the real modern name 'Gha-ṭo-tka-ca-gu-pta'; (Kie-ta = Kaccha, the modern Cutch). From the evidence of the gold coin bearing the name 'Ghaṭo' Mr. ALLEN correctly states that this king Gha-ṭo-tka-ca-gu-pta 'must be contemporary with those (kings) known from the Bhitari seal' (i.e., Budha, Narasimha and Kumāra). Again, Yuan Chwang says that after Gha-ṭo-tka-ca-gu-pta Bālāditya (Narasimhagupta) succeeded to the throne whose son was Fa-she-lo (?) or, Ku-mo-lo (?). The transliteration of this is also given as 'Chin-kang', taken for 'Vajra-pāṇi (hasta)' but should in my opinion be rendered as 'Śakti-hasta' which is a synonym of 'Kumāra' (or, 'Kārtikeya') thus exactly verifying the statement in the Bhitari seal that Narasimhagupta's son was Kumāra-

gupta." Thus Kumāragupta of Sam. 154 = A.D. 472 (= Vikrama or Mālava year 530) on FLEET's epoch, cannot be the son of Narasimhagupta. Narasimhagupta's son Kumāragupta is evidently Kumāragupta of Sam. 224 (= A.D. 542 on FLEET's epoch = Vikrama Sam. 600). And as FLEET's adherents assume Vikrama and Mālava years to be identical, Mr. JAGANNATH will kindly see that Narasimhagupta may safely be placed in Mālava year 589, contemporaneous with Yaśodharman and therefore of Mihirakula. So that, the tale told by Yuan Chwang is not in the least pseudo-historical as supposed by Mr. JAGANNATH and his authority the late Vincent SMITH.

As the Later Guptas followed the Imperial Gupta monarchs, does not this show that Kṛṣṇagupta, the first Later Gupta ruler ruling about A.D. 432 and Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta of the Imperial Gupta line ruling in Sam. 224 = A.D. 542 on FLEET's epoch (not taking account of at least three other Gupta monarchs who must have followed him, namely Viṣṇu Gupta Candrāditya, Candragupta III Dvādaśāditya and Prakāśāditya, carrying the Imperial Gupta rule beyond A.D. 600 on FLEET's epoch, i.e., shortly before Yuan Chwang's visit), the same is in error by at least a hundred years as shown by me.

I request Mr. JAGANNATH will kindly ponder over these in the interests of truth and express his frank opinion on the correctness or otherwise of FLEET'S epoch.

Daulatpur.

Dhirendra Nath MOOKERJEE

## CORRIGENDA

### Vol. II, Dec. 1939.

- P. 580, l. 24, for actor read : altar.
- P. 580, l. 24, for adopted read : dompted.
- P. 580, Note 2, line 2, for 57 read : 75.
- P. 584, l. 27, for nowhere read : nowhere.
- P. 585, l. 12, for on read : an.
- P. 587, l. 7 read : *in die Luft hinein*.
- P. 587, l. 13, read : *zu werden was er ist*.
- P. 587, l. 14, read : *was er nur zu sein scheint*.
- P. 589, l. 6, for destruction read : distinction.
- P. 589, l. 32, for observation of read : observation to.

### Vol. III, April, 1940.

- P. 1, l. 5, for ist read : ist.
- P. 3, l. 9, for casually read : causally.
- P. 3, l. 16, read : *pneuma*.
- P. 3, Note 5, l. 3, read : here with that intended by the
- P. 5, Note 10, l. 3, for qu'on read : qu'on.
- P. 9, Note 19, l. 27, for *thoulbaka* read : *Itivuttaka*.
- P. 10, Note 22 continued, l. 5, for a, read : as.
- P. 11, l. 9, for infinite read : infinity.
- P. 11, Note 26, line 5, for wide read : wife.
- P. 11, line 26, for mind read : mind is.
- P. 12, Note 28, l. 6, for *atta* read : attā.
- P. 13, l. 21, read : SWARZENSKI.
- P. 14, l. 1, read "May it be known to.
- P. 13, for *sin entbilde sin* read : *sich entbilde sin*.
- P. 13, Note 29 continued, l. 5, for *padbājaka* read : *pabbājaka*.

## REVIEWS

*History of Rajputana* (in Hindi) Vol. I by Jagadish Singh GAHLOT, M.R.A.S. with a Foreword by Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., Director-General of Archaeology in India ; Hindi Sahitya Mandir, Jodhpur, 1937 ; Pp. 721 ; Size 6½"×10". Price Rs. 5.

Mahamahopādhyāya Rai Bahadur Pandit Gauri Shankar Hirachand OJHA has undertaken to write an exhaustive history of that old, picturesque and chivalrous country, known as Rajputana since at least the *Mahābhārata*, but has as yet only succeeded in publishing a little less than a dozen volumes covering only the histories of a few big states such as Oodeypur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and a few others. As was to be expected from the pen of such an eminent scholar it is a painstaking, laborious and lengthy undertaking and requires time to complete it. Being entirely based on authentic tradition, paper documents and stone inscriptions, its accuracy cannot be questioned.

But to the general public the only source for knowing the history of this beautiful country with inspiring and admirable episodes and thrilling adventures, was the *Annals of Rajputana* by Col. TOD. But being in English and besides being only a collection of stories, tested by personal travels and observations, it could neither satisfy the scholars nor could the general public derive an accurate knowledge from it.

Mr. Jagadish Chandra GAHLOT, the author of the work under review has undertaken to write in a lucid manner an authentic and scholarly history of the several big and small states in Rajputana. The present is the first volume and others will follow. It is fully illustrated with portraits and pictures of incidents. Out of over seven hundred pages of this volume no less than 126 pages are devoted to a general description of the country which is so very helpful in understanding the position of the states as well as habits, customs, families and foreign relations, common to all the states. It then gives a detailed, yet succinct history of half a dozen states beginning with that of Mewad the capital of which is Oodeypur. The narrative does not confine itself to the political history of a state but describes its finances, social structure, customs, feudatories and other subordinates, trade and commerce and so on.

Such is then this unique history. The talented and the first Indian Director-General of Archaeology, Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, has contributed an appreciative Foreword to this volume, which renders other praise unnecessary. As observed by him "I commend this book to the notice of the public who will find that Mr. GAHLOT's well documented book fulfils a long-felt want of a reliable work on the states of Rajputana."

M. V. KIBE.

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*Sources of Karnāṭaka History*, Vol. I. edited by S. Śrīkaṇṭha ŚĀSTRĪ, M.A., published by the University of Mysore in the Mysore University Historical Series, Demy pp. 48 + 238, Mysore 1940, Price Rs. 3/-.

It is a praiseworthy effort on the part of the University of Mysore that it has inaugurated a Historical Series in which the *Sources of Karnāṭaka History*, Vol. I, is edited by Prof. S. Śrīkaṇṭha ŚĀSTRĪ. A good many records, both epigraphic and literary, bearing on the various aspects of the history of Deccan in general and



Karṇāṭaka in particular have been brought to light and used in various contexts in the last fifty years or so. The bulk of such records is daily increasing, and some of them are not easily accessible ; so the workers in the field of Karṇāṭaka history would really welcome with great pleasure such volumes for ready reference.

In this volume the editor has given 133 passages, long and short, both from epigraphic and literary sources. They are in Sanskrit, Kannaḍa, Tamil, Telugu and Prākṛit ; and some extracts, bearing on the Karṇāṭaka history, are given in their English garb from Greek and Chinese sources. In most cases the extracts are accompanied by a short summary of facts and some explanatory remarks in English. The Introduction in English gives in a nut-shell the salient facts about Karṇāṭaka, its geography, political history, literature and fine arts, and religious, social, economic and cultural aspects. It is followed by useful genealogical tables of different dynasties. The specialist may differ here and there from some of the remarks of the editor, but the limited space prohibits their discussion in details. To note just a few instances, the remarks on Prabhācandra (p. 66) may be rewritten in the light of the latest researches (*Anekānta* Vol. I, pp. 130 etc. ; *Nyāyakumudacandra*, Intro., Bombay 1938). As to Śākaṭāyana (p. 69), he belonged to the Yāpaniya Saṁgha (*Journal of the Uni. of Bombay*, Vol. I, part vi). Asaga's date (p. 70) may be understood as Vikrama era which solves the difficulty felt by the editor (*The Karṇāṭaka Historical Quarterly* Vol. II, part i). *Jinendrakalyāṇābhyaṅga* is not the work of Hastimalla (p. 237) but of Ayyapārya.

We sincerely wish and feel sure that many more volumes would be published like this to bring within easy reach the rich sources of Karṇāṭaka history. On the one hand these sources indicate what facts we already know and on the other what links are still needed to have a connected account and a complete sketch. We would like to give a few suggestions which the editors may kindly consider in shaping the subsequent volumes :

(i) There should be a map of Karṇāṭaka in every volume showing the then boundaries of Karṇāṭaka and marking the ancient places with their modern names wherever possible. (ii) In the case of many important literary passages the requisite references are not noted. It is quite necessary that Mss. or printed editions should be mentioned with due descriptions. (iii) It is not unlikely that the editor might handle, in course of his collection, certain critical discussions on these passages in different contexts. It would be quite welcome, if references to such discussions are also noted. (iv) Time has arrived that we should look at the history of Karṇāṭaka from an all-India point of view ; and I feel that the editor means this when he gives the summaries of some of the passages in English. It is necessary therefore that the original passages may be presented either in Roman or in Devanāgarī characters, so that the originals also may be handled by those who do not know some of the south Indian scripts. Some of the Kannaḍa passages, which have predominant percentage of Sanskrit words, can be easily followed by scholars in the North, if they are presented in Devanāgarī characters with a couple of special types. (v) From the present collection it is abundantly clear that the Jaina works contain a lot of historical material in their introductions and *prastāsis*. We wish that these sources in Prākṛit, Sanskrit, Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu might be tapped more exhaustively ; and the data available would shed abundant light on the chronology of Indian history and literature. This would help us to get cleared a few of our hazy notions about the dates of some of the Tamil works of antiquity. (vi) The Sanskrit passages should be presented more accurately especially with regard to spacing etc. (vii) Lastly there should be an exhaustive Index of all the proper names. Perhaps the editor means to add it in the last volume.

It is Mysore that has given the world of scholars the grand volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, and there could not have been a better body than the University of Mysore to publish the sources of Karṇāṭaka history. This handy volume is a pre-

cious possession for the student of Karmāṭaka history. We sincerely thank Prof. S. Śrīkaṇṭha ŚĀSTRĪ for his patient labour on the first volume and eagerly await the publication of subsequent volumes.

Kolhapur.

A. N. UPADHYE

*Upaniṣad-Vākya-Mahākośa* (or a concordance to 223 Upaniṣads) Vol. I (अ to न) by Gajanan Shambhu Sadhale SHASTRI. Published by the "Gujarati" Printing Press, Fort, Bombay, 1940; Pp. 351; Price Rs. 7. Size :—7½" × 11".

It is now 50 years since Col. JACOB published his *Upaniṣad-Vākya-Kośa* or a Concordance to 45 *Upaniṣads* in 1891. There is no Sanskrit Scholar in the world who has not utilised this valuable life-boat while navigating on the high seas of Sanskrit-literature during the last half a century. Now that this reference book is gone out of print there is a crying demand for a reprint of it from Sanskrit Scholars all over the world. We are, therefore, glad to find in the volume before us a similar concordance to five times the number of *Upaniṣads* used by Col. JACOB for his work. The present elaborate Concordance by Shastri SADHALE is projected in 2 Vols. of which Vol. I has just appeared and the work of bringing out Vol. II is in progress. The work of compiling such monumental work single-handed speaks volumes for the patience and learning of Shastri SADHALE, who is already running his 72nd year and we hope he would be encouraged by Sanskrit Scholars and learned bodies all over the world to complete Vol. II of this Concordance before long. There is no greater satisfaction to a scholar than that afforded by the completion of his life's work designed and carried out for the benefit of comrades in the field in a spirit of service and devotion to duty, which is characteristic of Indian Shastris but which is now getting rare.

'God helps those who help themselves' and the labour of Shastri SADHALE on this *Mahākośa* has not been spent in vain. The new Ruler of Baroda, His Highness Maharaja Pratapsinha Gaekwar has already donated Rs. 3,000 towards the cost of publishing this work. This is a magnanimous gift and it is but in the fitness of things that the work is dedicated to the Maharaja. It gives us great pleasure to find Maharaja PRATAPSIKHA following the best traditions of his grandfather His Highness Maharaja SAYAJI RAO GAEKWAR who had a soft corner for learned men and learning of any nation in the world and much more for Indian Scholars and learned bodies. It is also gratifying to note that the University of Bombay has donated Rs. 1,000 for the present work and thus evinced its appreciation for the work of Shastri SADHALE.

The wisdom of the *Upaniṣads* has saturated the entire field of Sanskrit learning and scholars carrying on historical research find it a baffling problem to trace quotations from the *Upaniṣads* to their sources. The philosophers of old had no sense of time and space as they were "*dik-kāla-anavacchinna*" but the history of literature is based on *time* and *space*. There has sprung into being a host of *Upaniṣads* from the earliest times to the present day and consequently the task of determining even their relative chronology has become extremely difficult. It would be a red-letter day in the history of Critical Sanskrit Scholarship when the history of every Upanishadic quotation is proved and recorded with textual variations in an Encyclopaedia of Quotations. For such a history the present *Mahākośa* should prove extremely useful. Then again scholars who want to edit many Vedānta texts are unable to trace some of the Upanishadic quotations to their sources which are not available in a published form. For this purpose Shastri SADHALE has utilised many Upanishads which are at present available only in a Manuscript form.

To burden a scholar in his 72nd year with suggestions regarding the improvement of his work may be considered sacrilegious. However, in the interest of a wider

use of his valuable work of a life-time we feel it our duty to record one suggestion for his consideration viz. the preparation of an *Index to the leading words in the Quotations recorded in the Mahākośa*, in the absence of which we find it difficult to make full use of the wealth of material garnered in these Volumes. In the Dictionaries of Quotations from English and other literatures we always find an Index of leading words appended to each Dictionary. Even in the *Hobson-Jobson* by YULE and BURNELL we find an exhaustive Index of 335 pp. in a volume of 1021 pp. Such an Index is a necessary adjunct to a monumental work and should not be avoided if the work is to be used for frequent reference by every Sanskrit Scholar. With this suggestion we take leave of Shastri SADHALE's labour of love put in neat printing by the Gujarati Printing Press of Bombay, to whom we offer our best thanks for the successful production of the present volume.

P. K. GODE.

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*Some Sayings of the Buddha* (according to the Pāli Canon) Translated by F. L. WOODWARD, with an Introduction by Sir Francis YOUNGHUSBAND; Oxford University Press, London, 1939, Pp. xxvi+356; (World's Classics No. 483) Price :—2/6 net; Size :—3 $\frac{1}{4}$ "×6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

*Some Sayings of the Buddha* was first published in 1925. It was later published for the first time in the celebrated *World's Classics* in 1939. Buddhism arose as a vigorous re-action to Brahmanical Sacerdotalism. The oral tradition of Lord Buddha's teaching was handed down by his disciples and spread like wild fire in India and also in outside countries. It left an abiding impression on Indian life and thought. Buddha occupies a place for himself as a Hindu reformer and founder of a new religion.

This pocket edition of Buddha's Sayings before us now published in the *World's Classics Series* will help many a searcher after Truth who gets bewildered by diverse ways of thought and action and much more by the stupendous mass of literature on Buddhist religion and philosophy which enshrines the simple teaching of Lord Buddha. Buddha's teaching arose out of his experience of life and though it looks simple it is "exceedingly difficult to carry out" as Sir Francis YOUNGHUSBAND puts it in his excellent Introduction to the volume before us. All best thought is immortal and it exercises a vivifying influence on all introspective souls. The present volume contains the quintessence of Buddha's teaching arranged in 18 chapters and makes delightful reading, divested as it is of all technicalities and presented to the common run of educated minds in the pristine purity of Buddhist tradition as preserved in the Pāli Canonical literature. In short it is a pocket-size Buddhist Bible which reminds us of Dwight GODDARD's *Buddhist Bible*. May Buddha's message be carried to every mind in a reflective mood in all corners of the world through the efforts of Mr. WOODWARD and the Publishers of *World's Classics*!

Poona.

P. K. GODE

## CORRESPONDENCE

To

THE EDITOR, NEW INDIAN ANTIQUARY,  
POONA 4.

Sir,

On page 381 of your January issue, an inscription from Beyt has been reproduced. Mr. DISKALKAR, the editor of this Inscription, in his introductory note writes, "A question arises here how could Damaji, son of Pilaji, who ruled from v.s. 1788 to 1824 have built a tank in Beyt which was conquered by the Gaikwads in v.s. 1873 (1817 A.D.)" ?

The following letter from the Gaikwad ruler to his Kathiawad Subha corroborates the genuineness of the inscription.

यादी राजश्री विठलराव देवाजी सुभा प्रांत काठेवाड यांचे नांवें पत्र कीं श्रीद्वारकेस बेट शंखोधारतीर्थी तीर्थस्वरूप कैलासवासी यांणीं तलाव बांधिला आहे, त्याची पाल शंभर गज पडली. ती नवी जाली पाहिजे म्हणोन तुम्ही पत्री लािा त्यास :—किले अमरोलीचे इमारतखर्चापैकी सदरहु तलावाचे कामास दोन हजार रु. पावेतो खर्च करून तयार करवणें...सुा अर्बा अहार मया तेन व आलफ, छ २० माहे राखर.

(*Historical Selections from Baroda State Records*, Vol. V-46).

The date of this letter corresponds to 12th April 1814, three years earlier than the date of the conquest of Beyt by the Gaikwads assumed by Mr. DISKALKAR.

The letter quoted above clearly shows that the Gaikwads were in power over Kathiawad before 1815 A.D.

Yours truly,  
C. V. JOSHI

State Record Office,  
Baroda, 19th February 1941.

## NOTES OF THE MONTH

The *Report of the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan for 1940* just published shows commendable progress in the different spheres of academic activities in which this Research Institute has been engaged since its very inception two years ago. The Bhavan has at present Departments for research and instruction in (1) Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, (2) Prākṛitic Languages and Hindī, (3) Gujarātī, (4) Bhāgavata Dharma, (5) Jaina Studies, and (6) Indian History. The Professors in charge of these Departments, besides doing research work themselves, train post-graduate research students for the M.A. and Ph. D. degrees of the Bombay University. Besides these activities the Bhavan conducts a Sanskrit Pāṭhashālā, where students are trained for the several Sanskrit examinations in *Sāhitya*, *Vyākaraṇa* etc. conducted by Govt. Sanskrit College, Benares and the Bengal Govt. Sanskrit Association, Calcutta. To create popular interest in their work the Bhavan has been conducting a Department for instruction in *Jyotiṣ* and an Extension Lecture Series. Of more abiding interest to outside scholars are the Publications of the Bhavan, which comprise a research journal called the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, now running its Second Volume, and several other publications including critical editions of texts and other original works now projected by the Bhavan. We feel confident that the progress shown by the Bhavan so far will gather momentum as years pass by and that this research institute under the able guidance of Shri K. M. MUNSHI and his learned collaborators like Muni JINAVIJAYAJI, Dr. PATEL and others will take its rightful place among premier research bodies of India at no distant date. India is now bristling with energetic young Indologists and the responsibility of directing their individual research effort to national enterprises in the academic sphere must be shouldered by learned bodies like the Bhavan. We therefore look forward with great interest to the preparation of the *National History of India* under the guidance of Shri MUNSHI contemplated by the Bhavan as stated in the Report under notice. It is high time for Indian scholars to apply themselves to the task before them with the tools kept at their disposal by research bodies like the Bhavan, the Bhandarkar Institute, the B. B. R. A. Society, the Deccan College Research Institute, to mention only a few from the Bombay Presidency. The days of Prize essays in research matters are now gone and the cause of research can only advance if the research worker sets himself to his task in a purely disinterested manner.

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The *Report of the Archaeological Department* of the Gwalior State for the year 1938-39 contains among other interesting notes a note on the exploration work of the Department (pp. 13-20) which would be read with interest by every lover of Indian Archaeology. The State of Gwalior, we are happy to note, sanctioned during the year of the Report the necessary funds for trial excavations on some sites selected by the Department viz. (1) the site of ancient Ujjayini popularly known as *Garh*, (2) the *Vaisya Tekri* and (3) *Kumbhar Tekri*. Ujjayini was once the centre of ancient Indian culture, though now a desolate waste and we are, therefore, curious to learn more about its culture from archaeological excavation to enable us to see how far the literary traditions about this culture are justified in the light of archaeological evidence. As a result of the excavation work carried out by the Department numerous interesting objects have been unearthed (pp. 73-78).

These objects of course belong to the different levels of the excavations and hence tell their own tale. We may mention a few of these finds such as bricks ; pieces of pottery ; coloured stone beads ; bangles of lac, shell, copper and glass ; coloured China ware ; coins, square and round ; punch-marked copper coins ; funeral urns ; earthen cups and beads ; ear-rings of shell and copper ; axes and spear heads ; Avanti copper coin ; Andhra copper coin ; terra cota toys ; earthen vessels ; a stone *pañca linga* ; stone relic caskets ; ivory caskets ; conch ear-rings ; Indo-Sassanian punch-marked cast ; ivory objects (dice, toy dagger, casket) ; clay seals ; earthen bangles ; human skeletons ; painted teeth of a skeleton ; tooth of a camel ; enamelled painted tiles ; pottery lamps ; carved brick ; carved shell bangles etc. The correct valuation of these rich finds and their bearing on the history of Ujjaini will be given by the Department after the excavations are completed but the Govt. of Gwalior will be fully justified in spending more money on the excavations and conducting them under the able and experienced guidance of Mr. M. B. GARDE, the present Director of Archaeology, who has done well in availing himself of the advice of Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, the Director-General of Archaeology in India in the selection of sites for excavation and the occasional inspection of the excavation work carried out on these sites. The Report under notice is richly illustrated with not less than 32 plates containing photographs of excavated objects as also of the copies of wall paintings from Bagh Caves in the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior and hence deserves perusal by all lovers of Indian antiquities.

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On the 8th of March 1941 Indology lost one of its greatest sons, full of years and honours, in the personality of Sir George Abraham GRIERSON, the foremost authority on Oriental Languages, whose devoted labour for over sixty years bears witness to his versatile intellect and critical acumen in the study of Indian and Central Asian tongues. It was only in 1936 that a *Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies* was presented to him on his 85th birthday by fellow-workers all over the world and we all mourn his loss to-day, though we are proud of his monumental achievements in the form of the ponderous volumes of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, his innumerable papers on linguistics and his many grammars of known and unknown languages. Sir George belonged to the older generations of the Indian Civil Service, which he joined in his 23rd year and adorned by his ever increasing literary output culminating in the completion of his twenty volumes of the *Linguistic Survey of India* in his 77th year. It is difficult for us to do justice to his linguistic genius, his exemplary life and scholarly ardour in this short tribute to his memory. We hope to record at no distant date for the benefit of our readers a literary biography of this great linguist and a great man, whose service to the cause of Indian philology will continue to inspire Indian Scholars in the study of their neglected vernaculars in the generations to come. Sir George has firmly laid the foundations of such study and it behoves us now to erect a monument on them worthy of these foundations and worthy of the master-builder whose boundless energy and undimmed vision has already triumphed over all the basic difficulties in this field.

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The Vedas are the substratum of Hindu religion and culture. Leaving aside the average Hindu belief of old that they are divine in origin it is now granted by all educated Indians that they are the oldest records of the Aryan race and as such extremely valuable for a proper understanding of the Hindu culture and thought that has evolved during the last three thousand years. Barring the study of the Vedas by a few specialists, the average Hindu is absolutely ignorant of the nature

and contents of the Vedas. This state of things is anything but satisfactory and reflects no credit on us, the modern descendants of the ancient Aryans. The reasons which have led to this situation are mainly (1) the absence of cheap and accurately printed editions of the Vedas and (2) absence of ceaseless effort to take them to the homes of persons who are interested in them and who can afford to spend a little on this national heritage of theirs.

In view of this neglect of the Vedas by the average Hindu the efforts of Pandit S. D. SATAVALEKAR and his collaborators of the Svādhyāya Maṇḍal, Aundh (Dist. Satara, Bombay Province), to publish cheap and accurate editions of the Vedas and allied literature are most praiseworthy. He has succeeded in publishing so far the following texts : (1) *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* (Rs. 5); (2) *Sukla-Yajurveda-Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* (Rs. 2); (3) *Sāmaveda-Saṁhitā* (Rs. 3); (4) *Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā* (Rs. 3); (5) *Kāṇva-Saṁhitā* (Rs. 3). Those who have seen these nice editions of the Vedas can easily vouch for the painstaking editing of these texts and the amazingly cheap prices at which they are placed on the market by the assiduous Pandit whose zest and tenacity in collecting funds for this labour of love has already evoked admiration from scholars and laymen in all parts of India. He hopes to bring out shortly a few more volumes such as (1) *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā*, (2) *Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā*, (3) *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*, (4) *Sāmagāna* (Kauthumī and Rāṇāyaṇī), (5) *Paippalāda-Saṁhitā*, (6) *Jaiminiya-Saṁhitā* of the Sāmaveda, (7) *Sāmagāna* (Jaiminiya) and (8) *Kaṣīṭhala-Saṁhitā*. Such literary projects involve considerable time and expense and require financial support from everyone in an unstinted manner so that Pandit SATAVALEKAR's efforts to popularise Aryan culture and thought should be crowned with success. Every library in India worth the name, if not every Hindu of average means, should possess a complete set of these Vedas. If we keep copies in our libraries of the Bible and the Quran with a view to understand the religious background of the Christian and the Muslim thought, there is greater reason for keeping a set of the Vedas among our literary possessions, as possession, though it means nine points in law, means ten points for people of studious minds.

attention to the building of the theatre, to musical accompaniment, to action and to the delivery of the speech. Otherwise he could have stopped with Rasa, Kāvya-bandha and the Daśarūpaka chapters. When Abhinava says that it is from Drama that complete Rasa-realisation is got, he means the enacted drama ; for he speaks here of the make-up, the intonation (Kāku) in the delivery of the speech etc. But the Sanskrit critics are not so uncritical like some European critics as to say that the dramatist is nothing ; that the dramatist's glory is in finding out his actor to interpret his play and that acting, the stage paraphernalia, theatre architecture etc., are more important than dramatic poetry or literature.

The question has been long discussed in the West. Fortunately we have a fine article by J. E. SPINGARN on this very subject, giving us definite details on this very question, the title of the essay however being "Dramatic Criticism." First of all, it should be remembered that our Aristotle, namely. Bharata, dealt with drama not only as the art of the genius called poet but also as the art, in part, of the producer and actors. Bharata speaks of the appropriateness of dress ; the Nepathya-rasa is one kind of Rasa, says Mātr-gupta ;<sup>1</sup> but Bharata views that question as settled that drama is first the art created by the poet-dramatist and then the art presented by the actors. A serious controversy as seen in the West whether it is not the art only of the actor, whether it is not more an art of the actor than of the poet-dramatist or whether it is, as held by the other extremists, purely an art of the poet-dramatist, never faced the Sanskrit writers. Bharata's followers and commentators answered the question most sanely. Before coming to this answer, as seen in the works of Abhinava and Bhoja. we shall survey the views of the European critics.

Aristotle himself was responsible for starting the discussion. For he held the view that Tragedies might be acted and effectively too, but acting, dress etc., have really nothing to do with the greatness of the tragedy. Of Āhārya-abhinaya, dress and scenery, he said : " This has an emotional attraction of its own, but of all the parts it is the least artistic and connected least with the art of poetry. For the power of tragedy, we may be sure, is felt even apart from representation and actors. Besides, the production of spectacular effects depends more on the art of the stage mechanist than on that of the poet." In chapter xiv he said that a great drama need not be acted at all and can affect us even as it is read. Surely it is only inferior drama that needs light effects and spectacular scenery. Aristotle said : " For the plot ought to be so constructed that even without the aid of the eye, he who hears the tale will thrill with horror and melt with pity at what takes place." Again in chapter xxvi, he said that tragedy like Epic Poetry produced its true effect even without action ; it revealed its power by mere reading.

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1. Quoted by Rāghava Bhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Śākuntala*.—See p. 113, Vol. XI, *JOR*, Madras, my article on Number of Rasas.



One Lodovico Castelvetro, an Italian scholar who translated Aristotle with a critical commentary in A.D. 1570, disagreed with Aristotle. He said :

(i) It is not true that tragedy produces equal effect when read as well as when acted.

(ii) When acted, learned and ignorant alike follow it, whereas only the learned can follow and appreciate it by merely reading it.

(iii) Drama is for the stage, to be acted, and this fact shall form the basis of any dramatic theory.

This at least, Castelvetro said that when a dramatist wrote a drama he had to keep in view that it was to be acted before an audience. He granted that the cultured could feel its power by mere reading but he opined that acting the drama is the general rule, for all the world is not cultured. Another writer named Didotort went further and said in his work called "Entretiens" that the essential part of the play was not created by the poet at all but was created by the actor. Still further went the playwright, GRILLPARZER who attacked the "read drama", with relentless contempt for all fine writing, poetry, soliloquy etc., which, according to him, did not contribute to action. He considered that there can be no distinction between the theatrical and the dramatic. Then there was the age of "theatricalism rampant" beginning in France in the middle of the nineteenth century. SPINAGRAN characterises this stage of dramatic criticism as "dramatic materialism".

As against this opinion, coming down to modern times from Castelvetro, there was a persistent view, promulgated by Aristotle himself, as pointed out above, which did not condemn stage, action, producer and actor but gave them their proper place, which was however only next to that of the poet-dramatist who created the Drama. And this view agrees perfectly with that of Bharata and Abhinava and other Sanskrit writers. Bharata, by his encyclopædic treatment of 'Drama' as well as of 'Theatre', took into consideration both the poet and the actor.<sup>1</sup> Abhinava, his greatest exponent, says that Drama is the greatest form of literary art, for, from Drama alone is complete Rasa-realisation possible. Only when actors take parts and speak with appropriate dress, accent etc., do all emotional conditions get fully presented i.e., in Abhinava's language, the Sama prādhānya, equal importance, of Vibhāvas (excitants and object of emotion) Anubhāvas (ensuants) and Sañcārins (crossing feelings) is had only in the *enacted* drama. The fullest Rasāsvāda—Rasa-āsvāda-utkarṣa—is thus got *first in the enacted drama*. There is some truth in Castelvetro's contention that Drama needs to be enacted if one means to give its joy to the uncultured as well as the cultured. The cultured can, he ac-

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1. Bhoja also is not an extremist. Though he considers the text of the Drama, the Kāvya, which is the work of the poet's genius, as greater than actors and acting, we know from reliable authorities like Śāradātanaya, Śārṅgadeva, Pārśvadeva and other Nāṭya and Saṅgīta writers that Bhoja wrote another work dealing with action and music and other subjects of Nāṭya Śāstra.

cepts, relish a play by merely reading it whereas to the uncultured, presentation of play on the stage by the actors alone carries understanding. Somewhat similar is the position taken by Abhinavagupta. It all depends upon the nature of the audience. Everybody is infected with the emotions when a play is acted but he who can relish it by reading alone must be highly cultured. Says Abhinava that the more a man is Sahṛdaya,<sup>1</sup> the more he is attuned to aesthetic impression from literature by constant literary habit, the more mirror-like his heart is as a consequence of constant study of property, the more easily is this Rasa roused. Such a Sahṛdaya can enjoy drama even by reading it. Even when stray verses are read he quickly understands the setting etc., his mind fills up the missing emotional conditions, and he enjoys it completely ; whereas for another of a less cultured and less attuned heart, a lot of prefatory explanation is necessary to make the stray verse relishable. Similarly a drama also, if it has to be understood by less cultured souls by mere reading, has to be explained.

“ किन्तु समप्राधान्य एव रसास्वादस्योत्कर्षः । तच्च प्रबन्ध एव भवति, वस्तुतस्तु दशरूपक एव । यदाह वामनः—‘सन्दर्भेषु दशरूपकं श्रेयः । तद्विचित्रम् । चित्रपटवद् विशेषसाकल्यात्’ (I-iii ३०-३२) । तद्रूपसमर्पणया तु प्रबन्धे भाषाविषयप्रवृत्त्यौचित्यादिकल्पनात्, तदुपजीवनेन मुक्तके । तथा च तत्र सहृदयाः पूर्वापरमुचितं परिकल्प्य ‘ईदृगत्र वक्ता अस्मिन्नवसरे’ इत्यादि बहुतरं पीठवन्धरूपं विदधते । तेन ये काव्याभ्यासप्राक्तनपुण्यादिहेतुबलात् [ इति ] सहृदयाः, तेषां परिमिताविभावानुन्मीलनेऽपि परिस्फुट एव साक्षात्कारकल्पः काव्यार्थः स्फुरति । अत एव तेषां काव्यमेव प्रतीयत्युत्पत्ति-कृद् अनपेक्षितनाट्यमपि । ”

*Abhi. Bhā.* Chap. VI, p. 288, Gaek. Edn. I.

Even in the case of the Sahṛdayas, there are times when their hearts are turbid and minds distracted—Kaluṣa vikṣipta. So much so that not only do the dramas not infect them when read but they do not, even when enacted. Therefore it is that the Sanskrit critics first posit that to appreciate poetry and drama one has to be first of all a Sahṛdaya ; and not all are Sahṛdayas ; secondly even Sahṛdayas are not influenced by drama when they are distracted. Abhinava says that it is to remove such distractions, to increase receptiveness and even to make an Ahrdaya into a Sahṛdaya that the preliminaries, music and other operatic elements, and the peculiar atmosphere of the decorated theatre are intended. “Nija sukhādi vivaśābhāva” is a *vighna* or obstacle to Rasa-realisation and it has to be removed by music etc.

“ निजसुखादिविवशीभूतश्च कथं वस्त्वन्तरे संविदं विभ्रामयेदिति तद्रूपप्रत्युह्वयपोहनाय प्रति-पदार्थनिष्ठैः साधारण्यमहिम्ना सकलभोग्यत्वसहिष्णुभिः शब्दादिविषयमयैः आतोद्यगानविचित्रमण्डप-विदग्धगणिकादिभिः उपरञ्जनं समाश्रितं, येन अहृदयोऽपि सहृदयवैमन्यप्राप्त्या सहृदयीक्रियते । ”

*Abhi. Bhā.* Gaek. Edn. I. pp. 282-283.

1. The Sahṛdaya, Abhinava defines, as one whose heart has been made transparent (receptive) like mirror by constant ‘chewing’ of poetry and who is therefore able to become immediately the emotion that is portrayed.

“ येषां काव्यानुशीलनाभ्यासवशाद् विशदीभूते मनोमुकुरे वर्णनीयतन्मयीभवनयोग्यता ते हृदयसंवादभाजः सहृदयाः । ” *Locana on Dhva. Ā.* p. 11.

Therefore greater is the appeal of drama ; greater in degree in the heart of a Sahṛdaya ; and greater in respect of the numbers of people to whom appeal is made. For the uncultured as well as the cultured (as well as the cultured who are not receptive in mind by their individual cares) are able to enjoy the drama when it is enacted.

“—इति न्यायेन सुतरां निर्मलीकरणम् । अहृदयानां च तदेव नैर्मल्यथायि ।”

*Abhi. Bhā.* Gaek. Edn. I. p. 288.

It is on this score that drama is the best form of literary composition.

The drama is called *Drśya*, that which is seen, only so long as it is acted. But when it is not acted and is capable of being enjoyed by mere reading, it is simply *Kāvya*. Bharata uses the word *Kāvya* often to mean the text of the drama. The name *Nāṭya* refers to the *Kāvya* in a certain dramatic form, dialogues, division into acts etc. and when it is enacted. The vocabulary of the Sanskrit critic has significantly no word for dramatist as distinguished from poet. To him everything is *Kāvya*, drama as well as epic poem. Drama versus Poetry is a problem as absent in Sanskrit *Alaṃkāra Śāstra* as Prose versus Verse. All these are *Kāvya*. What is it in essence? It is expression ensouled by *Rasa*—वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यम् i.e., expression which rouses emotional sympathy in a responsive heart. It is the representation of moods and feelings and this is its eternal, unchanging, essential and fundamental character. It has various forms like epic poetry, drama and lyric. In the drama, poet's explanation, description and narration are omitted and their absence is made up by the addition of the art of acting. For, this, in essence, is the difference between poetry, epic or otherwise, and drama. The one describes the emotional condition ; the other presents the same through the actors.

अनुभावविभावानां वर्णना काव्यमुच्यते ।<sup>1</sup>

तेषामेव प्रयोगस्तु नाट्यं गीतादिरञ्जितम् ॥

SCHLEGEL also said the same thing as regards drama and poetry.<sup>2</sup> He considered drama as dialogue with conflict or change but *without any explanation by the poet*. This lack of explanation makes it necessary that dramatic dialogue to be understood must be aided by the introduction of men, women

1. Quoted in Mahimabhaṭṭa's V. V. p. 20.

This is from the point of view of the primary end of *Kāvya* or *Nāṭya* namely *Ānanda*. Even from the point of view of the secondary purpose namely the didactic, the *Vyutpatti* in the form of *Vidhi-Niṣedha*, there is no difference between *Kāvya* and *Nāṭya*. There is, as Mahima says, only difference in 'means'—*upāya*. The drama is for educating the duller people whom *Kāvya* fails to influence. For, as said above, the drama when enacted is understood by less cultured people also. Further music, action etc., make drama a more charming medium of instruction, a sweeter pill to swallow.

“सामान्येन उभयमपि च तत् शास्त्रवद् विधिनिषेधविषयव्युत्पत्तिफलम् । केवलं व्युत्पाद्यजन-  
जाड्याजाड्यतारतम्योपेक्षया काव्यनाट्यशास्त्ररूपोऽयम् उपायमात्रभेदः, न फलभेदः । etc.”

p. 20 *Vyakti Viveka*, I.

2. Vide SPINGARN's essay on Dramatic Criticism.

and scenery ; otherwise an interpreter has to explain the sequences. Bhaṭṭa Tauta points out that Rasa is realised when the emotional conditions of Vibhāvas etc., are powerfully realised ; they can be realised in that manner surely in a drama which depicts to the eye all those conditions rousing the Rasa. Drama gives a Pratyakṣa-sākṣātkāra which is not available from poetry but a powerful poet's expression, makes his descriptive and narrative poetry have such life as will equal the life which drama enacted before the eye has. Thus there is little *essential* difference between Kāvya and Nāṭya.

“प्रयोगत्वमनापन्ने काव्ये नास्वादसम्भवः ।”

“वर्णनोत्कलिकाभोगप्रौढोक्त्या सम्यगर्पिताः ।

उद्यानकान्ताचन्द्राद्याः भावाः प्रत्यक्षवत्स्फुटाः ॥”

Bhaṭṭa Tauta quoted in the *Abhi. Bhā.* Gaek. Edn. I. p. 292.

Therefore to the cultured soul of the Sahṛdaya, there is no difference between un-acted drama and poem. When a drama is not acted but yet can be relished as keenly, by mere reading, it is only Kāvya and it is supremely the art of the poet's genius only. It gets its vitality by the genius of the dramatist. A great drama needs no actor, no theatre. Its greatness can be felt by mere reading in a corner of a room. As Aristotle says : “ Tragedy like Epic Poetry produces its true effect even without action ; it reveals its power by mere reading.” Dryden tells us that it is his ambition to be read which he considers as surely ‘the more lasting and nobler design’. A great French scholar, Dacier (end of the seventeenth century) admits that while stage decoration etc., add to the beauty of the play, they make the piece in itself neither better nor worse. In the middle of the next century Voltaire says (in the Notes to the Tragedy of *Olympie*) : “ What has the stage decoration to do with the merit of the poem ? If the success depends on what strikes the eyes we might as well have moving pictures.” At the end of the same century, Pye, in his commentary on the Poetics, says that good tragedies affect us as forcibly even while read in a room. Their effect is independent of the stage effect. Lessing, the German writer, in his work on *Dramaturgy*, expresses himself similarly that “ there is no real relation between elaborate scenery or splendid theatrical edifices and great drama itself.” Too much emphasis on the stage craft and scenic extravaganza is ‘theatricalism rampant’ ; this has nothing to do with drama. What have these to do with real dramatic worth when critics are of opinion that even such an important accessory as the art of acting itself has little to do with the greatness of the drama whose beauty can be realised even by reading ? He is really a great poet who creates dramas whose influence is had even when he is read. LAMB even says that a great play cannot be properly acted. “ A masterpiece is rarely as well represented as it is written ; mediocrity always fares better with the actors.” Therefore by Anvaya and Vyatireka, it can be maintained that first and last, a great drama is the creation of the genius of the poet-dramatist. Really great dramas need no acting, and acting, however great, cannot make insipid plays great. According to Bhaṭṭa Tauta, the greater the poet's power

of description, the lesser grows the need for presentation by actors. For Rasa-realisation is had when we see things powerfully living before our eye, physical or mental. And this can be accomplished either by acting and production or by the inherent dramatic power of the piece. If it is not there already as a result of the Prauḍhi of a poet's genius, no amount of Prayoga by actors can create that Pratyakṣāyamānatva. Therefore all Nāṭya is Kāvya, the art of the poet, and not of the actors. So it is that Bhoja says that more than actors and acting, he esteems poets and poetry or drama.

“अतोऽभिनेतृभ्यः कवीनेव बहुमन्यामहे;  
अभिनयेभ्यश्च काव्यमेवेति ।”

## CHAPTER VIII

### SĀHITYA

‘ शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम् ’

*Bhāmaha* I. 16.

- I. Introduction.
- II. Beginnings : Early history of the concept ; *Bhāmaha*, *Mukula*, *Pratihārendurāja*, *Rājaśekhara* and *Kṣemendra*.
- III. Bhoja's conception of *Sāhitya*.—*Śr. Pra.* & *S. K. Ā.*
- IV. *Śāradātanaya* follows Bhoja.
- V. The *Sāhityamīmāṃsā* ; its interpretation of *Sāhitya* following Bhoja, in a way ; five stages of *Sāhitya*.
- VI. *Kuntaka*'s definition of *Sāhitya*.
- VII. Bhoja's and *Kuntaka*'s conception of *Sāhitya* : comparison and contrast : Bhoja's *Śabdārthaguṇa*-*Sammitatva* compared to *Kuntaka*'s *Sāhitya*.
- VIII. Conclusion : *MEYNEL*, *Vidyādhara*, *Nilakaṇṭha* *dikṣita*, *Parāśarabhaṭṭa* and *Kālidāsa* on this *Sāhitya*.

The concept of *Sāhitya* had a grammatical origin. It became a poetic concept even as early as *Rājaśekhara* ; as far as we can see at present, the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* is the earliest work to mention the name *Sāhitya* and *Sāhitya* *vidyā* as meaning Poetry and Poetics. Even after him, grammatical associations were clinging to the term up to Bhoja's time. *Kuntaka*, about the time of Bhoja himself, was responsible for divesting *Sāhitya* of dry grammatical associations and for defining it as a great quality of the relation between *Śabda* and *Artha* in Poetry. Sometime afterwards was written by *Ruyyaka* or *Maṅkhuka* a work called *Sāhitya-nūmāṃsā*, which was the first work on Poetics to have the name *Sāhitya*. Afterwards *Sāhitya* became more common and we have the notable example of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* of *Viśva-nātha*.<sup>1</sup>

*Sāhitya* is derived from the word 'Sahita', "united together". सहितयो-  
र्भावः साहित्यम् । All literature is made of the material of word and sense united  
together and so also is Poetry. The earliest definitions of Poetry are material,  
giving us the substance of which Poetry is made, namely, *Śabda* and *Artha*.  
*Bhāmaha* says :

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम् K. A. I. 16.

This is the starting point and no one can ignore this essential element, so long as Poetry is a kind of expression, expressed through the medium of language. So *Rudraṭa* follows with his indication of the nature of *Kāvya*—

1. Vide my article on *Kriyā Kalpa*, with a Note on the Evolution of the Names of the *Alaṅkāra Śāstra* in the *JOR.* Madras. Vol. VIII, part. 2.

ननु शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् and many later writers like Mammaṭa and Vidyānātha define Poetry through Śabda and Artha. Even after the establishment of the Ātman of Poetry, Śabda and Artha were taken as the body of Poetry. The two are inseparable and always go together, the one meaning the other. No literature, no talking even, is possible without the two. But there seems to have been in the early period of Poetics a view on this grammatico-poetic question that of the two elements of Śabda and Artha, the former is more essential and important. It is perhaps to answer this view that Māgha says in his poem, the *Śiśupālavadha*, that a discerning man will pay equal regard to Fate and Self-exertion, and a poet will, to both Śabda and Artha.

शब्दार्थौ सत्कविरिव द्वयं विद्वानपेक्षते । II. 86.

Māgha here emphasises that Śabda and Artha are of equal importance. It is to this same controversy that Bhāmaha refers in chapter I and replies like Māgha.

रूपकादिमलङ्कारं वाह्यमाचक्षते परे ।  
मुपां तिदां च व्युत्पत्तिं वाचां वाञ्छन्त्यलङ्कृतिम् ॥  
तदेतदाहुः सौश्रव्यं नार्थव्युत्पत्तिरीदृशी ।  
शब्दाभिधेयालङ्कारभेदादिष्टे द्वयं तु नः ॥

It is immediately after this that Bhāmaha says that both Śabda and Artha, united together, form Kāvya. शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम् । It is meaningless to emphasise either Śabda only or Artha only, to call the one as Abhyantara and the other as Bāhya. Quoting the above-given verses of Bhāmaha and knowing full well the complete significance of the immediately following observation of Bhāmaha शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम्, Kuntaka thus concludes : तेन शब्दार्थौ द्वौ संमिलितौ काव्यमिति स्थितम् V. J. I. p. 10. Earlier also Kuntaka says :<sup>1</sup>

“शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् ; वाचको वाच्यं चेति द्वौ संमिलितौ काव्यम् । द्वावेकमिति विचित्रैवोक्तिः । तेन यत्केपाश्चिन्मतं कविकौशलकल्पितक्रमनीयातिशयः शब्द एव केवलं काव्यमिति, केषांचिद् वाच्यमेव रचनावैचित्र्यचमत्कारकारि काव्यमिति, पक्षद्वयमपि निरस्तं भवति । तस्माद् द्वयोरपि प्रतिलिखितं नैलं, नद्विदाह्लादकारित्वं वर्तते, न पुनरेकस्मिन् ।” V. J. I. p. 7 De's Edn.

In another way, the very late writer Jagannātha emphasises Śabda to start with, though he includes Artha also in his definition of Poetry. He defines Poetry as *Śabda* that gives such an idea, Artha, as is productive of non-worldly æsthetic bliss when contemplated upon. रमणीयार्थप्रतिपादकः शब्दः काव्यम्. Jagannātha further justifies himself that Śabda it is that is called Kāvya and not Artha also, because we say in the world ‘The Kāvya has been read but its Artha has not been understood’. But this is not a strong argument for, in the ordinary speech in the world one adopts a fictitious analysis of a single whole into its parts. The proper attitude however is what Kuntaka has stated, namely, that *both* Śabda and Artha *together* constitute Poetry.

1. See also Namisādhū on Rudraṭa, II, i.

The emphasis on Śabda by a school which considered Artha as Bāhya was perhaps strongly influenced by the grammatical Śabda Brahman philosophy of the *Vākyapadīya* which holds Artha as a Vivarta of Śabda. Bhoja is a great follower of Bhartṛhari and his *V.P.* which is quoted numberless times in the opening chapters of the *Śr. Pra.* Bhoja takes trouble to explain that the acceptance of Dhvani does not bring any difficulty regarding the basic tenet that all Artha is the Vivarta of Śabda. He explains Dhvani also as a Śabda Vivarta. (Vide infra, section on Bhoja and Dhvani.) As against this view of Śabda prādhānya, it can be said that the Etymologists or Nairuktas considered the Idea or Artha as chief and Śabda, secondary in importance. Durgacārya on Yāska says :

अर्थो हि प्रधानम्, तदगुणः शब्दः । p. 3, *Venkatesvara Steam Press Edn.*

It is as a reply to this controversy that Bhāmaha says, शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम् that *both* Śabda and Artha *together* constitute Poetry. This is the first significance of Sāhitya.

The old writers did not go further than defining Poetry as made up of Śabda and Artha, words and ideas. Anything said or written is of this nature and this does not define Poetry or, on the face of it, give us an idea of the nature of the charm in Poetry. The old writers described Poetry as linguistic composition (Śabda and Artha), divided it into Prose and Verse, Sanskrit and Prākṛt, Read and Acted, and so on. But at the same time they realised that Śabda and Artha in Poetry had a special beauty not found elsewhere ; that, to put it briefly, the Śabda and Artha in Poetry had some speciality, Viśeṣa. It is a question of deciding this Viśeṣa that is the problem of Poetics. Some approached the problem from the outer expression, the garb called Śabda and Artha ; some plumbed the content within ; while others emphasised that, whether it be a Viśeṣa of the Śabdārtha or of the content within, everywhere in Poetry, in the Śabdārtha śarīra as well as the Ātman of Rasa and Dhvani, it is the poet's peculiar way, the work of his genius, Kavi Vyāpāra, that is the Viśeṣa. A fine sum up of the poetic theories from this point of view is thus made by Samudrabandha on the *Alaṅkāra Sarvasa*.

“इह विशिष्टं शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् । तयोश्च वैशिष्ट्यं धर्ममुखेन, व्यापारमुखेन, व्यङ्ग्यमुखेन वेति त्रयः पक्षाः । आद्येऽप्यलङ्कारतो गुणतो वेति द्वैविध्यम् । द्वितीयेऽपि भणितिवैचित्र्येण भोगकृत्त्वेन वेति द्वैविध्यम्<sup>1</sup> । इति पञ्चसु पक्षेषु आद्यः उद्भटादिभिर्नङ्गीकृतः, द्वितीयो वामनेन, तृतीयो वक्रोक्ति-जीवितकारेण, चतुर्थो भट्टनायकेन, पञ्चमः आनन्दवर्धनेन ।” Triv. edn. p. 4.

1. Both Kuntaka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka emphasise Kavivyāpāra but there seems to be an apparent difference. The former's Kavivyāpāra leans towards the old writers' view and approaches from the expression-side arriving at Bhaṇiti-vaicitrya. But Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's Kavivyāpāra is related by him to the Rasa, to the content-school. But as explained in my paper on writers quoted in the Abhinavabhārati (*JOR.*, Madras, Vol. VI, pp. 212-214), Nāyaka also had much inspiration from Bhāmaha and the old school. As the Locana says, the Bhogakṛtva is preceded by



It is the analysis of this Viśeṣa that engages our attention and it is the main theme in the history of Sanskrit Poetics. That it is some beauty is accepted by all. Replying to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Abhinava says that it is acceptable to him to say that the 'Soul' of Poetry is the realisation of beauty.

“यच्चोक्तं—‘चारुत्वप्रतीतिस्तर्हि काव्यस्य आत्मा म्यात्’ इति, तदङ्गीकुर्म एव । नास्ति खल्वयं विवाद इति ।”

Śabda and Artha that are 'beautiful', Rāmaṇīya, are Kāvya. Within this Rāmaṇīyaka come Alamkāra, Guṇa (Rīti included in it), Rasa, Dhvani and Aucitya. These form the speciality of poetic speech, of the relation between Śabda and Artha in Poetry. In ordinary speech, Śabda and Artha are united, *Sahitau*. Without this Sāhitya, no linguistic expression is possible. Then what is the meaning of Sāhitya with reference to Poetry? The Sāhitya meant is one of a special kind, an unusually beautiful relation between Śabda and Artha in Poetry.

“ननु च वाच्यवाचकसंबन्धस्य विद्यमानत्वात् एतयोः न कथञ्चिदपि साहित्यविरहः, सत्यमेतत् । किन्तु विशिष्टमेवेह साहित्यमभिप्रेतम् ।” Kuntaka V. J. p. 10.

Poetry is speech *par excellence*; and Sāhitya, relation *par excellence*. Thus to begin with, the word Sāhitya meant only the mere union of Śabda, the expresser, and Artha, the expressed—*Vācya vācaka sambandha*. This means correctness and purity of grammar on the one hand and logical sensibility on the other. Taking Śabda and Artha united as Kāvya, the early writers examined the varieties of Śabda, different languages, different kinds of words as Noun, Verb, Preposition etc., and sentences made up of words (पदसमूहात्मकवाक्य) and of types of compositions made up of Vākyas, like the Sarga-bandha, Nāṭaka etc. This analysis pertains to Śabda and is had in the first chapters of the works of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. But there is no trace of any analysis of the Artha in Poetry in the texts of these two writers. The first writer who began to talk of more varieties of Artha than one, in Poetry, is Udbhaṭa according to the evidence of the *Dhvanīyāloka* and the *Locana*. Analysis of Artha in Poetry begins here. In his *Bhāmaha*

Bhāvakatva which Abhinava says, as far as Kāvya is concerned, is due to certain elements of beauty in *expression*, Śabdārtha, namely, Guṇas and Alamkāras.

भावकत्वमपि समुचितगुणालङ्कारपरिग्रहात्मकमस्माभिरेव वितत्य वक्ष्यते । *Locana* p. 70.

It is to this view of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka that Abhinava refers in his *Abhi. Bhā.*

अन्ये तु काव्येऽपि गुणालङ्कारमौन्दर्यातिशयकृतं रसचर्वणमहुः । p. 292, Gaek. Edn. I.

If it is so, Nāyaka's view is not far distant from that of Kuntaka and of the old schools which defined the Viśeṣa as a 'Dharma'. The difference between the three schools as analysed by Samudrabandha is that while the first sticks to the expression, the third to the expressed, the second comprehending both the expression and the expressed, emphasises the peculiar poetic activity of the poet's genius which shapes everything.

2. Vide my paper *Kriyā Kalpa* and the Evolution of the Other Names of the Alamkāra Śāstra, above referred to; the section on Saundarya and Cārutva.

*vivarāṇa*, while commenting upon Bhāmaha, I. 9. शब्दश्छन्दोऽभिधानार्थः Udbhaṭa tries to interpret the two words Śabda and Abhidhāna as distinct and points out that in Poetry, besides the primary sense of the words, there is a second sense which is the secondary meaning.

“—तथापि गुणवृत्त्या काव्येषु व्यवहारं दर्शयता ध्वनिमार्गो मनाक्स्पृष्टो (ऽपि न) लक्ष्यत इति परिकल्प्यैवमुक्तम्—।” *Dhva. Ā. p. 10.*

‘दर्शयतेति । भट्टोद्भट्टवामनादिना । भामहोक्तं ‘शब्दश्छन्दोऽभिधानार्थः’ इत्याभिधानस्य शब्दाद् भेदं व्याख्यातुं भट्टोद्भट्टो वभाषे ‘शब्दानामभिधानमभिधान्यापारः, मुख्यो गुणवृत्तिश्च’ इति, वामनोऽपि ‘सा सादृश्यात् लक्षणा वक्रोक्तिः’ इति ।” *Locana, p. 10.*

Udbhaṭa thus mentioned the Amukhya or Gauṇa Artha and Vāmana definitely speaks of Lakṣaṇā which gives the secondary meaning as underlying the beauty in certain expressions. Soon critical circles discovered the third and greatest variety of Artha, the suggested idea—ध्वनि or ध्वन्यन्तान् अर्थ. Taking Śabda and Artha together, i.e., the two in Sāhitya, and leaving aside the grammatical aspects of their mutual relation, it was found out that in Poetry the relation between the two consisted of some beauty analysable into Alarṅkāra, Guṇa etc. In such a manner, in course of time, Sāhitya which at first meant only the inevitable grammatical and logical relations between Śabda and Artha in any kind of linguistic expression came to mean those things which form the distinguishing characteristics of Poetry as different from the other utterances. Soon Sāhitya came to be used as a synonym of Poetry.

We do not know when and how exactly the word Sāhitya came into existence and came to be used in the sense of Poetry. We have an old verse which uses the name Sāhitya for Poetry :

**साहित्यसङ्गीतकलाविहीनः साक्षात्पशुः पुच्छविषाणहीनः ।**

but its date is not decided. In Bhāmaha we have only the qualifying adjective ‘Sahitau’ from which Sāhitya is derived. सहितयोर्भावः साहित्यम् । Mukula uses the word. (Pp. 21-22)

**पदवाक्यप्रमाणेषु तदेतत् प्रतिबिंबितम् ।**

**यो योजयति साहित्ये तस्य वाणी प्रसीदति ॥**

Commenting on this, he himself mentions Sāhitya twice as a Śāstra (Poetics) along with Mīmāṃsā, Vyākaraṇa and Tarka. Mukula’s pupil and commentator on Udbhaṭa, Pratihārendurāja, while describing his Guru in the closing verse of his commentary on the K.A.S.S. mentions the word in the sense of Poetics. साहित्यं श्रीमुरारेः । In Rājasekhara’s K.M. we find Sāhitya-vidyā meaning Poetics as one of the Vidyās. पञ्चमी साहित्यविद्या इति यायावरीयः । सा हि चतसृणामपि विद्यानां निष्पन्दः । He explains Sāhitya derivatively as the Vidyā of Śabda and Artha placed together in the proper manner.

“शब्दार्थयोर्यथावत् सहभावेन विद्या साहित्यविद्या ।” *K. M. p. 5.*

In section 3, describing the legend of Kāvya Puruṣa and his descent into the world, Rājasekhara mentions Sāhitya-vidyā as the spouse of Kāvya Puruṣa.

“—तदेतस्य ( काव्यपुरुषस्य ) वशीकरणं कामपि स्त्रियं सृजामीति विचिन्तयन्ती साहित्य-विद्यावधूमुदपादयन्, आदिशच्चैर्ना—एष ते रुपा धर्मपतिः पुरः प्रतिष्ठते, तदनुवर्तस्व, एनं निवर्तय च ।”

From the first quotation it appears that by Rājasekhara's time it is definitely settled down in books that Sāhitya is synonymous with Poetry or Poetics. Abhinava's pupil, poet and critical writer, Kṣemendra, uses Sāhitya twice as meaning Poetics, the subject which he studied under Abhinava.

श्रुत्वाभिनवगुप्ताख्यात् साहित्यं बोधवारिधेः ।

आचार्यशेखरमणेः विद्याविवृत्तिकारिणः ॥ *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* p. 260.

It is only when we come to the eleventh century that we see the concept of Sāhitya entering into its 'Bhāgya daśā'. It begins to loom larger and gets two exponents for itself, one in Malwa and another in Kashmir, Bhoja and Kuntaka, two of the names among first rank Ālarikārikas who must be specially noticed in a history of Sāhitya. It is striking that both Bhoja and Kuntaka start with Bhāmaha's definition—शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम्. Before we compare and contrast the two expositions of Sāhitya by Bhoja and Kuntaka, we shall see what Bhoja means by that term.

We have already said that Poetry being speech supreme, Sāhitya is between the two parts of language—Śabda and Artha—relation supreme. Thus, Sāhitya first means all linguistic expression and the general and inevitable grammatical and logical relations between word and sense; and then it means Poetry and the poetic relations between the two. Bhoja means by Sāhitya both kinds of relation and he not only deals with Poetry but with language also. At the lower levels, lies language with its general Sāhitya; higher up the language has risen above itself and has bloomed into Poetry and here, the Sāhitya is poetic relation between word and sense. Bhoja defines Kāvya as the Sāhitya or unity of word and sense.

“नत् (काव्यं) पुनः शब्दार्थयोः साहित्यमामनन्ति । तद्यथा—‘शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम्’ इति । It is to a treatment of this Sāhitya of Śabda and Artha that the *Śr. Pra.* is devoted. Bhoja calls his work itself *Sāhitya Prakāśa* in chapter xi.

यस्मिन्नशेषविद्यास्थानार्थविभूतयः प्रकाशन्ते ।

संहृत्य, स साहित्यप्रकाश एतादृशो भवति ॥

Chap. xi, p. 430. *Śr. Pra.*, Vol. II.

The scheme of the whole work is contained in the definition, “Śabdārthau sahitau kāvyam” and under the edifice of the *Śr. Pra.* lies the foundation and system called Sāhitya. This has been already pointed out by me in

a previous section. Sāhitya is thus defined by Bhoja : It is the relation between Śabda and Artha and is of twelve kinds. Eight of these twelve Sāhityas can be called general and the last four are special and can be classed as the poetic Sāhityas.

किं साहित्यम् ! यः शब्दार्थयोः संबन्धः । स च द्वादशधा, अभिधा, विवक्षा, तात्पर्यम्, प्रविभागः, व्यपेक्षा, सामर्थ्यम्, अन्वयः, एकार्थीभावः, दोषहानम्, गुणापादानम्, अलङ्कारयोगः रसावियोगश्चेति । ”

Again, at the beginning of chapter vii which begins the treatment of Sāhitya, Bhoja repeats these twelve-fold relations between Śabda and Artha as constituting Sāhitya.

“तत्र अभिधा-विवक्षा-तात्पर्य-प्रविभाग व्यपेक्षा-सामर्थ्य-अन्वय-एकार्थीभाव-दोषहान-गुणोपादान-अलङ्कारयोग-रसावियोगरूपाः शब्दार्थयोः द्वादश सम्बन्धाः साहित्यमुच्यते ।

Vol. I, p. 428, *Śr. Pra.*

Even the earlier work of Bhoja, the *S.K.Ā.*, contains indications of this conception of Sāhitya of Bhoja. The first verse of the work ध्वनिर्वर्णाः पदं वाक्यम् etc. covers part of contents of chapters i-vi of the *Śr. Pra.* and the second verse of the *S.K.Ā.* gives the last four-fold poetic Sāhitya, दोषहान, गुणादान, अलङ्कारयोग and रसावियोग or रसान्वय ; commenting on the above-said first verse of the *S. K. Ā.*, Ratneśvara who is acquainted well with *Śr. Pra.* says :

“तदयमत्र तात्पर्यसंक्षेपः—साहित्यस्वरूपनिरूपणाय किल एष ग्रन्थारम्भः । साहित्यं च शब्दार्थयोः संबन्धः । तत्र शब्द एव क इत्यपेक्षायामयं विभागो ध्वनिरित्यादि । अर्थस्तु स्तम्भकुम्भादिलक्षणः लोके शास्त्रे च प्रसिद्धः । सम्बन्धः कश्चिदनादिः । सर्वस्वायमानस्तु संबन्धः नान्यत्रेति अस्मिन्नायतते । स चतुर्विधः—दोषहानम्, गुणोपादानम्, अलङ्कारयोगः रसाभि ( वि )योगश्चेति । ”

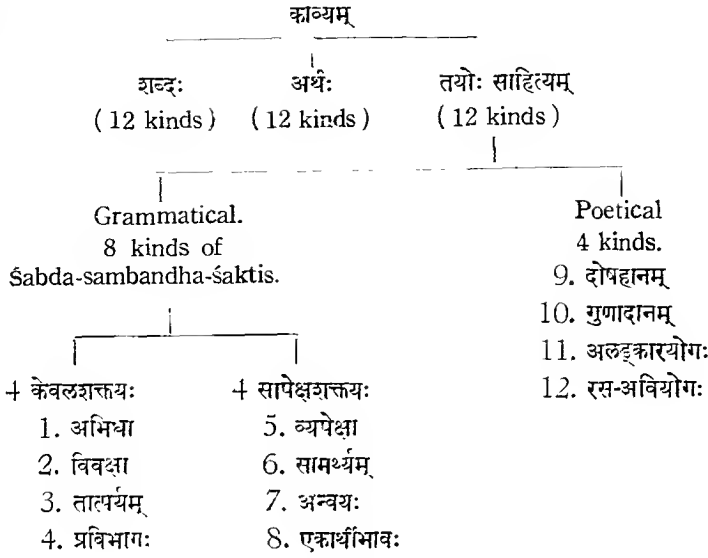
Ratneśvara on *S.K.Ā.* I, 1.

“निर्दोषं गुणवत्काव्यम् अलङ्कारैरलङ्कृतम् । रसान्वितं कविः कुर्वन् कीर्तिं प्रीतिं च विन्दति”

*S.K.Ā.* I, 2.

There is the well-known eternal, external grammatical relation between Śabda and Artha but these are subjects pertaining to grammar. As far as Poetry is concerned, the relation is of a superior kind, *Viśiṣṭam Sāhityam* as Kuntaka says, or *Sarvasvāyamānaḥ sambandhaḥ* as Ratneśvara says. Sāhitya is thus really the poetic relation only ; or rather it is necessary to investigate the poetic Sāhitya only, leaving aside the well-known external Sāhitya. But, with a suggestion of the historical origin of the concept of Sāhitya in grammar, and, as in most places, writing here also under the great influence of the Śāstra of grammar, Bhoja takes at first Sāhitya as merely relation between Śabda and Artha and includes under it two sets of relations, grammatical and poetical. Among the eight grammatical relations, four are classed together

as Kevala-śabda-sambandha-śaktis and the other four as Sāpekṣa-śabda-sambandha-śaktis. The following table gives these classifications at a glance.



The first eight are called Śabda-sambandha-śaktis. Abhidhā comprises the three Vṛttis, Mukhyā, Gauṇī and Lakṣaṇā. Vivakṣā is of three kinds—Kāk-vādi-vyaṅgyā, Prakaraṇādi-vyaṅgyā and Abhinayādi-vyaṅgyā. In Tātparyā is included the Pratīyamāna and Dhvani. (See below, section on Bhoja and Dhvani). These eight Śabda-sambandhas are treated of in chapters vii and viii. Poetic Sāhitya begins in chapter ix.

We remarked above how it is worth while in a work on Poetics to investigate into this Poetic Sāhitya only, leaving out the Vācya-vācaka-sambandha as very well known. Ratneśvara also opines so. But Bhoja has taken the grammatical relation also as Sāhitya. As if this is not enough, he confuses us more by contradicting himself at the opening of chapter ix by restricting the name Sāhitya to the first eight grammatical and logical relations. He separates the last four, does not call them Sāhitya and introduces them newly as factors which secure goodness of expression—Samyak prayoga or Prayoga-arhata.

“तत्र अभिधाविवक्षादिभिः निरूपिते शब्दार्थयोः साहित्ये, वाक्यस्य प्रयोगयोग्यता, प्रयोगानर्हता च निश्चीयते। यदाह—‘एकशब्दः सम्यक् प्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुक् भवति’। दुष्प्रयुक्तः पुनरधर्माय संपद्यते। सम्यक्प्रयोगश्च तदा उपपद्यते, यदा दोषहानम् गुणोपादानम्, अलङ्कारयोगः, रसावियोगश्च भवति।” p. 144. Vol. II, Śr. Pra.

This contradicts the statement that all the twelve relations form Sāhitya. There is yet another contradiction which appears at the very beginning of the Śr. Pra where Bhoja defines Poetry as the Sāhitya between Śabda and Artha.

“तत् (काव्यं) पुनः शब्दार्थयोस्साहित्यमामनन्ति । तद्यथा—‘शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम्’ इति ।”

This would mean that Sāhitya is neither the sum-total of all the twelve relations, grammatical and poetical, nor the sum-total of the first eight only but that it is only the four-fold poetic relation of Doṣa-hāna, Guṇādāna, Alarṅkāra-yoga, and Rasa-aviyoga,—a view that will correspond to that of Kuntaka and Ratnesvara. The second view of Sāhitya that it is the sum-total of the eight Śabda-sambandha-śaktis is the view of the work called *Sāhityamīmāṃsā* which we shall notice presently.

Bhoja wrote without a systematically thought-out unitary idea of Poetry. He borrowed from all, accepted all and somehow accommodated every writer from Bhāmaha to Ānandavardhana and the Daśarūpakakāra in his big berth of *Śr. Pra.* Bhoja accepted Alarṅkāra as expounded by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Following the former, he took his stand on his definition of Poetry, “Śab-dārthau sahitaū kāvyam.” Following the latter, he completely incorporated the *Kāvyaḍaśa* into his own work. He followed Vāmana on Guṇas and their relations to Alarṅkāras. As a matter of fact, the chapter heads, Doṣa-hāna and Guṇādāna, are taken from Vāmana's Sūtra, स दोषगुणालङ्कारहानादानाभ्याम् । I, 1.3. He follows Bhāmaha in another respect also, i.e., in considering all Alarṅkāras to be of the form of Vakrokti. (See below section on Alarṅkāra and on Vakrokti.)

“अस्मिन् सति सर्वालङ्कारजातयो वक्रोक्त्यभिधानवाच्याः भवन्ति ।

तदुक्तम्—

वक्रत्वमेव काव्यानां परा भूषेति भासहः ।

श्लेषः पुष्पाति सर्वासु प्रायो वक्रोक्तिषु प्रियम् ॥ *Śr. Pra.* Vol. II, p. 372.

Following both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, Bhoja considers Rasas and Guṇas also as Alarṅkāras.

“एवमवस्थापिते गुणरसतदाभासभावानामलङ्कारत्वे षट्प्रकारोऽलङ्कारसङ्करः सम्भवति ।”

*Śr. Pra.* Vol. II, p. 388.

(See also Pp. 612-3 S.K.Ā. See also below sections on Guṇa, Alarṅkāra, and Rasa). Bhoja then follows Vāmana and says that, of the two, Guṇa and Alarṅkāra, the former is more important. He quotes the two verses of Vāmana on this point.

“तत्र च गुणोपादानालङ्कारयोगोः गुणोपादानं गरीयः । अतः तदेव प्रथममुच्यते । यदाह— यदि भवति वपुश्च्युतं गुणेभ्यः” etc. etc., (Vāmana) | *Śr. Pra.* Vol. II, p. 211.

“गुणयोगस्तयोर्मुख्यः गुणालङ्कारयोनयोः ।”—S.K.Ā I, 59, p. 42.

As a follower of the Rasa-school also, he considers that the last aspect of Sāhitya called Rasa-aviyoga or non-divorce from Rasa is the most important. It is the greatest factor of beauty in Kāvya and the three preceding it, only serve it.

“निर्दोषस्य गुणवतोऽलङ्कृतस्य काव्यशरीरस्य कामिनीशरीरस्येव शोभतिशयनिष्पत्तौ रसा-विद्योग एव प्रकृष्ट उपयोगी ।” *Śr. Pra.* Vol. II, p. 352.

In the S.K.Ā., among the three Uktis which comprehend the whole field of Poetry, namely, Svabhāvokti, Vakrokti and Rasokti, he assigns the greatest place to Rasokti.

वक्रोक्तिश्च रसोक्तिश्च स्वभावोक्तिश्च वाङ्मयम् ।

सर्वासु प्राहिणीं ताम् रसोक्तिं प्रतिजानते ॥—S.K.Ā. V, 8.

He also adopts as much as possible verses of Ānanda, which subject I have separately examined in a further section on Bhoja and Ānanda. This, in brief, is the plan by which Bhoja improvises a system called Sāhitya, in which is envisaged his conception of Poetry as speech made more attractive by four factors, namely, absence of grammatical, logical and literary flaws (*Doṣahāna*), securing of stylistic qualities of Śleṣa etc., which are of prime importance and which must necessarily be present (*Guṇādāna*), adornment with Alamkāras which is optional and is intended for further beautification (*Alamkāra-yoga*), and above all, seeing that no part of Poetry is devoid of Rasa (*Rasa-aviyoga*). This is his definition of Poetry also :

निर्दोषं गुणवत्काव्यम् अलङ्कारैरलङ्कृतम् ।

रसान्वितं कविः कुर्वन् कीर्तिं प्राप्तिं च विन्दति ॥—S.K.Ā I, 2.

‘एतेन काव्यलक्षणमपि कटाक्षितम् ।’ —Ratneśvara on the above.

Thus, if it can be granted that there is some thought-system of Poetics in Bhoja's *Śr. Pra.*, it must be this system of Sāhitya.

Śāradātanaya, in his *Bhāvaprakāśa* (chapter vi, p. 145, Gaek. Edn.) follows Bhoja's conception of Sāhitya. He gives the twelve-fold Sāhitya in a clear, classified and succinct manner. The three-fold classification of the twelve relations indicated by us above is also made by him. The verses in the *Bhā. Pra.* on pp. 145-152 form a good metrical summary of chapters vii-ix of Bhoja's *Śr. Pra.*

वाक्यार्थत्वं ( रसस्य ) च शब्दार्थसंबन्धादवगम्यते ।

संबन्धो द्वादशविधः स्मृतः शब्दार्थयोर्बुधैः ॥

द्वादशधा सम्बन्धः शब्दस्यार्थस्य यस्तु साहित्यम् ।

त्रिस्कन्धः स चतुर्भिस्तनुभिस्स्यात् चतुर्भिश्च ॥

वृत्तिर्विवक्षा तात्पर्यप्रविभागाविहोदितौ ।

तनो व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्यान्वयाश्चैकार्थभावना ॥

दोषहानं गुणादानं तथालङ्कारयोगिता ।

रसावियोग इत्येते संबन्धाः कथिता बुधैः ॥—p. 145.

See also Mr. K. S. RAMASWAMY SASTRI'S Introduction to the Gaek. Edn. of this *Bhā Pra.* pp. 42-43. Following the phraseology of the (anti-Dhvani) Tātparyavādins headed by the Daśarūpakakāra, Śāradātanaya calls here Rasa the Vākyārtha, towards the comprehension of which the Padārthas named Bhāvas help. The Vibhāvas etc., are 'Vākyārthapara', i.e., Rasapara. Their Tātparya is Rasa, the Vākyārtha. Bhoja follows Dhvani as well as Tātparya, reconciling the two somehow and uses the phraseology of Padārtha-vākyārtha for Bhāvas and Rasas.

“किन्तु अन्यपरतया ते ( विभावादयः ) उपादीयमानाः तत्रैव न्यग्भवन्ति । न वाक्यार्थप्रति-  
पत्तौ पदार्थाः पृथक् स्फुरन्तीति ।”—*Śr. Pra. Ch. XI.*

Śārādātanaya, who follows Bhoja, says that this Vākyārtha of Rasa is got at by the Sambandha between Śabda and Artha.

काव्यादिवन्धवद्भूतस्य रसस्य स्थायिनोऽपि च ।

वाक्यार्थत्वं च शब्दार्थसंबन्धादगवम्यते ॥

संबन्धो द्वादशविधः स्मृतः शब्दार्थयोर्वैधैः ।—p. 145.

This Sambandha helping the manifestation of the Vākyārtha of Rasa is the twelve-fold Sāhitya of Bhoja, out of all of which Bhoja himself says that the last, namely, Rasa-aviyoga is the most important. Bhoja says that it is for securing Rasas that such Guṇas as Kānti, the absence of such flaws as Grāmyatā, the adding of such Alamkāras as Kaiśikī vṛtti and Vaidarbhi rīti etc., are resorted to by poets.

“तयोः वाक्यविषयः ( रसावियोगः ) अश्लील-अमङ्गलघृणावदर्थं ग्राम्यम् इत्यादि दोषहानेन,  
दीप्तरसत्वं कान्तिः इत्यादिगुणोपादानेन कैशिकीवैदर्भ्याद्यलङ्कारयोगेन च etc.—।”

*Śr. Pra. Mad. MS. Vol. II, p. 356, Ch. XI.*

Thus according to Bhoja, the Vaiśiṣṭya of Śabda and Artha (in Samudrabandha's terminology), which is responsible for making ordinary Śabdārtha into Kāvya (*Vaiśiṣṭau śabdārthau kāvyam*), is Sāhitya. If the Alamkāra-school and the Guṇa-rīti school define the peculiarity (Viśeṣa) about Poetry by 'Dharma', if Kuntaka's Vakrokti defines it as a Kavi-vyāpāra, if Ānanda's system defines it by the suggested Rasa, Bhoja, whose position contradicts that of none, arranges all the views suitably and says that the Viśeṣa is Sāhitya which comprehends all these—Alamkāra, Guṇa-rīti, Dhvani and Rasa. Kāvya is Śabda and Artha with a special kind of beauty, Śobhā, i.e., the Vaiśiṣṭya or Viśeṣa of Samudrabandha. The Kāvya-śarīra is the point from which Bhoja studies Kāvya. Kāvya is understood as 'Śabdārtha', शरीरं तावदिष्टार्थव्यवच्छिन्ना पदावली ' of Daṇḍin is accepted. The Śobhā of the Śarīra of Śabdārtha is due, in Bhoja's opinion, to the absence of flaws, the presence of excellences, the addition of ornaments, and the non-divorce from emotion. Of these, the first is the negative element of Śobhā in the form of absence of flaws. Regarding the other three, Bhoja completely follows Daṇḍin, his greatest Guru, quotes his text काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मानलङ्कारान्प्रचक्षते and says that whatever is responsible for the charm in the Śabdārtha of Kāvya is Alamkāra, be it Guṇa, Alamkāra (figure) or Rasa. Rasa may be the most important; Guṇa may be more important than Alamkāra which is the least important of the three but functionally, all the three are identical in that they contribute to the charm of the expression, in being Kāvya-śobhākara-dharma. Thus, in another way, we arrive at this conclusion that, in Samudrabandha's phraseology, Bhoja is one who would put the speciality of Kāvya as a 'Dharma', as Alamkāra. Bhoja goes with the ancient Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin and is of opinion that even as the Rasa,



the way of saying things in Kāvya through suggestion (he accepts Dhvani as functioning supremely in Poetry— ध्वनिरेव काव्ये ) beautifies only expression. Therefore, to sum up, Bhoja considers the speciality about Poetry as a śobhā, which is due to Sāhitya ; this Sāhitya is Alamkāra, analysable into Rasa, Guṇa and Alamkāra. This is a solution which is really an arrangement or an adjustment of the various items, a synthetic or eclectic theory.

Bahurūpamiśra is a very late commentator on the *Daśarūpaka* and his work deserves notice here as one of those which follow Bhoja's theory of Sāhitya. Bahurūpamiśra drew upon Śāradātanaya and he had direct access to Bhoja's *Śr. Pra.* also. In his commentary on the *D. R.*, the MS. of which is available in the Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, he quotes Bhoja and his *Śr. Pra.* often.<sup>1</sup> In the commentary on the fourth chapter of the *D.R.* dealing with Rasa, he gives us the concept of Sāhitya as expounded by Bhoja and as reproduced by Śāradātanaya in his *Bhā. Pra.* He says :

ननु रसस्य स्थायिनो वा काव्येन कः संबन्धः, येन वाक्यार्थः स्यात् ? उच्यते; साहित्यम् । ×××  
द्वादशविधो हि शब्दार्थयोस्संबन्धः साहित्यमित्युच्यते । चतुर्भिश्चतुर्भिः संबन्धैः त्रीणि पक्षाणि ।  
स च वृत्तिविवक्षातात्पर्यप्रविभाग (व्यपेक्षा) सामर्थ्यान्वयैकार्थीभावाः (दोषहानगुणादान-अलङ्कारयोग)  
रसावियोगा इति ।—p. 73, Mad. MS. R. 4188.

Bahurūpa explains each with definition and illustration and most of the illustrative verses are those found in the *Śr. Pra.* This portion of his work is a clear summary of Bhoja's vast treatment of Sāhitya in nine chapters. Both Śāradātanaya and Bahurūpa made a slight emendation and gave Bhoja's first item called Abhidhā as Vṛtti. As we shall notice presently, the *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* also adopts the name Vṛtti and thereby, confusion is removed; for Abhidhā, which Bhoja gives as a general name for the three Vṛttis of Mukhyā, Gauṇī and Lakṣaṇā, is generally used only to denote the first, namely Mukhyā.

The *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* on Sāhitya :

There is a MS. of a work called *Sahitya-mīmāṃsā* (henceforth written as *S.M.*) in the Tanjore Library, a copy of which has been secured for the Madras MSS. Library. The work is short and incomplete, in Kārikās and Vṛtti. A copy of the work is available in the Curator's Library at Trivandrum and the work has now been edited in the most careless manner as no. 114 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The following account of Sāhitya according to the *S.M.* is based in the Tanjore MS. and its Madras copy.

The work *S.M.* may strike one, as it has struck the Editor of this work in the T.S.S., as the same mentioned in the *Alamkāra-sarvasva* and the commentary on the *Vyakti viveka*. We know of a *S.M.* by Viriṇca miśra, fifth ancestor of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara (end of the 15th and the first half of the 16th cent.), mentioned in the long colophon at the end of Lakṣmīdhara's

1. See *JOR*, Madras, VIII, pp. 321-334, my article on Bahurūpamiśra's *Daśa-rūpaka-vyākhyā*.

*Saundaryalaharī vyākhyā*, Mysore Edn.) A S. M. is quoted by Rājacūḍāmaṇi in his *Kavya-darpaṇa*. This MS. of S.M. does not bear the name of either Ruyyaka or Maṅkhuka. What is plain is that the work is later than Bhoja, Kuntaka and Kṣemendra.<sup>1</sup> The work as its name shows, discusses regularly, for the first time in the history of Sanskrit Poetics, as far as we know now, the subject under the name Sāhitya. The work states its scheme thus : it treats of Sāhitya and Pariṣkāra ; i.e., of the (four and four) eight relations of Vṛtti, Vivakṣā, Tātparya, Pravibhāga ; and Vyapekṣā, Sāmarthya, Anvaya and Ekārthibhāva ; and then the Pariṣkāra, consisting of the last four items of Bhoja, namely, Doṣahāna, Guṇādāna, Alambkāra-yoga and Rasa-aviyoga. Next the work speaks of different kinds of poets and different kinds of Rāsikas but our interest at present is in the discussion on the term Sāhitya. The author of the work is not only well acquainted with Bhoja's *Śr. Pra.* and Bhoja's method of treating Poetics, but reproduces also long passages from the *Śr. Pra.* The S.M. accepts Bhoja's conception of Sāhitya as the sum-total of the general relations between Śabda and Artha from Vṛtti to Ekārthibhāva coming under two heads of four,—four Kevala and four Sāpekṣa Śabda-sambandha-śaktis. There is, however, this definite difference that this S.M. makes. It restricts the name Sāhitya to the first eight items of Bhoja and calls the rest, Doṣahāna etc., by a new name Sāhitya Pariṣkāra or Śabdārtha Pariṣkāra or Prasādhana (polish or refinement).

The work says :

साहित्यं सपरिष्कारं कविना परिकल्पितम् ।  
 भावयन् रसिको लोके सुखमत्यन्तमश्नुते ॥  
 वृत्त्यादीनां समष्टिस्स्यात् साहित्यं तत्त्वनि (तत्परि) ष्कृतिः ।  
 शब्दार्थयोः परिष्कारः कविस्तस्य प्रसाधकः ॥

\* \* \*

अष्टौ वृत्त्यादयस्तत्र परिष्कारश्चतुर्विधः ॥

—S.M. Mad. MS. p. 1, (T.S.S. Edn., pp. 1-2) .

The 'Vṛttyādi Aṣṭa' consisting of the four Kevala and the four Sāpekṣa Śabda śaktis constitute Sāhitya in the opinion of this S.M. It again says so :

एषां समष्टिरर्था (ष्टा) नां साहित्यमिति निर्णयः । —p. 5. T.S.S. Edn., (p. 11)

The MS. briefly explains these eight, following Bhoja, but with some slight difference. Dhvani is not mentioned under Tātparya as is done by Bhoja and the work follows the Daśarūpaka and holds Rasa as the Vākyārtha and the Tātparya.

वर्तते यत्परः शब्दः स वाक्यार्थ इति स्थितिः ।

एतद् रसस्य प्रस्तावे परस्तात् साधयिष्यते ॥ —p. 3. (T.S.S. Edn. p.7) .

It is on the basis of this Tātparya and Vākyārtha view of Rasa that we have to doubt strongly that this S.M. is different from that believed to be

1. The work reproduces from all these three authors. If only this fact had been realised by the editor, the work would have been edited better.

written by Ruyyaka or Mañkhuka, both of whom are staunch Kashmirian followers of Ananda's theory of Dhvani.

To return to this *S.M.*'s view of Sāhitya, it is after word and meaning are united through these eight relations, that the poet handles them and now begins the fact of Poetry by virtue of the poet refining this 'Word-Idea', śabdārtha, having Sāhitya.

तत्परिष्कृतिः । शब्दार्थयोः परिष्कारः कविस्तस्य प्रसाधकः ॥

—Mad. MS. p. 1. (T.S.S. Edn. p. 1).

This *Parīṣkāra* or refinement is all the activity of the poet. It is of four kinds : Doṣahāna, Guṇa-ādāna, Alamkāra yoga and Rasa-aviyoga. This, the work says, comes in due course.

साहित्यस्य परिष्कारः पारंपर्येण निवृत्तिः ।

—T.S.S. Edn. p. 12.

Therefore, Sāhitya according to this work is not the art of Poetry but only language and linguistic expression ; it is not the poetic qualities that characterise Poetry and its words and ideas but is only the inevitable general relations, syntactic etc., between word and meaning.

साहित्यं नाम संबन्धः सा ( सोऽ ) ष्ठेति मनीषिणः ।<sup>1</sup>

शब्दार्थावयवभिर्वर्गैः सम्बन्ध्यन्ते परस्परम् ॥

+ + +

वृत्त्यादयस्ताः कथ्यन्ते शक्तयः पुनरष्टधा ।

वृत्तिस्तद्विवक्षा च तात्पर्यं च विभागवत् ॥

चतस्रः केवला ह्येताः शब्दसंबन्धशक्तयः ॥

याकांक्षा यच्च सामर्थ्यमन्वयो यश्च तैर्मिश्रः ।

( एकार्थभिर्वचनं चेति ) सापेक्षाः शब्दशक्तयः ॥

—*S.M.* Mad. MS. pp. 5-6, (T.S.S. Edn. p. 12)

The *Vṛtti* more clearly says that Sāhitya means only the eight relations of *Vṛtti* etc., and that Doṣahāna etc., are excluded. We have here the concept of Sāhitya again sinking back into its original grammatical meaning. The text of the *Vṛtti* runs thus :

“ वृत्तिविवक्षादेः साहित्यान्तर्भावं दोषहानगुणालङ्कारसंबन्धस्य बहिर्भावं च सहेतुकमाह । ”

—p. 6 Mad. MS. (T.S.S. Edn. p. 12, passage corruptly printed.)

This however is not Bhoja's view. As Ratneśvara explains the second verse of the *S.K.Ā.*, and as Kuntaka would take it, Sāhitya is really Poetry and the poetic relation between Śabda and Artha, the *Parīṣkāra* as this *S.M.* calls it. This consists of the four qualities, Doṣahāna etc., which alone Bhoja deals with in his smaller and earlier work, the *S.K.Ā.* In the *Śr. Pra.* however, which is a larger work with a greater scope, grammatical relations in

1. The *vṛtti* mentions Bhoja. See T.S.S. Edn. p. 12.

addition to the poetic, are included and thus Sāhitya is made to mean not only the four-fold poetic relation but also the eight-fold grammatical relation. It was also pointed out above that in an opening passage at the beginning of chapter i of the *Śr. Pra.*, Bhoja describes *Kāvya* as the Sāhitya between Śabda and Artha and not exactly all kinds of expression in language. In that case, Bhoja would seem to agree with Ratneśvara and hold only Doṣahāna etc., as Sāhitya. Again it was pointed out before that the third view, now found to be held by the *S. M.* that the 'Vṛttyādi Aṣṭa' alone form Sāhitya and that Doṣhāna etc., represent a separate department, is also warranted by one sentence of Bhoja at the beginning of chapter ix.

“तत्र अभिधाविवक्षादिभिः निरूपिते शब्दार्थयोः साहित्ये, वाक्यस्य प्रयोगयोग्यता प्रयोगानहं-  
ता च निश्चीयते । यदाह—‘एकशब्दः सम्यक्प्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुक् भवति ।’ दुष्प्रयुक्तः पुनर-  
धर्माय संपद्यते । सम्यक्प्रयोगश्चास्य तदोपपद्यते यदा दोषहानम्, गुणोपादानम्, अलङ्कारयोगः,  
रसावियोगश्च भवति ।” —*Śr. Pra.* Ch. 9, Mad. MS. Vol. II, p. 144.

It is from this passage that the *S.M.* must have taken its inspiration. The phrases of Bhoja, Prayoga-yogyatā, Prayoga-arhatā and Samyak-prayoga which are to be secured by the four means of Doṣahāna etc., exactly correspond to the *S.M.*'s *Parīṣkāra* or refinement of the language that has already come into being with the eight-fold Sāhitya.

The *S.M.* then reviews another view of Sāhitya.

शब्दार्थयोः सहस्थानं साहित्यमपरे जगुः ।  
धिया( द्वयोः )परस्परस्वार्थाः( स्पर्धा )युक्तयोः काव्यसंज्ञितम् ॥  
साहित्यमनयोः शोभाशालितां प्रति काव्यसौ ।  
अन्यूनानतिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिण्यवस्थितिः ॥

*V. J.* p. 27), *S.M.* p. 7, Mad. M.S. (T.S.S. Edn. p. 13).

This represents the view of Kuntaka, the author of the *Vakroktiṭīṣvīla*. The *S.M.* clubs together the *Kārikas* of the *V.J.* with the *Samgraha* and the *Antara Ślokas* in the *Vṛtti* of the *V.J.* The work quotes the two sets of *Antara Ślokas* of Kuntaka found on pp. 28-29 of the *V.J.* Of these two only the first set of three verses on p. 28 are on Sāhitya and the other set of four verses on p. 29 are on *Vakrokti*. But the *S.M.* puts the two sets together and takes the description of *Vakrokti* also as one of Sāhitya. It concludes its review with the remark that this view does not differ from that first described, i.e., the slightly modified view of Bhoja.

“एतन्मतमपि प्रायो मतमस्माकमश्नुते ।  
अभेदः ख्याप्यते तत्र किन्तु साहित्यकाव्ययोः ॥

एतन्मतमपि अस्मन्मतमेव आप्नोति । इदमन्तरम् । [ स ] परिष्कारं ( रः ) साहित्यमिति ( त्यमिति ) तेषां मतम् । वयं तु शब्दार्थयोः संमिलनमात्रयोः मिलनमात्रयुक्ते रूपं साहित्यम् । तत् शास्त्राभ्यानादिसाधारणम् । अन्यद् यत् परिष्कारविशिष्टं तत् काव्यमिति मन्यामहे ।’

(T.S.S. Edn. p. 15.)

The difference also has been stated by the work. According to Kuntaka Sāhitya is Kāvya, the embellished or refined Śabdārtha, the Paṛiṣkāra only. But the *S.M.* says that Sāhitya is not Poetry; it is a grammatical fact, common to all utterances, of Poetry, of Śāstra and of Ākhyāna; it is the grammatical relations, Vṛtti etc., which all linguistic expression inevitably means. What brings in Poetry after the coming into existence of language and Sāhitya is Paṛiṣkāra. This view of the *S.M.* is a degradation of the idea of Sāhitya and a sinking back of the concept to its original meaning. With Kuntaka's view agrees Bhoja's view implicitly expressed in the *S.K.Ā.*, I, 2., and expounded by Ratneśvara. It is only in the *Śr. Pra.* that the concept of Sāhitya is expanded to embrace also the grammatical and the logical relations between word and idea. This itself seems to be a degradation of the poetic concept of Sāhitya but the *S.M.* has dragged it down further by separating the grammatical and the poetical relations, by conferring the name Sāhitya on the former only and by creating the new name of Paṛiṣkāra for the latter.

The reason why Bhoja considered Sāhitya as literature in general besides Poetry and as the general and the inevitable relations also, besides the four poetic relations, is Bhoja's great love for the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra which is in evidence all through this big work of *Śr. Pra.* It is no surprise that in many places in Bhoja, there is more grammar than real Poetics. The fact can be realised by a comparative study of the conception of Sāhitya according to Bhoja and Kuntaka and the difference can be seen to be immense. Even while beginning the poetic part of Sāhitya in chapter ix, Bhoja does not say 'beautiful expression' but only 'good and correct expression'—Samyak prayoga, Prayoga yogyatā, Prayoga arhatā. And here, Bhoja quotes the text which refers to the Apūrva resulting from the grammatically pure expression, a text quoted in the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra—एकः शब्दः सम्यक् प्रयुक्तः etc. This makes all the difference; it shows how again and again it is grammar that is Bhoja's fascination. In this connection even the author of the *S.M.* is more imaginative and poetic. To give Vedic prāmāṇya for Poetry, he quotes the beautiful text भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधिवाचि, which Bhavabhūti has adopted into a verse of his in his *Uttararāmacarita*. (IV. 18) The *S.M.* says :

“तदेवं काव्यार्थभावनया रसेन [स्य] निरतिशयानन्दलाभस्य कविचक्षुषो भद्रया लक्ष्म्या निधानस्य च श्रवणात् कविकाव्ययोः महत्त्वं, रमिकस्य च प्रयोजनं श्रुतिसिद्धमेवेति सर्वं समञ्जसम् ।”  
—pp. 49 and 50, Mad. MS. (T.S.S. Edn., p. 161).

Thus to sum up :

(1) Sāhitya rose as a grammatical concept denoting the eternal and well-known united character of Śabda and Artha, comprehending the general Sambandhas of Vṛtti etc., between the two.

(2) As far as Poetry is concerned it seems to have emphasised on Bhā-maha's observation शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम् that neither Śabda alone nor Artha alone is Poetry but both together are Poetry. There is no question of superiority, as between the two. Māgha and Kuntaka are clear on this point.

(3) The third stage is represented by Bhoja's view according to which the grammatical or ordinary Sāhitya between Śabda and Artha has expanded to embrace the poetic qualities in the relation of the two in Poetry. Bhoja fully expounds this view, taking Sāhitya to mean ordinary expression as well as poetic expression, ordinary Śabdārtha sambandha as well as the peculiar poetic Śabdārtha sambandha.

(4) Kuntaka can be said to represent the fourth stage. Even very much earlier than Bhoja, the name Sāhitya had come to mean Poetry and Poetics, e.g., in Rājaśekhara's *K.M.* Kuntaka recognises that Sāhitya surely means, primarily, only the ordinary relation of Śabda and Artha as Vācaka and Vācya but he says that the word in Poetics is restricted to the poetic relation. Viśiṣṭa Sāhitya, which is the same Vācya Vācaka sambandha made finer. Sāhitya is considered at this stage as above Pada-vākya-pramāṇa and only as a poetic concept. This view of Kuntaka we shall presently examine in detail.

(5) The next stage it is that the anonymous *S.M.* represents. It is the direct opposite of Kuntaka's view and between its view and that of Kuntaka stands that of Bhoja embracing both. The *S.M.*'s Sāhitya is a return to that of stage No. 1, where it is a purely grammatical concept meaning the Śabda śaktis etc. Poetry and poetic relations between Śabda and Artha fall out of its scope and come under the separate head named Pariṣkāra.

#### *Kuntaka on Sāhitya :*

The eleventh century was a favourable time for the concept of Sāhitya. Ideas are in the air and at a certain time they seem to descend on our earth and reveal themselves for the good of humanity through certain chosen persons. It happens often that laws and discoveries in all departments of knowledge have their destined time when they come to light and more than one 'Seer' sees those truths. So it is that many discoveries, though going in the name of one noteworthy personality, are really found out to have been at the same time or a little earlier or later revealed to certain others also. The same is the case with Ideas. When Bhoja was defining the concept of Sāhitya, Kuntaka was doing the same thing in Kashmir. Kuntaka is a great name in Sanskrit Poetics. Besides his new doctrine of Vakrokti, there are many other points on which his genius made special and valuable contribution. One such point is Sāhitya.

Like Bhoja, Kuntaka is a follower of the ancients whom he re-interprets. Like Bhoja, Kuntaka starts with Bhāmaha's definition of Poetry—*Śabdārthau sahitaū kāvyam*—and accepts it by adding it to his own Vak-

rokti. He says that both word and sense together, having Sāhitya, are Kāvya, when set in Vakrokti.

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्त्रविव्यापारशालिनि ।

वन्धे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विदाह्यादकारिणि ॥ V. J., p. 7.

Thus, language or word and sense become Poetry by virtue of what we might call a Guṇa called Sāhitya and an Alarṅkāra called Vakrokti, both the words Guṇa and Alarṅkāra being used here in a large sense. This Sāhitya is the prime requisite. It is only Kuntaka who has given us a full and significant exposition of the concept of Sāhitya. He himself says that though people have been using the word Sāhitya for a long time, no writer ever systematically thought out its full significance and expounded it in any treatise. Kuntaka rightly takes credit for having done this work.

“यदिदं साहित्यं नाम, तदेतावति निस्सीमनि समयाध्वनि साहित्यशब्दमात्रेण प्रसिद्धम् । न पुनरेतस्य कविकर्मकौशलकाष्ठाधिरुदिरमणीयस्य अद्यापि कश्चिदपि विपश्चिद् अयमस्य परमार्थ इति मनाइमात्रमपि विचारपदमवतारिणः । तदद्य सरस्वतीहृदयारविन्दमकरन्दबिन्दुसन्दोहसुन्दराणां सत्क-  
विवचसामन्तरामोदमनोहरत्वेन परिस्फुरदेतन् सहृदयपदचरणगोचरतां नीयते ।”

Sāhitya literally means the relation between word and sense. ‘सहितयो-  
र्भावः साहित्यम् । Kuntaka, p. 27. ‘सहितौ सहितभावेन साहित्येन अवस्थितौ.’ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

This relation is eternal and there is no language without it, i.e., without the word and sense being united together as the expressing and the expressed (*Vācaka* and *Vācya*). This Vācya-vācaka sambandha comprehends the consideration of the structure and varieties of the Vācaka, the Pada, of the syntactic import of a succession of words in a Vācya and of the logicity of the idea, i.e., Pada, Vākya and Pramāṇa. These are present in all kinds of expression and form the original meaning of Sāhitya.

शब्दार्थौ सहितावेव प्रतीतौ स्फुरतः सदा ।

सहिताविति तावेव किमपूर्वं विधीयते ॥

This original Sāhitya which is निसर्गमिदं शब्दार्थसंवन्य becomes Sāhitya of a superior kind by the operation of the poet's genius or Kavi-vyāpāra. It is this superior Sāhitya that is discussed in Poetics. It is the magical quality pertaining to the words and ideas coming from a poet which makes ordinary utterance with Pada, Vākya and Pramāṇa into Poetry. It is not present in either Śāstra or the ordinary utterances of the world but is seen in Poetry only. It is Pada-vākya-pramāṇa-atirikta. It is not the Sāmānya but is the Viśiṣṭa Sāhitya.

“ननु च वाच्यवाचकसंवन्यस्य विद्यमानत्वाद् एतयोः न कश्चिदपि साहित्यविरहः, सत्यमे-  
तन् । किन्तु विशिष्टमेवेह साहित्यमभिप्रेतम् ।” V. J. p. 10.

Kuntaka defines this Sāhitya as the quality of Śabda and Artha vying with each other in the suggestion of Rasa, or, to put it generally in enhancing the beauty of Poetry. He gives this Sāhitya as applying to all the ele-

ments in Poetry ; it is something like Aucitya. First of all kinds of Sāhitya comes the Sāhitya of Śabda and Artha, their mutual commensurateness.

समसर्वगुणौ मन्तौ सुहृदाविव सङ्गता ।

परस्परस्य शोभायै शब्दार्थौ भवतो यथा ॥ V. J. p. 11.

There must be beautiful expression as well as beautiful idea. The question of whether form or content is important in Poetry does not arise. Mere idea or emotion is the subject of psychology. As long as Poetry is *expression*, the form is unquestionably important. It has to contain also an Artha that is equally charming. This is the first kind of Sāhitya of Kuntaka. He takes Śabda as a whole meaning expression and Artha as a whole meaning the sense. He examines some verses and points out the presence or absence of this commensurateness between the expression and the expressed. Inadequate expression and expression devoid of idea are both bad. Beautiful expression without beautiful idea and a beautiful idea not couched in an equally beautiful expression are both bad. The fault on the one side affects the other also.

‘द्रव्योरप्येतयोस्तादृशयोः प्राधान्येन प्रत्येकं एकतरस्य साहित्यविरहो व्याख्यातः । परमार्थतः पुनः उभयोरपि एकतरस्य साहित्यविरहः अन्यतरस्यापि पर्यवस्यति । तथा च अर्थः समर्थवाचक-अस-द्भावे स्वात्मना स्फुरन्नपि मृतकल्प एव अवतिष्ठते । शब्दोऽपि वाक्योपयोगिवाच्यसंभवे वाच्यान्तर-वाचकस्सन् वाक्यस्य व्याधिभूतः प्रतिभातीत्यलमतिप्रसङ्गेन ।’ V. J. p. 14.

Idea insufficiently expressed is ‘dead’ and expression without idea or expressing something other than the intended idea is ‘disease’—*Mṛtakalpa* and *Vyādhībhūta*. Thus, the first Sāhitya is the complete harmony and commensurateness between expression and expressed, form and content.

The second Sāhitya is that between one word and another in the expression and between one idea and another in the expressed.

सहित्यमत्रापि यथायुक्तिं स्वजातीयापेक्षया शब्दस्य ज्ञानान्तरेण, वाच्यस्य वाच्यान्तरेण च साहित्यम्, परस्परस्पर्धित्वलक्षणमेव विवक्षितम् ।” V. J. p. 12.

The first Sāhitya takes Śabda and Artha as a whole meaning expression and expressed while the second Sāhitya emphasises that in the expression itself the several units, namely the Padas, must have mutual Sāhitya and that similarly, the various Artha-units, in the expressed. This Sāhitya is defined at length in *Kārikas 16-17* and the *Vṛtti* thereon.

“साहित्यमनयोः शोभाशालितां प्रति काव्यमौ ।

अन्यूनानतिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिण्यवस्थितिः ॥ V. J. I, 17.

महितयोर्भावः साहित्यम् । अनयोः शब्दार्थयोः या काव्यलौकिकी चेतनचमत्कारकारितायाः कारणम् अवस्थितिः, विविचैव विन्यासभङ्गी । कीदृशी अन्यूनानतिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिणी, परस्परस्पर्धित्वरमणीया । यस्यां द्वयोः एकतरस्यापि न्यूनत्वं निकर्षो न विद्यते, नाप्यतिरिक्तत्वमुत्कर्षो वा अस्तीत्यर्थः । ननु च तथाविधं साम्यं द्वयोरुपहतयोरपि संभवति इत्याह—शोभाशालितां प्रति । शोभा सौन्दर्यमुच्यते । तया शालते श्लाघ्यते यः, स शोभाशाली, तस्य भावः शोभाशालिता, तां प्रति सौन्दर्यश्लाघितां प्रतीत्यर्थः । मैव च महदयाह्लादकारिता । तस्यां स्पर्धित्वेन यासाववस्थितिः परस्परसाम्यसुभगम् अवस्थानं सा



साहित्यमुच्यते । तत्र वाचकस्य वाचकान्तरेण वाच्यस्य वाच्यान्तरेण साहित्यमभिप्रेतम्, वाक्ये काव्य-  
लक्षणस्य परिसमाप्तत्वादिति प्रतिपादितमेव ॥” V. J. p. 27.

Word and sense must be so set that neither of them is dull ; they are to be of the same power ; they are to be so set that they mutually vie in enhancing the beauty of the poem. The expression and the expressed are to be neither more nor less than the other but must be most precise and equally powerful. In the matter of promoting the Rasa and the Camatkāra of the Sahṛdaya each should emulate the other. This is the first Sāhitya. Similarly one word should vie with another and one idea with another. This is what Kuntaka means by defining Sāhitya as Paraspara-spardhā of Śabda and Artha. He compares the sympathetic co-operation between the two to the understanding between two friends—सुहृदाविव सङ्गता<sup>1</sup>

तस्मादेतयोः शब्दार्थयोः यथास्वं यस्यां स्वसंपत्तामप्रीसमुदायः सहृदयहृदयाह्लादकारी परस्पर-  
स्पर्धया परिस्फुरति, सा काचिदेव वाक्यविन्याससंपन् साहित्यव्यपदेशभाग्भवति । V. J. I. p. 27.

The Sāhitya between one word and another which is one part of Kun-  
taka's second Sāhitya can also be described in his simile of two intimate  
friends. The Vaiṣṇavite writer, Parāśarabhaṭṭa, (c. 1123—1151 A.D.) speaks  
of this Sāhitya between one word and another in a composition in another  
telling simile in a verse of his. He compares the beautiful way in which  
words in a good composition help each other and together help the main  
idea commonly, to the best brotherly feeling, Saubhṛātra.

अनाप्राप्तावद्यं बहुगुणपरीणाहि मनसा

दुहानं भौहार्द परिचितमिवाथापि गहनम् ।

पदानां सौभ्रात्राद् अनिमिषनिषेव्यं श्रवणयोः

त्वमेव श्रीमेह्यं बहु मुखरय वाणीविलसितम् ॥

*Śṛiṅṇaratnakośa* Śl. 8.

Thirdly, Kuntaka speaks of this Sāhitya with reference to other ele-  
ments in expression like Mārga or Riti, Vṛtti, Guṇa, Alamkāra and Vakratā  
in general. Every part or aspect of expression has to vie with the other  
towards enhancing the beauty of the poem.

किन्तु विशिष्टमेवैह साहित्यमभिप्रेतम् । कीदृशम् ? वक्ताविचित्रगुणालङ्कारसंपदां  
परस्परस्पर्धाधिरोहः ।” V. J. p. 10.

“मार्गानुगुण्यसुभगः माधुर्यादिगुणोदयः ।

अलङ्करणविन्यासः वक्त्रातिशयान्वितः ॥

वृत्त्यौचित्यमनोहारि रसानां परिपोषणम् ।

स्पर्धया विद्यते यत्र यथास्वमुभयोरपि ॥

सा काव्यवस्थितिः तद्विदानन्दस्पन्दसुन्दरा ।

पदादिवाक्परिस्पन्दसारः साहित्यमुच्यते ॥”

V. J. p. 28.

1. Kuntaka adds that Śabda and Artha should be such as to beautify each other ; they must be for each other's beauty—परस्परस्य शोभायै. To adopt Kālidāsa's words, they are equally so beautiful, that between the two, it is difficult to decide which is the beautifier and which, the beautified.

अन्योन्यशोभाजननाद् बभूव साधारणो भूषणभूयभावः । K. S. I.

Thus Kuntaka's conception of Sāhitya in general is that the expression (*Vācaka śabda*) and the expressed (*Vācya artha*), as also the several units in either part of Poetry, must be set in a glorious race, competing with each other in making the poem beautiful. This notion of Sāhitya has to base itself on the beauty of the poem or the relish of the Sahrdaya as the test, according to Kuntaka. In this respect the concept means the appropriateness and power of the Vācyavācaka in suggesting the Rasa. For, Rasa, Kuntaka accepts as supreme. Therefore, this conception of Sāhitya generally likens it to the other concept of Aucitya which also figures very much in Kuntaka. Criticising the introduction of Śabdālamkāras with special effort, Kuntaka says that this would result in the loss of Aucitya and through that would mean an over-emphasis on Śabda-saundarya and a loss of Sāhitya.

“व्यसनितया प्रयत्नविरचने हि प्रस्तुतौचित्यपरिहाणेः वाच्यवाचकयोः परस्परस्पर्धित्वलक्षण-साहित्यविरहः पर्यवस्यति ।” V. J. II. p. 84.

Kuntaka has thus brilliantly expounded the concept of Sāhitya as a great principle in Poetry, as the greatest perfection in expression a poet should attain, namely, the harmony between the expression and the expressed. When Rājaśekhara slightly explained Sāhitya as the proper equipoise between Śabda and Artha—“शब्दार्थयोः यथावत्सहभावेन विद्या साहित्यविद्या ”—p. 5, we must understand him as having had in his mind ideas similar to what Kuntaka has expressed. The word Sāhitya is derived from *Sahita*, united. Another explanation can be given bringing out this same significance, namely, the equipoise between Śabda and Artha, the harmony of Kuntaka. The word *Sahita* contains the affix ‘*Sa*’ standing to denote ‘*Samam*’ (समम्) ‘equally’—and the main word is the past passive participle of ‘*Dhā*’, to put, place or set. Thus ‘*Sahita*’ means equipoised word and idea.<sup>1</sup>

A comparison of Kuntaka's exposition of Sāhitya with that of Bhoja reveals interesting points. Firstly, Bhoja and Kuntaka start with the same definition of Bhāmaha शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम् । The difference is, Kuntaka emphasises by Sāhitya, a quality of Śabda and Artha resembling Aucitya. Besides that, Kuntaka mentions Rasa, Dhvani, Mārga, and above all Vakrokti. That is, Kuntaka adds to Bhāmaha's definition of Poetry (that Śabda and Artha united, are Kāvya), the Vakrokti in which the Śabda and Artha having Sāhitya, must be set. वक्रकविव्यापारशालिनि । बन्धे व्यवस्थितौ । V. J. I. 7.

Thus, though all the varieties of Vakrokti also as forming aspects of expression have to observe Sāhitya, they are not included in Sāhitya. Therefore

1. The author of the Sanskrit introduction to the Nirṇaya Sāgar Edn. of the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* suggests another derivation for the word Sāhitya. He says that the ‘*Sahabhāva*’ means that Poetry has in it all the eighteen Vidyāsthānas. And he quotes the verse of Bharata and Bhāmaha containing that idea—*Na sa śabdō na tad vācyaṃ* etc.

there are two ideas, Sāhitya and Vakrokti, in Kuntaka's definition of Poetry. Bhoja's conception of Sāhitya differs in being very wide. It means Poetry as a whole in Bhoja, whereas it is a supreme quality of Poetry that has to be present along with Vakrokti according to Kuntaka. Bhoja's Sāhitya means all the manifold activities of the poet's genius, namely elimination of flaws, style and its qualities, figures and diction, and finally making every point of expression the embodiment of Rasa. That is, Bhoja's Sāhitya comprehends not only the whole of Kuntaka's Vakrokti also, but every other thing in Poetry. Beyond Śabda and Artha, the only other fact in Poetry is Sāhitya and under it comes everything else. In another way also Bhoja's Sāhitya is very much wider than that of Kuntaka. For, Sāhitya means all literature and all kinds of Śabdārtha-sambandhas to Bhoja, while to Kuntaka, it means Poetry and a poetic relation only, though he also recognises that ordinarily Sāhitya refers to the Sambandha between Śabda and Artha in general as Vācaka and Vācya. Only, Kuntaka leaves out the consideration of language itself and its inevitable Śabdārtha-sambandhas related to Pada, Vākya and Pramāṇa, and treats only of the poetic Sambandha above all these. Just as Poetry is finer speech, Sāhitya is the finer Sambandha between Śabda and Artha. Rājaśekhara calls Sāhitya or Poetry as the finest essence of all the four Vidyās—स हि चतसृणामपि विद्यानां निष्पन्दः (p. 4) even as Wordsworth says that Poetry is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge. We can say with reference to Sāhitya here, making a slight change, that Poetry is the breath and finer spirit of language.

It is not the concept of Sāhitya in Bhoja that has any exact correspondence to Kuntaka's Sāhitya. It is interesting to note that almost the same idea contained in Kuntaka's Sāhitya, is found in Bhoja's Guṇa called Sammitatva. यावदर्थेषदत्वं च संमितत्वमुदाहृतम् । S. K. Ā I. 74.

It is the avoidance of verbiage or 'over-expression'; it is the use of words enough for the idea on hand. Bhoja further explains this Śabda-sammitatva as the quality of Śabda and Artha being as if held in a balance.

अत्र अर्थस्य पदानां च तुलाविश्रुतवत् तुल्यत्वेन संमितत्वम् । S. K. Ā. p. 58.

This is what Kuntaka means by his Sāhitya which he describes as Anyūna-anatiriktatva of word and idea being neither more nor less than each other. Sammita means well-adjusted or harmonised utterance. The above-given definition is of the Śabda guṇa, Sammitatva, and Bhoja has the same Guṇa for Artha also. The difference between the two is that in the former the poet weighs the adequacy of expression from the point of view of Artha and in the latter, *vice versa*.

शब्दार्थौ यत्र तुल्यौ स्तः संमितत्वं तदुच्यते । S. K. Ā. I. 86.

Ratneśvara comments on this :

“अर्थस्य विभज्य तुलाश्रितवत् प्रतिनिवेशः संमितत्वमिति । अर्थमुद्दिश्य शब्दतुलनं काव्यभाव-  
वाजं शब्दगुणः, शब्दमुद्दिश्य त्वर्थतुलनमर्थगुणश्च ।” S. K. Ā. p. 71.

All qualities of precision, powerfulness, clarity, and such others are comprehended in this weighing of word with idea. Its breach brings in a train of flaws—verbiage or *Vṛthā pallava*, *Apuṣṭārtha*, *Neyārtha*, the *Avakara* of *Māhima Bhaṭṭa* and so on. When we have too much of words we have *Avakara*, *Pādapūraṇa*, *Aprayojaka*, etc. When we have inadequate expression we have the *Doṣa*, *Neyārtha*, by which *Prasāda* and *Arthavyakti* are lost. This is perhaps the greatest quality of poetic expression, the peak of perfection of poetic art as *Kuntaka* says—*कविकर्मकौशलकाष्टाधिरुद्धिः ।* V. J. p. 26.

This quality is variously called, descriptively and metaphorically. *Kuntaka* calls it *Sāhitya*, *Anyūna-anatiriktatva* or *Paraspara-spardhā* between *Śabda* and *Artha*. The *Śabda* and *Artha* having this quality are compared by him to two friends united in some glorious task. *Parāśara Bhaṭṭa* calls them 'brothers' with the best *Saubhāratra* feeling. *Bhoja* calls the same as *Śabda-artha-sammitatva* and gives the imagery of the poet weighing *Śabda* and *Artha* in the scales of a balance. A greater comparison comes from *Kālidāsa* himself, who gives the simile of the ideal prime divine couple *Pārvati* and *Parameśvara*, the prototype of Man and Woman, in *Raghuvamśa*, I. 1. The *Sāhitya* or *Samparka* between *Śabda* (*Vāk*) and *Artha* is compared by *Kālidāsa* to that between *Pārvatī* and *Parameśvara* or to the ideal *Sāhitya* laid down by the *Smṛtis* between wife and husband. There is no question of inferiority or superiority between the two. Their marriage is sacred and they enter the holy union for the service performed together to *Dharma* to which they are both and equally subordinate. *Rasa* or 'beauty' of *Kāvya* can be likened to that *Dharma* and *Śabda* and *Artha* to the married couple. It is not likely that the great poet wrote the above verse merely to mean by *Vāg-artha samparka* the well-known and eternal *Śabdārtha sambandha*. He might have meant it also ; but he powerfully suggests here the *Viśiṣṭa Sāhitya* or the *Viśiṣṭa sambandha*. Similarly there is no 'Sārasya' or credit to the great poet to say that by 'Vāgartha pratipatti,' *Kālidāsa* prayed for the attainment of proficiency in lexicography, in words and meanings. The compound is often explained by *Mm.* Professor *Kuppuswami Sastri* as meaning the same as *Kuntaka's* *Sāhitya* or *Spardhā* between *Vāk* and *Artha* or the understanding between the two. *वागर्थयोः परस्परप्रतिपत्तिः ।* It is for this great quality of Poetry that *Kālidāsa* prays for. He describes it with the simile of the prime divine couple, *Ardhanārīśvara*, as *Śabda* and *Artha* fused together or wedded in perfect sympathy and harmony. It is this same *Sāhitya* that *Wilfred MEYNELL* speaks of in the same conjugal metaphor, in his biographical note attached to a selection of the poems of *Francis THOMPSON*. He says (of the particular poem, "Sister Songs") : "Sister Songs is a poem to be read aloud ; for sound and sense herein celebrate their *divine nuptials*." The same is conveyed by *Kālidāsa's* comparison of Poetry to *Ardhanārīśvara*. *Vidyādhara* describes the *Śabda* and *Artha* in Poetry in the same metaphor :

बन्धोऽर्धनारीश्वर—

The goddess Pārvatī is Vāk or Śabda ; god Parameśvara is Artha ;<sup>1</sup> their union as Ardhanārīśvara signifies the greatest ideal of Poetry variously emphasised as Sāhitya, Sammitatva etc., by the above-noticed writers, and by Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, by the following verse :

सव्यं वपुः शब्दमयं पुरारे-  
 रथात्मकं दक्षिणमामनन्ति ।  
 अङ्गं जगन्मङ्गलमैश्वरं तद्  
 अर्हन्ति काव्यं कथमल्पपुण्याः ॥ *Śivalilāṛṇava* I. 15.

and which Kālidāsa kept before him when he wrote his immortal poetry.

वागर्थाविव संवृत्तौ  
 वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।  
 जगतः पितरौ वन्दे  
 पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥<sup>2</sup>

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1. “अर्थः शंभुः शिवा वाणी” इति लिङ्गपुराणम्” quoted by Viśveśvara in the *Kavin-drakaṇābharaṇa*, p. 52, K. M. GUCCHAKA 8. रुद्रोऽर्थोऽक्षरस्सोमा तस्मै तस्यै नमो नमः । *Rudhahrdyopaniṣad*, Adyar Edn. of Saiva upaniṣads, 1925, p. 151.

2. Kālidāsa is charmed with this idea. He says in his *Kumāra sambhava*, VI. 79. तमर्थमिव भारत्या सुतया योक्तुमर्हसि, and Mm. Prof. S. KUPPUSWAMY SASTRI loves to dwell on this passage and to speak of the birth of ‘रस-स्कन्द’ as a result of the union of शब्द-पार्वती and अर्थ-परमेश्वर. Since Rasa is ‘अवाच्य’ the poem. K.S., stops with the marriage of शब्द and अर्थ, leaving रस-स्कन्द’s birth as a matter of course to be suggested.

## CHAPTER IX

### UKTI

‘उक्तिविशेषः काव्यम्’

Rājaśekhara, *Karpūramañjarī*, Prologue.

Very intimately related to Bhoja's Alamkāra-synthesis is another synthesis of Bhoja which can be called the *Ukti*-synthesis. Besides the systems of Sāhitya and Alamkāra, there is also a system of Ukti in Bhoja's *Śr. Pra*. The history of this concept of Ukti is a very interesting study.

Ukti can be translated as poetic expression or poetic speech as distinguished from expression or speech, either of the ordinary work-a-day life or of the scientific laboratory, the scholastic class room and the philosophical text book. As we say in the Doṣa-prakaraṇa that poetic words are to be neither Grāmya or Loka-mātra-prayukta, ordinary, vulgar, colourless words of our daily routine life, nor Apratita or Śāstra-mātra-prayukta, technical and pedantic, so also we can say of poetic expression as a whole that it is in that place which is too sanctified for either the Grāmya and the Pāmara or the pure pandit and pedant. It is the very essence of speech, language beautified, a high-power communication. That poetic expression possesses this peculiar beauty or power not found in ordinary talk or writing, scientific treatises or mere historical documents can be seen by every person. That this beauty and power pertain to the *method of expression* can also be seen easily ; for, poetic expression or the poetic form depends upon how a thing is said and not upon what is said. The emphasis on what is said is in ordinary talk where we are careless regarding the manner of saying, as also in mere narration of story or history, and in mere recording of scientific or philosophical truths. The same is the case with Law also where again the emphasis is not on how beautifully the thing is expressed. In the history of Sanskrit Poetics<sup>1</sup> it was given to the great critic, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka to enquire into this subject and formulate the following as the difference between Poetry on the one hand and Śāstra and Ākhyāna (Veda and Narration) on the other.

शब्दप्राधान्यमार्थित्यं तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः ।

अर्थे तत्त्वेन युक्ते तु वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः ।

द्रयोर्गुणत्वे व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यगीर्भवेत् ॥ Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.

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1. I have discussed this aspect of the question in relation to what the Western writers like ABERCROMBIE have to say on the difference between poetic and other expression in a separate paper on a comparative study of the Sanskrit Alamkāra Śāstra and Western Literary Criticism. Here I deal only with the ideals of the Sanskrit writers on this subject.

“शब्दे गवदप्रधानत्वमेतिहासेषु ( इतिहासेऽर्थ ) निष्ठता । अभिधायाः प्रधानत्वान् काव्यं ताभ्यां विभियते ॥ *Agni Purāṇa*, 357 2-3.

The Veda is Śabda pradhāna ; the Purāṇa, Artha pradhāna ; Kāvya or poetry makes both Śabda and Artha apradhāna, unimportant, and makes Vyāpāra, the most important. The Vyāpāra of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is the poet's peculiarly beautiful expression, embellished with Guṇa and Alamkāra, capable of becoming universalised and producing delight to the reader, i.e., Abhidhā, Bhāvakatva and Bhojakatva.

“ भावकत्वमपि समुचितगुणालङ्कारपरिग्रहान्मकमस्माभिरेव वितन्य वक्ष्यते । ”

*Locana*, p. 70.

This beauty of form or the peculiar grace in poetic expression can be called the characteristic poetic Abhidhā vyāpāra, using Abhidhā here in a wide sense. While commenting on the section on the Lakṣaṇas in Bharata, Abhinavagupta quotes in his *Abhi. Bhā.* the above-quoted lines of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and equates the idea contained therein with Bhāmaha's conception of Vakrokti. Abhinava also quotes here Bhāmaha—*Saiṣā sarvaiva vakroktiḥ* etc. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka distinguished Poetry from Veda whose words cannot be changed at all ; and from Ākhyāna, story or semi-historic narration in which the story or the events (Artha) alone count. But in Poetry one looks to the beautiful way in which a story is told and the words are used. The 'beautiful way of expression' is the thing. As mere expression it has to interest us. In all other expressions related to our daily life, scientific literature etc., we are interested more in the Artha. The Artha is the 'Tattva' in those cases ; in poetry, the manner in which the poet has said those things is the 'Tattva'. It is only an inelegant way of saying this that is contained in the following given as Udbhaṭa's observation in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara :

“ अस्तु नाम निस्सीमा अर्थसार्थः । किन्तु द्विरूप एवामौ, विचारितसुस्थः, अविचारितरमणीयश्च । तयोः पूर्वमाश्रितानि शास्त्राणि, तदुत्तरं काव्यानि ’ इत्याहुः । ” *K. M.*, p. 44.

The Vastu svarūpa is comparatively less important than the Bhaṅgi Bhaṇiti, the beautiful manner of poetic expression. Says Rājaśekhara's wife, Avanti-sundari :

“ वस्तुस्वभावोऽत्र कवेरन्त्रः गुणगुणवुक्तिवशेन काव्ये ।

स्तुवन्नवप्राप्यमृतांशुमिन्दुं निन्दस्तु दोषाकरमाहः धूर्तः ॥ ”

and “ ‘ विदग्धमणिमिदं निवेद्यं वस्तुनो रूपं न नियतस्वभावम् ’ इति अवन्तिसुन्दरी । ”

*K. M.*, p. 46.

The same idea is stressed by poet Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita in a verse in the first canto of his *Śivalīlāṇava mahākāvya* :

यानेव गवदान् वयमालपामः यानेव चार्थान् वयमुल्लिखामः ।

तैरेव चिन्त्यासविशेषमर्थैः संमोहयन्ते कवयो जगन्ति ॥ I. 13.

1. Is this from Bhāmaha Vivarṇa, on Bhāmaha, V, 33 :

‘ तत्र लोकाश्रयं काव्यमागमाः तत्त्वदर्शिनः । ’ ?

This Vinyāsa viśeṣa is the secret of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's Vyāpāra. It is what Bhāmaha calls Vakra-ukti and Rājaśekhara, Ukti.

To Rājaśekhara, I think, must go the credit of making important the word Ukti. We find in the list of Alamkāras given by Bhāmaha, Samāsa-Ukti, Atiśaya-Ukti, Svabhāva-Ukti, Viśeṣa-Ukti and Saha-Ukti ; and above all Vakra-Ukti. In all these we find the Viśeṣya as Ukti qualified by different attributes. Here it is that the conception of Ukti was born. Ukti as such came to mean poetic utterance and soon there was felt to be no need to qualify Ukti by the attribute of Vakra to mean poetic expression as a whole. Rājaśekhara, while describing the Kāvya Puruṣa, says that his speech is rich in Ukti : उक्तिचणं ते वचः । K. M. p. 6. All Alamkāras are Vakrokti to Bhāmaha but poetic expression itself is denoted by Ukti. What we have now as the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* is only the first chapter thereof named *Kavirahasya*. According to Rājaśekhara himself, his next chapter dealt with Ukti. औक्तिम् उक्तिर्गमः । It is a pity that we have lost the bulk of Rājaśekhara's treatise. It must be in that chapter on Ukti that Rājaśekhara classified the various Uktis into which poetic expression could be brought. Classifying poets, he says on p. 27 (1. 5) that there is a class of poets called Ukti-Kavis and on p. 28 he illustrates his Ukti-Kavi thus :

उत्तिकविः—

‘उदरमिदमनिन्यं मानिनीश्वासलाव्यं  
स्तनतटपरिणाहो दोलितलेह्यसीमा ।  
स्फुरति च वदनेन्दुः दृक्प्रणालीनिपेयः  
तदिह सुदृशि कल्याः केलयो यौवनस्य ॥’

This is an intensely animated description full of specially graceful expressions teeming with the Samādhi guṇa. This is Ukti in a restricted sense. Another instance of Ukti in a restricted sense is found in what Rājaśekhara calls Śāstra-Ukti—सेयं शास्त्रोक्तिः (p. 3) regarding the verse द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा *etc.* In another context also Ukti in a restricted sense is mentioned by Rājaśekhara.

“या शब्दग्रामम्, अर्थसार्थम्, अलङ्कारतन्त्रम्, उक्तिमार्गम्, अन्यदपि तथाविधमधिहृदयं प्रतिभासयति, सा प्रतिभा ।” p. 11, K. M.

From this restricted sense, the larger concept of Ukti developed even as the concept of Vakrokti. Ukti in a general sense emphasising the beauty peculiar to Poetry as distinguished from other writings is found used by Rājaśekhara himself in a verse in the Prologue to his *Karpūramañjarī*.

अर्थविशेषाः त एव शब्दास्त एव परिणमन्तोऽपि ।

उक्तिविशेषः काव्यं भाषा या भवतु सा भवतु ॥

Neither is the idea (Artha) the point, nor the mere word (Śabda) but the manner of expressing that idea in words, Ukti-viśeṣa, is the thing which makes for Poetry. This verse and that of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita quoted above correspond exactly. Abhinavagupta, while elucidating Bharata's concept of Lakṣaṇa in his *Abhi. Bhā.* equates Bhāmaha's Vakrokti with Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's Vyāpāra



and these with the concepts of Bandha, Gumpha, Bhaṇiti, and lastly Lakṣaṇa. (See p. 65, Vol. VI, *J.O.R.* Madras, my article on Lakṣaṇa). To these concepts meaning the peculiar poet's expression, the concept of Ukti gets equated.

The word Ukti occurs in Bhoja both as a Guṇa and as an Alamkāra. The Guṇa of Ukti has two varieties, one of the Śabda, the other of the Artha. The Śabdaguṇa Ukti is defined by Bhoja as a graceful turn of expression—*Viśiṣṭa bhaṇiti*.

विशिष्टा भणितिया स्याद् उक्तिं तां कवयो विदुः । S. K. Ā. I. p. 60.

In his *Vṛtti* and comments on the verse illustrating this Śabda-Ukti Bhoja uses the phrase Ukti Bhaṇgi. One asks another about somebody's welfare and instead of saying straight whether she is well or ill, the other person says 'she lives', and the whole verse delicately portrays the lady's pitiable plight. That mode of expression powerfully suggests her suffering, describing her as simply living, *Jīvita-mātra-śeṣā*. This is the excellence of expression, Ukti guṇa, and it is a mode of expression as a whole, a mode that is characteristic of poetry as such. Not altogether different from this Śabda guṇa of Ukti is Bhoja's Artha guṇa of that same name. The beauty is achieved more by words, comparatively speaking, in the Śabda guṇa whereas, in the Artha guṇa of Ukti, the idea is given in subtle turns and shades and is expressed or suggested by peculiarly graceful elaborations.

उक्तिर्नाम यदि स्वार्थो भङ्ग्या भव्योऽभिधीयते ।

अत्र अभीष्टस्य नायकनायिकासंगमस्य भङ्ग्या भणनमुक्तिः । S. K. Ā. I. p. 73.

Between *Viśiṣṭa Bhaṇiti* or Ukti Bhaṇgi and *Bhaṇgyā bhaṇana*, there is no fundamental difference. These two classes of Ukti are not mere Guṇas appearing in a part of a specific piece of poetry but constitute the distinguishing mark of poetic expression itself.

Besides these two kinds of Ukti of Śabda and of Artha, which is a Guṇa, Bhoja recognises a Śabda-Alamkāra called Ukti. It is defined in *S.K.Ā.* II, 42 (p. 146) and is held as the several kinds of expression named by Bhoja in the following manner :—*Vidhi-Ukti*, *Niṣedha-Ukti*, *Adhikāra-Ukti*, *Vikalpa-Ukti*, *Niyama-Ukti* and *Parisaṅkhyā-Ukti*. Under his Śabda-Alamkāra called *Chāyā* also Bhoja gives a set of Uktis : *Loka-Ukti*, *Cheka-Ukti*, *Arbhaka-Ukti*, *Unmatta-Ukti*, *Poṭā-Ukti* and *Matta-Ukti*. Keśava, in I. 2 of his *Alamkāra-śekhara*, makes Bhoja's *Chāyā* his Ukti, and classifies this Ukti into the Uktis of *Loka*, *Cheka*, *Arbhaka* and *Unmatta*. This Ukti which Keśava derives from both the Śabdālamkāras of Bhoja, Ukti and *Chāyā*, is constituted by Keśava as one of three 'Bahiraṅgas', external parts, of poetic expression. He says at the end of I. 2 that of this and of how these are to be related to *Rasa*, he has spoken at length in his other Alamkāra treatise named *Alamkāra-sarvasva* which unfortunately is not available to us now. Perhaps it is *Rājaśekhara* who described Ukti as a 'Bahiraṅga' along with *Rīti* and Keśava might have followed him. It has been pointed out in the notes to the Gaek. Edn. of the *K. M.* of *Rājaśekhara* that a quotation from

the lost Alamkāra section of the *K. M.* is quoted in this Keśava's work, *A. Śekhara*. I have spoken of this elsewhere, in the section on Alamkāra, in this thesis.

The meaning of the term Ukti in both the Śabdālamkāras of Chāyā and Ukti is very narrow ; but both the Śabda and the Artha Guṇas of Ukti, though Bhoja restricts their meaning by some sort of definition, show how the term means the poetic mode of expression in general, Viśiṣṭā Bhaṇiti and Bhaṅgyā Abhidhāna. Ratneśvara's comments make this clear. Under the Śabdaguṇa Ukti, he says :

“लोकोत्तराः सन्ति हि भणितिप्रकाराः (,) लोकप्रसिद्धाः (द्वाश्च) । यथा, सुप्तोऽसीति प्रश्ने गृहे देवकुले वेत्यादि । एतत्प्रसिद्धिव्यतिक्रमेण तु या काचित् कविप्रतिभया भणितिराकृष्यते, सा भवति लोकोत्तरा । तथा च प्रतिभाकृष्टतया चमत्कारित्वाद् गुणत्वम् । अत एव कवय इत्याह । कविसहृदयानामेव तादृशोक्तिपरिचयसंभवान् ।” p. 60.

Under the Arthaguṇa Ukti, he says :

“स्वीयोऽर्भाष्टोऽर्थः, स्वार्थः; तस्य साक्षात्प्रतिपादनमनुचितमपि अर्थान्तरभङ्गिभिः प्रतिपादनमर्थगुणः ।”

Expressing in a manner uncommon in ordinary talk, expressing not straightly and baldly but imaginatively, giving a turn to the expression, giving the idea a hiding and revelation through deft suggestion—these constitute Ukti and thus it is clear that the Ukti Guṇa of Bhoja rises above itself and means poetic expression in general.

Bhoja does mean that Ukti refers comprehensively to poetic utterance. He agrees with Rājaśekhara who says ‘Ukti viśeṣaḥ kāvyam’ and restates Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka that while Śāstra is Śabda Pradhāna and Itihāsa, Artha Pradhāna, *Kāvya* is *Ukti Pradhāna*. This, Bhoja clearly says in his description of his Śabdālamkāra called Adhyeya, where Bhoja distinguishes Kāvya, Śāstra and Itihāsa. He says (*S. K. A.* p. 260) :

“तदिदम् उक्तिप्रधान्यात् काव्यमित्युच्यते ।” “शब्दस्य प्राधान्यमिति शासनात् शास्त्रमिदम्” “अतीतार्थप्राधान्याद् इतिहासः ।”

In the same context Bhoja says more briefly in the *Śr. Pra.* (Vol. II, p. 285) :

“तेषु उक्तिप्रधानं काव्यम् ।” “—शब्दप्रधानं शास्त्रम् ।” “अर्थप्रधानं इतिहासः ।” Earlier also while dealing with Vivakṣā, Bhoja says in the *Śr. Pra.*

“तत्र शब्दप्रधानमपौरुषेयं, मन्त्रो ब्राह्मणं च । + + अर्थप्रधानमार्थः, स्मृतिरितिहासश्च । (उभय) प्रधानं पौरुषेयं च ।”

remarks which closely correspond to what Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka has said.

In another place, in chapter xi of the *Śr. Pra.*, Bhoja synthesises the whole realm of poetic expression in the concept of Ukti, in an attempt which achieves at the same time another synthesis in Alamkāra. In a separate paper on Svabhāvukti (*Indian Culture*, V, pp. 147-165) and in the section on the Svabhāvukti according to Bhoja in this thesis also, I have gone into the ques-



Says Bhoja in Chapter XI of his *Śr. Pra.* :

“त्रिविधः खल्वलङ्कारवगः, वक्रोक्तिः, स्वभावोक्तिः, रसोक्तिरिति । तत्र उपमायलङ्कारप्राधान्ये वक्रोक्तिः, सोऽपि गुणप्राधान्ये स्वभावोक्तिः, विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगानु रसनिष्पत्तौ रसोक्तिरिति ।”

In Chapter V of his *S. K. Ā.* also, Bhoja says :

वक्रोक्तिश्च रसोक्तिश्च स्वभावोक्तिश्च वाङ्मयम् ।

सर्वासु ग्राहिणीं तानु रसोक्तिं प्रतिजानने ॥ —V. 8.

It was noted above how it was Ukti or Bhaṅgi Bhaṇiti that distinguished poetic utterance from other utterances. The equation of Ukti with such concepts as Vakrokti, Alarṅkāra and Nāyaka's Vyāpāra was also made. The observation of Rājaśekhara, 'Ukti viśeṣaḥ kāvyam' was taken as defining Poetry on the basis of this conception of Ukti. It was interpreted as the peculiar poetic manner of expression and as the most important factor and mark in Poetry as compared to the elements of Śabda and Artha, both of which are subordinate to it. It was shown how this definition was similar to Nāyaka's definition based on Vyāpāra prādhānya.

The observation of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is re-stated by Mahima Bhaṭṭa with a change. Mahima Bhaṭṭa holds that Poetry is utterance in which neither Śabda alone nor Artha alone is important but both together. He says that Kāvya is Ubhaya-pradhāna instead of saying like Nāyaka that Kāvya is Vyāpāra-pradhāna and Ubhaya-apradhāna. He says :

“त्रिविधं हि शास्त्रम्, शब्दप्रधानम्, अर्थप्रधानम्, उभयप्रधानं चेति । तत्र शब्दप्रधानं वेदादि, अध्ययनादेव अभ्युदयश्रवणात्, मनागपि पाठविपर्यासे प्रत्यवायश्रवणाच्च । अर्थप्रधानमितिहासपुराणादि, तस्य अर्थवादमात्ररूपत्वात् । उभयप्रधानं सर्गवन्वादिकाव्यम्, तस्य रसात्मकत्वात्, रसस्य च उभयौचित्येन परिपोषदर्शनात् । काव्यस्यापि शास्त्रत्वं प्रतिपादितमेव ।”

V. V. III, p. 122. T. S. S. See also I. p. 20.

Bhoja must be said to follow Mahima Bhaṭṭa's modified statement of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's distinction between Kāvya on the one hand and Śāstra and Ākhyāna on the other. For, as has been noted above in the text quoted from chapter VII of the *Śr. Pra.* Bhoja also does not say that in Poetry both Śabda and Artha are subordinated (made Apradhāna or Guṇa) to something else but says that in Poetry both are Pradhāna.

“तत्र शब्दप्रधानमपौरुषेयं × × × अर्थप्रधानमार्थः × × × (उभय) प्रधानं पौरुषेयम् ।”

Vol. II, p. 18.

The charm of a poet's verses is lost when their words are changed and ideas modified. Thus it is that Poetry is Ubhaya-pradhāna. This is called by another as maturity of expression—Kāvya Pāka—when the poet has written such lines that even a slight change spoils the effect. Says Rājaśekhara :

पदनिवेशनिष्कम्पता पाकः इत्याचार्याः । तदाहुः—

‘आवापोद्धरणे तावद् यावद्दोलायते मनः ।

पदानां स्थापिते स्थैर्ये हन्त सिद्धा सरस्वती ॥’

इति वामनीयाः । × × × × पदानां परिवृत्तिवैमुख्यं पाकः । इति वामनीयाः । तदाहुः—

‘यत्पदानि त्यजन्त्येव परिवृत्तिसहिष्णुताम् ।

तं शब्दन्यायनिष्ठाताः शब्दपाकं प्रचक्षते ॥’ (Vāmana, I. 3).”

K. M., p. 20.

In this Kāvya Pāka which means the ‘unchangeability’ of the words in Kāvya, is emphasised the same idea as is contained in Mahima Bhaṭṭa’s and Bhoja’s remark that Poetry is Ubhaya-pradhāna.

This maturity of Ukti or poetic expression—Kāvya Pāka or Ukti Pāka—is given by Bhoja as a Guṇa called Prauḍhi of Śabda and Artha immediately after the Guṇa, Ukti.

That we are justified in finding such an Ukti-synthesis or a system of thought called Ukti in Bhoja can be granted when one sees what Bahurūpa-miśra, a latter-day commentator on the *Daśarūpaka*, who reproduces many ideas from Bhoja’s *Sr. Pra.*, has to say. Bahurūpa chooses the word ‘Sūkti’ instead of ‘Ukti’ and shows Bhoja’s three-fold classification of it and relates to this viewpoint, as we have ourselves done above, the Abhidhā-prādhānya of Poetry of Nāyaka and the Vakrokti-idea of Poetry of Bhāmaha. It is a pity that the text of Bahurūpa’s *Daśarūpaka vyākhyā* in two volumes in the Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library comes to an abrupt end here. Bahurūpa says :

“केचित् शोभाकरत्वं-अविशेषात् रसगुणयोरलङ्कारत्वं मन्यन्ते । तन्मते त्रिविधा सूक्तिः स्वभावोक्तिः, वक्रोक्तिः, रसोक्तिरिति । तत्र गुणप्राधान्ये स्वभावोक्तिः, उपमाहपकादलङ्कारप्राधान्ये वक्रोक्तिः, विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद् रसनिष्पत्तौ रसोक्तिः । अतः शब्देन अर्थप्रतिपादनं भूषयितुं यत् कविना उपादी (यते, तत्सर्वम् अलङ्कारः) । अत एव भट्टनायकेन अभिधाव्यापारः (काव्ये प्रधानमित्युक्तम्) ।

(शब्द) प्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः ।

अर्थे तत्त्वेन युक्ते तु वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः ।

द्वयोरुणत्वे (व्यापारप्राधान्ये) काव्यमेव तत् ॥

भामहेनापि— ‘सैषा सर्वैव (वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो) विभाव्यते ।’ .....  
.....|” pp. 107-8, Mad. Ms. Bahurūpamiśra’s *D. R. Vyā.* I. 3.41.

#### APPENDIX

(1) The *Agni Purāṇa*, in 337|2-3, states Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka’s remark on the difference between Kāvya, and Śāstra and Itihāsa thus :

शास्त्रे शब्दप्रधानत्वमितिहासेषु (इतिहासेऽर्थं) निष्ठता ।

अभिधायाः प्रधानत्वात् काव्यं ताभ्यां विभिद्यते ॥

(2) Commenting on Daṇḍin II, 13, that in Śāstras it is all one statement of things as they are—Svabhāva ākhyāna—and that in Poetry also there are a few cases of this Svabhāva ākhyāna—

शास्त्रेष्वस्यैव साम्राज्यं काव्येष्वप्येतर्दासितम् ।

The *Hṛdayaṅgamā* points out that Śāstras are Tattva Pradhāna or concerned with truthful statement of facts and things as they are ; but Poetry is *Varṇanā Pradhāna* ; Poetry emphasises the mode of giving the thing, 'description' or 'expression' as such.

“शास्त्रेषु धर्माधर्मादिशास्त्रेषु अनृतवचनाभावान् अस्यैव स्वभावालङ्कारस्य साम्राज्यं संपत्तिर्भवति । काव्येषु वर्णनाप्राधान्याद् असत्यवचनं कल्पितमपि च अस्ति ।”

K. Ā., p. 64, Mad. Edn.

(3) Vidyādhara thus explains Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's remark in his *Ekāvalī*.

शब्दप्रधानं वेदाख्यं प्रभुसंमितमुच्यते ।

ईषत्पाठान्यथापाठे प्रत्यवायस्य दर्शनात् ॥

इतिहासादिकं शास्त्रं मित्रसंमितमुच्यते ।

अस्यार्थवादरूपत्वात् कथ्यतेऽर्थप्रधानता ॥

ध्वनिप्रधानं काव्यं तु कान्तासंमितमीरितम् ।

शब्दार्थौ गुणतां नीत्वा व्यञ्जनप्रवणं यतः ॥

I. 4-6.

As a follower of Ānanda and Abhinavagupta, Vidyādhara has interpreted the Vyāpāra as Dhvani, following Abhinavagupta's observation to that effect in the *Locana*.

“तेन यदाह भट्टनायकः ‘शब्दप्राधान्यं + काव्यधीर्भवेत् ।’ इति तदपास्तम् । व्यापारो हि यदि ध्वननात्मा रसनास्वभावः, तन्न अपूर्वमुक्तम् ।” *Locana*, p. 27.

## CHAPTER X

### BHOJA AND VAKROKTI

‘वक्रोक्तिरेव काव्यानां परा भूषेति भामहः ।’

Bhoja : *Śr Pra.* Ch. XI.

The history of the concept of Vakrokti must be older than Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, for, we find it used with settled connotation in the works of both writers. It is needless to point out here the very well-known passages on Vakrokti in Bhāmaha. To him, Vakrokti means Alaṅkāra.

वाचां वक्रार्थशब्दोक्तिरलङ्काराय कल्पते । V. 66.

युक्तं वक्रस्वभावोक्त्या सर्वमेवैतदिष्यते । I. 30.

In his description of the Atiśayokti Alaṅkāra (II, 85) he has used the word Vakrokti as a synonym of Alaṅkāra. Therefore according to Bhāmaha, the whole realm of poetic expression is permeated with Vakrokti, striking, deviating expression. In II, 86-87, Bhāmaha refutes Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa, that they do not deserve to be called Alaṅkāra because, in them, the expression as a whole has no Vakrokti in it.

समुदायाभिधानस्य वक्रोक्त्यनभिधानतः । II, 86.

This Vakrokti is the one requisite and it distinguishes poetic expression as such. In its absence, Bhāmaha says, we have no Kāvya, but only insipid narration, speech or mere news called Vārtā.

गतोऽस्तमर्को भानीन्दुः यान्ति वासाय पक्षिणः ।

इत्येवमादि किं काव्यं ?—वार्तामेनां प्रचक्षते ॥ II, 87.

Therefore the distinction in Bhāmaha is between ordinary and poetic expression, Vārtā and Vakrokti. This point as well as another that Bhāmaha does accept Svabhāvokti as an Alaṅkāra has been elaborately explained by me in my paper on Svabhāvokti (*Indian Culture*, V, pp. 147-165). None can deny that ‘natural description’ or Svabhāvokti is a striking and powerful portraiture, and as such, differs from mere report of news or ordinary dull speech. Maṃmaṭa points out that it is this amount of strikingness and effect in Svabhāvokti that we take as Vaicitrya and count it as an Alaṅkāra. Even the opponent of Svabhāvokti as an Alaṅkāra, Kuntaka, who refuses to consider it as an Alaṅkāra on the plea that Vastu svabhāva is not Alaṅkāra but is Alaṅkārya,—even he accepts that instances of graceful and effective pen-pictures of Nature, men, and things as they are found, constitute Vastu Vakratā (III Unmeṣa). It is by virtue of this element of Vakratā in it that Bhāmaha also considers it as one of the Alaṅkāras coming under Vakrokti. It is not unreasonable to hold Svabhāvokti also as an Alaṅkāra and Vakrokti,

when one can accept delineation of Rasa as a Vakrokti-variety called Rasavat. Bhāmaha, thus, has one universe of Vakrokti, falling into three departments, the description of things as they are (अर्थस्य तदवस्थत्वं, -स्वभावोक्तिः) more definitely deviating striking expression deserving the name Vakrokti to the greatest degree, Rūpaka, etc., and thirdly, delineation of Rasa, Rasavad Alamkāra.

In Daṇḍin, there appears a clearer analysis. Svabhāvokti no doubt involves strikingness, but strikingness is least in it. It is almost the starting point for further Alamkāra or Vakrokti. So it is that Daṇḍin separates it and calls it the first Alamkāra, *Ādyā Alamkāraḥ*. He classifies poetic expression into Vakrokti and Svabhāvokti; description of things as they are and figurative description. The cases of Rasa-delineation, Daṇḍin still keeps like Bhāmaha within Vakrokti.

The third stage is reached in Bhoja who makes a further analysis of poetic expression. Elsewhere, in the sections on Ukti, Alamkāra and Svabhāvokti, I have spoken of this subject. Bhoja takes the suggestion directly from Daṇḍin and by Bhoja's time, Rasa has become sufficiently important. Though he described the three Alamkāras of Preyas, Rasavat and Ūrjasvi as Vakrokti, Daṇḍin realised that they, as related to Bhāvas and Rasas, are of a special nature and of greater appeal. Hence it is that he said of them that they were superior युक्तोत्कर्षं च तन्त्रयम् । Bhoja includes Preyas and Ūrjasvi under Rasavat. He constitutes a class called Rasavad Alamkāra which is the delineation of Rasas and Bhāvas; and he separates it from other kinds of Vakrokti. This is a better treatment; for, delineation of Rasa has greater affinities with Svabhāvokti than with Vakrokti. As Jayaratha on Ruyyaka and Ruyyaka himself also point out, the Sahṛdaya has a Saṁvāda in Poetry and it is of two kinds: Citta Saṁvāda and Vastu Saṁvāda. The former refers to delineation of Rasa and Bhāva, and the latter, to descriptions of Artha or objects. Both are natural non-figurative descriptions and are Rasavad-Alamkāra and Svabhāvokti. Though Bhoja, following Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana would call the whole realm of poetic expression Alamkāra, he would restrict the name Vakrokti to figures beginning with Upamā. Improving upon both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, he would separate and exclude the Rasas from it. Thus he says in his S. K. Ā. Chapter V :

वक्रोक्तिश्च रसोक्तिश्च स्वभावोक्तिश्च वाङ्मयम् । Śl. 8.

In Chapter XI of the *Śr. Pra.* he says that an instance like 'धूमोऽयमग्नेः' is no Alamkāra, because, the necessary Vakratā or poetic beauty is not seen in it. He speaks here of Vakratā or Vakrokti as Alamkāra-sāmānya-lakṣaṇa. Kāvya śobhā as such.

“न चैतद्वाच्यं ‘धूमोऽयमग्नेः’ इत्यात्राप्यर्थान्तरन्यासः प्रसजेत् । यद्यपि धूमस्य उत्पाद्यस्य साधनसमर्थोऽग्निः, तथापि

‘काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मान् अलङ्कारान्प्रचक्षते’



इत्येतदपि सर्वालङ्कारसाधारणं लक्षणम् अनुसर्तव्यम् । अस्मिन् सति सर्वालङ्कारजातयो वक्रोक्त्यभिधानवाच्या भवन्ति । तदुक्तम्—

वक्रत्वमेव काव्यानां परा भूषेति भामहः ।

श्रेष्ठः पुष्पाति सर्वासु प्रायो वक्रोक्तिषु त्रियम् ॥<sup>1</sup>

नन्वेवं सति विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद् रसनिष्पत्तिरित्यादिना न भवितव्यमेव अलङ्कारेण ? नैवम् । त्रिविधः खलु अलङ्कारवर्गः, वक्रोक्तिः, स्वभावोक्तिः, रसोक्तिरिति । तत्रोपमाद्यलङ्कारप्राधान्ये वक्रोक्तिः, मोऽपि गुणप्राधान्ये स्वभावोक्तिः, विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगात्तु रसनिष्पत्तौ रसोक्तिरिति ।” *Śr. Pra. Mad. Ms. Vol. II. chap. XI. pp. 371-2.*

Thus Bhoja uses Alamkāra in the sense in which Vāmana used it in his Sūtra I. i. 2. सौन्दर्यमलङ्कारः meaning poetic beauty in general. In this same sense Bhoja uses the concept of Vakrokti also and in this respect he follows Bhāmaha. Therefore in Bhoja we find Vakrokti used in two senses, the major and the minor, the former meaning poetic expression in general and the latter, only the figures of Upamā, Rūpaka etc. In its second sense we have to trace its history as indicated above through Daṇḍin who first restricted Vakrokti to Rasas and figures like Upamā. Finally, Bhoja restricted it to the figures Upamā etc.

It is not enough if one finds in an expression the presence of the technical features of a particular Alamkāra. Besides conformity to the definition, the expression has to exhibit the primary requisite of an all-pervading beauty which alone makes the expression deserve the name of

1. On p. 23 of his *Theories of Rasa and Dhvani*, Dr. A. SANKARAN takes this verse as a quotation from Daṇḍin. The first line mentioning the name of Bhāmaha is absent in the printed texts of the *Kāvyaadarśa*. Dr. SANKARAN feels some gap in Daṇḍin's text as it is in II. 362, which gap he says this line in Bhoja's quotation fills up.

The text as printed does not seem to have any gap; secondly, if this half verse is added to the text of Daṇḍin, the 362nd verse at the end of this chapter will have to be ended like an epic Anuṣṭubh with three feet; or, the line मित्रं द्विधा स्वभावोक्तिः वक्रोक्तिश्चेति वाङ्मयम् must stand single. Thirdly, Vakrokti is certainly old enough for use in Daṇḍin as in the line मित्रं द्विधा etc; but, when one sees the history and the rise and the time of the currency of various words in the Alamkāra Śāstra, one can see that the concept under the briefer name 'Vakratā' or 'Vakratva' is very much later than even Ananda. My feeling is that, if this is a quotation by Bhoja, it is from some later writer who adapted and incorporated into his text parts of the texts of older writers, making the necessary changes. If one goes through the *Śr. Pra.* one comes across numerous instances of Bhoja giving verses of old writers with the necessary changes; he quotes Vāmana's Anuṣṭubh on the Vaidarbhi Riti changing the first line. The Doṣa and Guṇa sections are full of such reproductions with necessary changes from Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana. Therefore it is extremely likely that this verse वक्रत्वमेव काव्यानां etc. is Bhoja's own. One need not be troubled by the introductory words 'तदुक्तम्' which may suggest that the verse is a quotation from another author. We have instances of Bhoja quoting himself with the words 'तदुक्तम्'.

Alamkāra ; for Alamkāra is a thing of beauty. Bhoja considers this beauty as Vakratva, Vakrokti and Śobhā and gives a very significant interpretation to Daṇḍin's definition of Alamkāra :

काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मान् अलङ्कारान् प्रचक्षते ।

Herein lies the defence of the Alamkāra school. I have spoken of this in my paper on Kriyā Kalpa and Other Names of the Alamkāra Śāstra, published in the *JOR*, Madras. (Vol. VIII. pp. 130-132). Taking the idea of Cārutva or beauty as essential from the text of Ānanda, Abhinava elaborates the idea with illustrations in his *Locana* on the third Uddyota of the *Dhvan-yāloka* in the following manner :

“तथाजातीयानामिति—चारुत्वातिशयवतामित्यर्थः । सुलक्षिता इति यत् किल एषां तद्विनिर्मुक्तं रूपम्, न तत् काव्ये अभ्यर्थनीयम् । उपमा हि ‘यथा गौः तथा गवयः’ इति । (रूपकं हि) ‘गौर्वाहीकः’ इति । श्लेषः ‘द्विवचने (ऽ चि’ इति) तन्त्रात्मकः । × × × × एवमन्यत् । न चैवमादि काव्योपयोगीति ।” *Locana*, p. 210.

Appayya Dikṣita emphasises similarly that expressions derive their life as Alamkāras by being graceful—Hṛdya. Otherwise they are not Alamkāras.

“सर्वोऽपि ह्यलङ्कारः कविसमयप्रसिद्धचतुरोधेन हृद्यतया काव्यशोभाकर एव अलङ्कारतां भजते । अतः ‘गोसदृशो गवयः’ इति नोपमा । ‘गौर्वाहीकः’ इति न रूपकम् ।’

*Citramīmāṃsā*. p. 6.

This has been pointed out by Dr. S. K. DE also in the Introduction to his edition of the *Vakrokti Jivita*. pp. xlv-lvii. The truth has been realised by Bhoja and by Abhinava as the texts above quoted clearly show. Hence it cannot be contended by Dr. DE that Sanskrit Poetics and the study of the theory of poetic figure owe this idea and its importance to Kuntaka. (p. xlvii *V. J.* Introduction) But it can be accepted that new importance and new enthusiasm for Vakrokti in the post-Ānanda period are due mainly to Kuntaka and his *V. J.* Bhoja takes up the Vakrokti from Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, independent of any other writer and without any knowledge of Kuntaka. Bhoja and Kuntaka were writing at the same time and it happens in the history and destinies of ideas and subjects, that, at different places, different scholars happen to work at the same idea. The current of Vakrokti coming down from the hill of Bhāmaha had two courses. There is one culmination in Bhoja and another in Kuntaka. Regarding Kuntaka and how he developed the doctrine of Vakrokti or Vakratā as the life of Poetry, there is little need to devote any part of this study.

Though Bhoja definitely put down Vakrokti as a general name for all figures beginning with Upamā, he retained the substance of Bhāmaha's conception of poetic expression as Alamkāra to which also Bhoja applied the name Vakrokti. To avoid confusion Bhoja restricts the word Vakrokti to the minor sense of figures Upamā etc., and generally applies the name Alamkāra to the larger concept. The use of the word Vakrokti in the larger sense is only rare in Bhoja. Elsewhere however Bhoja uses the concept

and name Vakratā in the larger sense of poetic expression as such, forming the very distinguishing mark of Poetry. It seems that Bhoja turns back to concur verbally also with Bhāmaha. It is surprising how Bhoja's standpoint agrees so remarkably with that of Kuntaka. We shall now examine this aspect of the question.

It is in connection with Dhvani, and this again is strange and suggestive, that Bhoja talks of Vakratā. Bhoja holds Dhvani as a variety of Tātparya and also as the poetic counterpart of the prosaic factor of Tātparya. The intention of the speaker in ordinary affairs and expressions is called Tātparya whereas the same, as far as Kāvya is concerned, is called Dhvani. He says 'तात्पर्यमेव वचमि ध्वनिरेव वाक्ये' and a perusal of the section on Bhoja and Dhvani will elucidate the point. Bhoja asks himself : wherefore this classification of expression into two kinds, Laukika and Śāstriya on the one hand and poetic on the other? He speaks of Vacas, ordinary expression, and as against it, of Kāvya. He does not say that Dhvani marks off the Kāvya ; for, he considers Dhvani as part of Tātparya and as obtainable in ordinary expression also, Dhvani being only another name for Tātparya. Then, what is it that Bhoja finds out as the element which distinguishes the poetic and the non-poetic expression? He says that beauty or poetic charm called Vakratā distinguishes the two. In the ordinary speech there is a blunt straightforwardness in expression and there is no regard for beautifully saying things. The manner of saying things in a beautiful and embellished way is discounted and is considered as an extravagance. When, of course, one praises or abuses, he heightens or lowers and resorts to his powers of praising or damning by the power of his expression. Literary expression now results.

“—तात्पर्यं, यस्य काव्येषु ध्वनिरिति प्रसिद्धिः । तदुक्तम्

‘तात्पर्यमेव वचमि ध्वनिरेव वाक्ये’

\* \* \*

कः पुनरनयोः काव्यवचसोः ध्वनितात्पर्ययोः विशेषः ? उच्यते—

यद्वक्त्रं वचः शब्दे लोके च वच एव तन् ।

वक्त्रं यदर्थवादादौ तस्य काव्यमिति स्मृतिः ॥

Śr. Pra. Vol. I. p. 427. chap. VI.

Again, at the end of his treatment of Dhvani, Bhoja says :

“कः पुनः काव्यवचसोः ध्वनितात्पर्ययोः विशेषः ? ननुक्तं पुरस्तात्—

यद्वक्त्रं वचः शब्दे लोके च वच एव तन् ।

वक्त्रं यदर्थवादादौ तस्य काव्यमिति स्मृतिः ॥

Śr. Pra. Vol. II. p. 42. chap VII.

This is almost a definition of Kāvya in terms of Vakratā or Vakrokti and in this respect, Bhoja would use Vakrokti or rather the name Vakratva in the sense of Bhāmaha's Vakrokti, comprehending all the three Uktis of Svabhāva, minor Vakra, and Rasa. Thus Bhoja has a major and a minor

Vakrokti and corresponding to the two, a major and a minor Alarṅkāra. The conception of two Alarṅkāras, the major one meaning Saundarya or poetic beauty, and the latter minor Alarṅkāra meaning only figures like Upamā, corresponds to Vāmana's view. In Bhoja's opinion Dhvani as such does not distinguish Poetry so much as this primary Vakratā without which Kāvya will only be mere Vacas, and as noted earlier, even Alarṅkāras cease to have any right to deserve that name. Therefore even Dhvani will cease to be poetic when it is not the case of an expression which is essentially beautiful. This insistence on an essential and primary beauty lying at the very basis of poetic expression is accepted by Abhinava also. This has been pointed out by me in the paper on Kriyā Kalpa. With regard to Dhvani, Abhinava says that even Dhvani has to be beautiful.

“नन्वेवं ‘सिंहो वदुः’ इत्यत्रापि काव्यरूपता स्यात् । × × × × गुणालङ्कारौचित्यसुन्दर-  
शब्दार्थशरीरस्य सति ध्वननात्मनि आत्मनि काव्यरूपताव्यवहारः ।” *Locana*. p. 17.

“—तेन सर्वत्रापि न ध्वननसद्भावेऽपि तथा व्यवहारः ।” *Ibid*. p. 28.

This Guṇālarṅkāra-aucitya-saundarya of the Śabdārtha or the Śarīra of Poetry is held by others as comprehended in the composite concept of Vakratā, Vakrokti or Alarṅkāra. This is a strong point for the Vakrokti and the Tātparya schools of thought and a somewhat weak point for the Dhvanivādins. Take for instance the implication or the suggestion of a prohibition from an expressed injunction—Niṣedha from Vidhi—as in the well known Gāthā, भग्न धूम्रञ्ज etc. The Dhvani-theorist who refutes the Lakṣaṇāvādin stresses this as the chief point everywhere that Dhvani cannot be Lakṣaṇā, since in the latter, the primary sense is incompatible whereas in Dhvani, the primary meaning also is acceptable and as such forms part of the intention of the speaker. If the cleverness of the lady of the Gāthā speaking to the pious man is *the* point in the verse, if her clever speech is of importance as much as her final intention of preventing him from frequenting the banks of the Godāvarī, if much, if not all, of the poetic beauty of this Gāthā is due only to the way in which the clever lady told the prohibition in the form of an injunction, *if the primary sense also matters*, the ground is let to the Vakrokti-vādin who considers the out-of-the-way, strange and beautiful expression, Vakra-Ukti, as such, as the life of Poetry ; and Dhvani as one of the many elements helping this Vakratā or resulting from this Vakratā. Śrī Harṣa, the poet, makes this “reconciliation”, if it can be called so, between Vakrokti and Dhvani, in his own characteristic way of introducing Śāstraic ideas into his poem :

निषेधवेषो विधिरेष तेऽथवा

तवैव युक्ता खलु वाचि वक्रता ।

विजृम्भितं यस्य किल ध्वनेरिदं

विदग्धनारीवदनं तदाकरः ॥ *N. C. IX. 50.*

As one of those following the ancients and as one who emphasises the expression-aspect or the form in the terms *Alaṁkāra* and *Vakratā*, Bhoja considers *Dhvani* also as an embellisher of expression ; as the *Guṇa* called *Gāmbhīrya*. (Hence *Dhvani* is an *Alaṁkāra* ; for, Bhoja holds all the *Guṇas* as *Alaṁkāras*.) And *Rasas* also are taken as *Alaṁkāra* by Bhoja. Thus, *Rasa*, *Dhvani*, and everything go to make the beauty called *Vakratā* that is Poetry. So Bhoja will accept *Dhvani* and will consider it as holding a supreme position in Poetry, ध्वनिरेव काव्ये, but he will at the same time emphasise *Vakratā*.

### BHOJA AND KUNTAKA

There are many similarities between Bhoja and Kuntaka. First of all there is agreement to a notable degree regarding the concept of *Vakrokti* or *Vakratā* considered as the life of Poetry or the very distinguishing mark of *Kāvya*. In Bhoja, however, there is but a verse on this *Vakratā* ; Kuntaka works out the idea into a whole work. Kuntaka defines Poetry as *Śabda* and *Artha* in unison and set in *Vakrokti*.

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्रकविव्यापारशालिनि ।

बन्धे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विदाह्लादकारिणि ॥ I. 7. V. J.

2. Bhoja will not deny that his *Vakratā* which distinguishes *Kāvya* from *Vacas*, is synonymous with *Alaṁkāra*. He classifies this *Vakratā* or *Alaṁkāra* into *Guṇas* (*Svabhāvokti*), *Arthālaṁkāras* (*Vakrokti* in a restricted sense), and *Rasas* (*Rasokti*). Kuntaka is a similar reviver of the old *Alaṁkāra*. His *Vakrokti* which is of six kinds is equated by him with *Alaṁkāra*. He says that there are only two factors in Poetry, *Alaṁkārya* and *Alaṁkāra* ; the latter is *Vakrokti*.

काव्यस्यायमलङ्कारः कोऽप्यपूर्वो विधीयते । I. 2. V. J.

उभावेतावलङ्कार्यौ तयोः पुनरलङ्कृतिः ।

वक्रोक्तिरेव वैदग्ध्यमङ्गी भणितिरुच्यते ॥ I. 10. V. J.

To Kuntaka also, therefore, *Dhvani* which comes under certain aspects of his *Vakratā*, is *Alaṁkāra*. Kuntaka says actually that *Guṇas* also are *Alaṁkāras*.

“अलङ्कारशब्दः शरीरस्य शोभातिशयकारित्वान् मुख्यतया कटकदिषु वर्तते, तत्कारित्वसामान्याद् उपचारादुपमादिषु, तद्वदेव च तत्सदृशेषु गुणेषु—।” —” V. J. p. 3.

Though Kuntaka expressly refutes at length the older view that *Rasas* are *Alaṁkāras* and accepts mostly the new ideas on *Rasa*, as on *Dhvani*, he treats of *Rasa* as if it is also part of *Vakratā*, the poet's peculiar mode of expression, as part of his *Vastu vakratā*. III, 7, pp. 150-3. On the surface one must say that Kuntaka differs from Bhoja, for, while Bhoja follows *Bhāmaha's* and *Daṇḍin's* view of *Rasa* as *Rasavad Alaṁkāra*, Kuntaka criticises *Bhāmaha* on this point. III, 10, pp. 156-166. He holds *Rasas* as *Alaṁkāryas*. But Bhoja and Kuntaka agree in the main that Poetry is

distinguished by Vakratā ; that Vakrokti or Vakratā means Alamkāra in general and that Guṇas and Dhvani also form part of it. If one can grant that anything coming under Poetry is directly or ultimately a manifestation of the poet's Vakra vyāpāra or Vakratā according to Kuntaka, and if all Vakratā is, as Kuntaka himself says, Alamkāra in a general sense of the term, he can see that Bhoja and Kuntaka completely agree with each other. Bhoja brings under Śabdālamkāra the proper choice of the form of composition, of appropriate language, of appropriate medium of verse or prose, the adopting of the proper Vṛtti and Rīti etc. Most of these are generally comprehended in one or the other of the sub-varieties of the six kinds of Kuntaka's Vakratā. Any element of poetry, Rīti, Dhvani, Śabdālamkāra or Guṇa, Kuntaka must deal under some kind of his Vakratā.

3. Another point of striking similarity between Kuntaka and Bhoja is that they both recognise the factor called Alamkāra of "Prabandha". Bhoja, it will be explained at length in the Alamkāra section, considers that Guṇas and Alamkāras are of two kinds, those of Vākya and those of Prabandha. He gives a set of Guṇas and Alamkāras for the work as a whole. This corresponds to some aspects of Kuntaka's Prakaraṇa vakratā and Prabandha vakratā. Thus the second aspect of Prakaraṇa vakratā given by Kuntaka

इतिवृत्तप्रयुक्तेऽपि कथावैचित्र्यवर्त्मनि ।

उत्पाद्यलवलावण्यादन्या भवति वक्रता ॥

corresponds to what Bhoja describes as Prabandha doṣa hāna, avoiding the Anaucityas in the source by new imaginative creations and deviations from the original. *Śr. Pra.* chapter xi.

Then Kuntaka gives प्रकरणानामनुग्राह्यानुग्राहकभाव as a Prakaraṇa vakratā pp. 225-6. Bhoja similarly speaks of Suśliṣṭa sandhitva (सुश्लिष्टसन्धिःवम्) which is explained with reference to Mahākāvya as the unity and the mutual help between the various cantos and subject-divisions forming part of the one unity—Ekavākyatā and Prabandha-upakāritva. P. 431, chapter xi, Vol. II., *Śr. Pra.*

Kuntaka explains his Vakratā with reference to Kāvya also in IV. 9. (P. 231).

“कथावैचित्र्यपात्रं तद् वक्रिमाणं प्रपद्यते ।

यदङ्गं सर्गबन्धादेः सौन्दर्याय निबध्यते ॥”

“—यदङ्गं सर्गबन्धादेः सौन्दर्याय निबध्यते । यज्जलक्रीडादिप्रकरणं महाकाव्यप्रभृतेः उपशोभा-निष्पत्त्यै निवेद्यते ।

Bhoja considers these as Artha-alamkāras of Prabandha.

“नगराश्रमशैलसैन्यावासार्णवादिवर्णनम्, ऋतुरात्रिदिवाकास्तमयचन्द्रोदयादिवर्णनम्, नायक-नायिकाकुमारमहायवाहनादिवर्णनम्, मन्त्रदूतप्रयाणसंग्रामाभ्युदयादिवर्णनम्, वनविहारजलक्रीडामधु-पानमानापगमरतोत्सवादिवर्णनमित्यर्थालङ्काराः ।” P. 431. Vol. II. *Śr. Pra.*

The next Vakratā of Prakaraṇa in Kuntaka is about Rasa, the Aṅgin and the Aṅga, chief and accessory. IV. 10. pp. 232-3. Bhoja considers this as an Artha guṇa of the Prabandha and calls it "Rasa bhāva niran-taratvam." He explains this as richness in emotions. The one main interest of a single Rasa is like eating one kind of dish continuously ; it produces Vairasya ; therefore there are to be many subsidiary emotional interests.

“रसभावनिरन्तरत्वमित्यनेन रसग्रहणेनापि तत्कारणभूतानां भावानां परिग्रहेण × ×  
× × × × ×  
भोजनस्यैवैकरसस्य प्रबन्धस्यापि वैरस्यमपाकरोति । ” p. 432. Vol. II.

Another Vakratā of Prakaraṇa is explained by Kuntaka as the introduction of episodes.

प्रधानवस्तुनिष्पत्त्यै वस्वन्तरविचित्रता ।  
यत्रोद्धसति मोद्रेखा सापराध्यस्य वक्रता ॥ Pp. 233-4. V. J.

This is taken up by Bhoja under two heads : पताकाप्रकर्यादिकल्पनम् and कथान्तरा-नुषङ्गनम्, two Ubhayālarṅkāras of Prabandha. (p. 443. Vol. II. *Śr. Pra*).

Another feature of beauty in a work is the introduction of a drama within a drama. Says Kuntaka :

कचित्प्रकरणस्यान्तः स्मृतं प्रकारणान्तरम् ।  
सर्वप्रबन्धसर्वस्वकलां पुष्पाति वक्रताम् ॥ p. 235. V. J.

Bhoja counts the same feature as one of the items of his Ubhayālarṅkāra of Prabandha—गर्भाङ्कविधानम् (p. 422. Vol. II. *Śr. Pra*). Both Kuntaka and Bhoja cite the same instance of the drama within the third act of the *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* called *Sītā svayamvara*, श्रवणैः श्रव्यमनेकैः etc. (III. 12).

The last Prakaraṇa vakratā prakāra spoken of by Kuntaka (p. 236) is the well-knit expression of the plot in a drama or in a story, through the successive stages of the development of the purpose in the Sandhis.

मुखाभिसन्धिसन्ध्यादिसंविधानकवन्धुरम् ।  
पूर्वोत्तरानुसङ्गत्या (प्यङ्गा) नां विनिवेशनम् ॥

Bhoja has, corresponding to Kuntaka's phrase 'संविधानकवन्धुरम्' the phrase 'सम्यक्लक्षणयोगेन संविधानमुसुत्रता' (p. 411. Vol. II. *Śr. Pra*.) and corresponding to this Prakaraṇa vakratā, Bhoja has the Ubhayālarṅkāra बीजविन्दुपताकाप्रकरी-कार्योपकल्पनम् (p. 431.) The Śabda guṇa of Prabandha called *Suśliṣṭa sandhitva* also refers to this (P. 431).

The last kind of Prabandha vakratā in the text of the V. J. (as now available in Dr. DE's Edn.) refers to the Vyutpatti derived by a spectator or a reader, the spiritual, ethical, or the social end.

नूतनोपायनिष्पन्ननयवर्त्मोपदेशिनाम् ।  
महाकविप्रबन्धानां सर्वेषामस्ति वक्रता ॥ V. J. p. 245.

This Bhoja calls as the Mahāvākyaārtha which helps man's attainment of the four aims of virtue, desire, material prosperity, and spiritual salvation. Bhoja holds this Mahāvākyaārtha as a transformation, Vipariṇāma, of the Śabda Brahman.

“यस्तु तद्रूपरामायणादिप्रवन्धार्थानाम् अवधारणेन उपहितसंस्कारस्य ” ‘रामवद् वर्तितव्यं, न रावणवद्’ इत्यादिविधिनियेधप्रतिभाविशेष उपजायते, स समस्तविश्वव्यापी चतुर्वर्गकहेतुः परो महा-वाक्यार्थः अर्थमूर्त्या विपरिणतमनादिनिधनम् अखण्डं शब्दब्रह्मति उच्यते ।

अखण्डः सैव वाक्यार्थः शब्दब्रह्मति गीयते ।

शब्दब्रह्मणि निष्ठातः परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥

इदमर्थं पदस्थानं सिद्धिसोपानपर्वणाम् ।

इयं सा मोक्षमाणानामजिह्वा राजपद्धतिः ” ॥ (Vākya-padīya).

P. 143. Chap. VIII. Vol. II. Śr. Pra.

Of this Mahāvākyaārtha, Bhoja speaks at greater length in chapter vi (Vol. I, p. 407 onwards) :

“सर्वं हि वाक्यं विधिनियेधयोरेव पर्यवस्यति । × × किञ्च महावाक्यैरपि रामायणादिभिरिदमेव व्युत्पाद्यते । रामस्य पितुराज्ञां पालयतः वननिवासिनोऽपि तथाविधोऽभ्युदयः संवृत्तः, रावणस्य परदारान् अभिलष्यतः त्रैलोक्यविजयिनोऽपि तथाविध उच्छेदः । तस्मात् पितुराज्ञां पालयेत्, परदारान् नाभिलष्येत्, रामवद्वर्तेत, न रावणवद्, इति ।”

He speaks of this twice again in his two Prabandha-features—

‘चतुर्वर्गफलायत्तत्वम्’ and ‘विधिनियेधव्युत्पादकत्वम्’ p. 430. Vol. II.

a Prabandha guṇa and a Prabandha alaṃkāra.

“चतुर्वर्गफलायत्तत्वमित्यनेन चत्वारो धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाः, त एव व्यस्ताः समस्ता वा फलतत्सा-धनोपायविषयं महाकाव्यादीति ज्ञापयन् मुक्तकादिभ्यो भेदमाचष्टे ।” p. 431.

“विधिनियेधव्युत्पादकत्वेन तु गुणवतो नायकस्य उत्कर्षप्रकाशनेन दोषवतश्चोच्छेदप्रदर्शनेन जिगृषुणा गुणवतैव भाव्यम्, न दोषवतेति व्युत्पादयति ।” p. 432.

4. Another important concept on which Kuntaka made a valuable contribution is Sāhitya. It is again remarkable how, almost at the same time, the same concept possessed another writer and clamoured for definition. Bhoja and Kuntaka are the two most important names in the history of Sāhitya, which have been dealt with in the section on Sāhitya. Here it is necessary to point out only a few facts of similarity regarding that concept between Bhoja and Kuntaka. Both start with Bhāmaha's definition—शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम् । Secondly, Bhoja analyses this Sāhitya between Śabda and Artha into twelve relations, eight of which are grammatical and the last four of which refer to poetical relations. If we leave aside the first eight and take into consideration the last fourfold literary Sāhitya in the shape of avoiding of flaw, taking of Guṇas, adding of ornaments, and securing the eternal presence of Rasa, we can see that Bhoja will not refute us if we equate his Sāhitya with Alaṃkāra. For, to Bhoja, Guṇas, figures and Rasas are all Alaṃkāra. Similar is the case with Kuntaka's Sāhitya. Though Kuntaka describes Sāhitya in



his own way, it can be contended that his Sāhitya also is a kind of Vakratā ; and Vakratā, we have already pointed out, is Alarṅkāra. In Poetry, Kuntaka says, there are, to begin with, three factors—Śabdārtha, Sāhitya and Vakratā. Sāhitya can be merged in Vakratā and finally only two categories remain, Kāvya which is Alarṅkārya and Alarṅkāra which is Vakratā. In I. 17, which defines Sāhitya, Kuntaka gives it as कापि अवस्थितिः and in the Vṛtti as सा काचिदेव वाक्यविन्याससंपत् साहित्यव्यपदेशभाग् भवति ।” p. 27.

Thus there are many points of similarity between Bhoja and Kuntaka, two great writers of the post-Ānanda period, who accepted Dhvani and Rasa, with all their supremacy, but took up the old concept of Alarṅkāra and Vakrokti and elaborated systems out of them. But there is a good deal of difference also between the two writers. In the concluding part of chapter vi while dealing with Vākyārtha, and in the middle of chapter xi while beginning the treatment of Prabandhas, Bhoja considers the significance of the names of works like *Jānakī-haraṇa*, *Kumāra-sambhava*, etc. In the former context at least, there is some amount of literary treatment of these names as giving to us the idea of the poem, the Vākyārtha. But in the latter context i.e., in chapter xi, Bhoja goes into these names as a grammarian enquiring what Samāsa is involved in them. Compared with these two treatments of names of works, Kuntaka's Prabandhavakratā referring to the significant and beautiful titling of a composition, exhibits greater literary value.

आस्तां वस्तुषु वैदग्ध्यं काव्ये कामपि वक्रताम् ।

प्रधानसंविधानाङ्कनाम्नापि कुरुते कविः ॥ V. J. IV. 24.

See also Vṛtti on p. 243. V. J.

In the same manner Kuntaka's treatment of Sāhitya is very much superior to that of Bhoja. Kuntaka relegates the question of Pada, Vākya, Artha, Tātparya etc., to an alien sphere and considers in his work Sāhitya from a purely poetic standpoint. Again, Bhoja has devoted chapters to a consideration of Śabda and Artha and his treatment of these two is purely grammatical. Compared to it Kuntaka's treatment of Śabda and Artha in the definition—*Śabdārthau sahitaū kāvyam*—contains very beautiful ideas of great literary value, V. J. I. 8-9, Pp. 14-22, Śabdārtha pāramārthya.

To return to Bhoja and Vakrokti : the only Sūtra-like verse of Bhoja on Vakrokti as a 'definition' of Poetry is the above-referred to verse

यद्वक्रं वचः शास्त्रे लोके च वच एव तत् ।

वक्रं यदर्थवादादौ तस्य काव्यमिति स्मृतिः ॥

What exactly Bhoja comprehended under the 'etc.' in the word 'Arthavādaū' is not known. Arthavāda, Bhoja defines elsewhere in the midst of the several Vākyadharmas, as praise or abuse and turning the idea to suit

either. Anyway, an Arthavāda is an exaggeration this way or that, an Atiśayokti.<sup>1</sup>

“स्तुतिनिन्दार्थमतिशयोक्तिरर्थवादः । तद्यथा—मनोजवोऽश्वः, विश्वव्यापिनी तृष्णेति । यथा च स्तुतौ—

कवीनां मानसं नैमि तरन्ति प्रतिभांभसि ।

यत्र हंसवयांसीव भुवनानि चतुर्दश ॥

यथा वा निन्दायाम्—

येषां प्राणिवधः क्रीडा नमं मर्मच्छिदो गिरः ।

परापवादः कर्तव्यं ते मृत्योरपि मृत्यवः ॥

Vol. II. p. 156. Mad. Ms. Chap. 9.

This kind of approach to Poetry seems to correspond to what Rājaśekhara records as Yāyāvārīya's opinion that in Poetry things are not what they are, but what they are to the mind of the poet or of the poet's characters—Pratibhāsa nibandhanam (pp. 44-45 *K.M.*) and as the opinion of his own wife, Avantisundarī, who says, “there is no constant nature of things, so far as Poetry is concerned ; for, the poet's artistic mind and the poet's turns of expressions conceive of things in all sorts of ways.” The scientific nature of a thing which is the fact does not matter for the poet ; he makes things good or bad by his conception and expression ; he praises the moon and calls it the ‘nectar-rayed’ ; and if he has to say against it, he calls it ‘doṣā-kara.’

“ ‘विदग्धभणतिभङ्गिनिवेद्यं वस्तुनो रूपं न नियतस्वभावम्’ इति अवन्तिसुन्दरी । तदाह—

‘वस्तुस्वभावोऽत्र कवेरतन्त्रः गुणागुणालुक्तिवशेन काव्ये ।

स्तुवन्निबध्नात्यमृतांशुमिन्दुं निन्दंस्तु दोषाकरमाह धूर्तः ॥ ’ ” P. 46. *K.M.*

This can also be compared to what Yāyāvārīya says on p. 25 that in Poetry there is no question of things being true or untrue, Satya and Asatya. It is all one Arthavāda.

“ नासत्यं नाम किञ्चन काव्ये यस्तु स्तुत्येष्वर्थवादः ।

स न परं कविकर्मणि ध्रुतौ च शास्त्रे च लोके च ॥ ”

This verse throws some light on Bhoja's brief utterance on Vakratā, Kāvya and Arthavāda. Even in Veda, Śāstra and Loka, cases of Arthavāda are cases of Poetry. By the *etc.*—Ādi—in the statement ‘Vakram yad arthavādādaṁ’, Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri suggests that Bhoja may mean Mantra, the Stotras and descriptive Rks, since they form Poetry. But the word *Ādi* seems to me unnecessary and Arthavāda, by itself, seems to give some kind of definition of Poetry. In Arthavāda, we cast away the face-sense ; and so also in Poetry. We take the intention or the real sense which is either Stuti (Praise) or Nindā (Condemnation). In Poetry also, there are

1. Cf. Bhāmaha's idea that all poetic expression involves Atiśayokti. Bhāmaha II, 85, Daṇḍin II, 220 ; Ānanda III. Pp. 207-8.

only two facts—heightening of objects and lowering them, Utkarṣa and Aparkarṣa, according to the context or the theme, Artha and Rasa. Says Mahima Bhaṭṭa also :

विना उत्कर्षापकर्षाभ्यां स्वदन्तेऽर्था न जातुचित् ।

तदर्थमेव कवयोऽलङ्कारान् पर्युपासते ॥ V. V. p. 53. T. S. S.

Ratneśvara, commentator on Bhoja's S. K. Ā., as has been already proved, is acquainted with Bhoja's Śr. Pra. well. He explains somewhat Bhoja's notion of Vakratā. He quotes this Anuṣṭubh kārīkā of Bhoja on Vakratā, namely, *Yad avakram* etc., in his commentary on the S. K. Ā. Bhoja has a 'flaw' among his Doṣas called Arītimat which is the reverse of the nine Guṇas, śleṣa, etc. One kind of this Arītimat is the reverse of the Guṇa of Audārya—Audārya viparyaya—which Bhoja describes as *Analanīkāra*.

“यस्तु रीतेरनिर्वाहाद् औदार्यस्य विपर्ययः ।

वाक्यं तदनलङ्कारमलङ्कारविदो विदुः ॥

Vṛtti :

तदिदमपुष्टार्थत्वाद् अनुकृष्टविशेषणमनुदारं निरलङ्कारमाचक्षते सोऽयमौदार्यविपर्ययः—।”

S. K. Ā I. p. 30.

Here, in the word *Analanīkāra*, the name *Alanīkāra* is used to mean the common, minimum, or prime requisite of beauty necessary for making any utterance poetic. Bhoja uses the word in the very general sense in which he uses it when he classifies it into Svabhāvokti, Vakrokti and Rasokti. A similar instance of Bhoja's use of the word *Alanīkāra* in this wider sense is Bhoja's Vākyārtha Doṣa called *Niralanīkāra*. Under this Doṣa also, Bhoja emphasises the same point. Any expression to be poetic must have 'Alanīkāra'; otherwise it is bald. Ratneśvara, while commenting on the Audārya viparyaya, explains this point. He says that without Vakratā there is no possibility of Poetry. Thus run his comments :

“यस्तु रीतेरिति । काव्यरूपताप्रयोजकं शब्दार्थयोः वक्रता उदारता । न हि वक्रता-  
मन्तरेण काव्यपदवीप्राप्तिः । तदाह—

‘यत्तु ( द ) वक्रं वचः शास्त्रे लोके च वच एव तत् ।

वक्रं यदनुरागादौ तत्र काव्यमिति श्रुतिः ॥’ (Śr. Pra.)

तदेतदलङ्कारसामान्यस्याभावे निरलङ्कारता भवतीत्याह—अनलङ्कारमिति ।...प्रकृतोदाहरणे  
द्वयोः ( शब्दार्थयोः ) अवकत्वं स्फुटयति ।” P. 30 S. K. Ā.

Ratneśvara has here quoted the verse of Bhoja on Vakratva, 'Yad avakram etc.' given by him twice in his Śr. Pra. The context in which Ratneśvara quotes it and the purpose for which he quotes it make the meaning of the verse pretty plain. Ratneśvara says that *Alanīkāra* signifies the prime essential element of beauty and is synonymous with Vakratva which is the condition that makes for Poetry—Kāvya rūpatā prayojaka; and it is to supplement this that Ratneśvara quotes the Kārīkā of Bhoja on Vakratā from his Śr. Pra.

The Kārikā as quoted by Ratneśvara, reads in the first line यत्तु वक्रम् for यद्वक्रम् and is a clear mistake. In the last quarter there is an insignificant change : तत्र for तस्य and श्रुतिः for स्मृतिः. But a really noteworthy change is in the third quarter which substitutes the word 'Anurāgādaṁ' for 'Artha-vādādaṁ'. Perhaps both mean the same thing. Anurāga means love and consequently praise and by 'Ādi' is meant Dveṣa or dislike and consequently abuse. Thus 'Anurāgādaṁ' also we may take as meaning Stuti and Nindā.<sup>1</sup>

Under the Vākyaṛtha doṣa called Niralaṁkāra, Ratneśvara explains Bhoja in the following manner : Without Vakratā, there can be no Alaṁkāra, hence no Kāvya. Such Vakratā is the product of the poet's genius and is delectable to the Sahṛdayas. Even Svabhāvokti has got this Vakratā ; hence it is that Svabhāvokti also is an Alaṁkāra. But there are bald utterances like 'गोरपत्य बलीवर्दः' which do not come under Svabhāvokti or Jāti, being devoid of Vakratā or Alaṁkāra. Such cases of 'baldness' form the Doṣa called Niralaṁkāra.

“वक्रनाव्यतिरेकेऽलङ्कारसामान्यमेव न स्यादिति निरलङ्कारमित्युक्तम् । × × ×

ततो जात्यलङ्कारेण वक्रत्वमाक्षिप्यते । × × × स्वरूपं चमत्कारिकविप्रतिभामात्रप्रकाशनीयं रूपं तदेव अलङ्कारकक्षामधिगते । × × ×

कथं तर्हि वक्रताभावहृदयपुच्छ इत्यादिः शब्ददोषाद् भिद्यते × × × × शब्दानामेव वक्रताऽप्यतिरेकेण अपवादः इति शब्दद्वेषणम् ; इह तु न तथा । किन्तु उक्तमेव स्वरूपं न वक्रम् इति वाक्यार्थ एव दुष्टः ।” P. 38. S. K. Ā Vyā.

The previous instance of Audārya viparyaya or Analaṁkāra emphasises Śabda vakratā as essential and this Vākyaṛtha doṣa of Niralaṁkāra, Artha vakratā.

Earlier also, while commenting on the opening part of the flaw Arītimat, Ratneśvara has some introductory remarks where he points out that the nine Guṇas, Śleṣa etc., secure the requisite Vakratā without which an expression cannot be called Poetry.

“एतद् ( श्लेषादिनवगुण ) योगात् वक्ररूपताम् आगच्छ काव्यव्यपदेशं लभते ।” P. 24.

Both Bhoja and Ratneśvara follow Vāmana on the difference between Guṇas and Alaṁkāras. In the larger sense of the term Alaṁkāra as Saundarya or Kāvya-śobhākara-dharma, Guṇa also is Alaṁkāra. But Guṇa is a necessity, Nitya ; and Alaṁkāra or figure like Upamā is only optional, Anitya. In the absence of the former, there is no Kāvya ; the latter is only to add additional grace. Thus the basic beauty or Vakratā is due to the Guṇas. This Vakratā increases by addition of Alaṁkāras like Upamā. Hence it is, by the way, the reason why Vakrokti and Alaṁkāra though they mean Guṇa also, mean, par excellence, figures like Upamā which add the more easily perceptible Vakratva.

1. There is also the third state of Mādhyasthya which means neither Praise nor Abuse. See Pālyakīrti's view on p. 46 Rājaśekhara's K. M.

Under the Śabda guṇa Samādhī, Ratneśvara explains Vakratā as underlying Samādhī.

“सम्यग्ग्राधानं आरोपणं समाधिः । सम्यक्त्वं च वक्रता, लोकातिगत्वम्—।” P. 54.

Under the Artha-guṇa, Śleṣa, Ratneśvara takes Vāmana's Kauṭilya as Vakratā.

“—तत्रैव कौटिल्यं लोकातिगामिनी वक्रता । अवक्रयोः शब्दार्थयोः वचनमात्रत्वात् ।” P. 63.

The second sentence is a paraphrase of Bhoja's dictum that Kāvya and Vacas are Vakra and Avakra.

Again under the Guṇa, Samatā of Artha, Ratneśvara remarks that Vakratā is absolutely essential.

“वक्रता चात्र विशेषणमूहनीयम्' अन्यथा भुत्वा व्रजतीत्यतः को विशेषः स्यात् ।” P. 64.

On the Vaiśeṣika guṇa of Alarṇkāra, he says :

“अनुगतेन वक्ताभावेन तत्समर्थनात् ।” P. 109.

Under the Vaiśeṣika Guṇa, Niralarṇkāra, Ratneśvara straightly puts Vakratva as Alarṇkāra.

“—वक्रत्वं च अलङ्कार इति । × × सामान्येन वक्रता प्रकाशत एव ।” P. 109.

### *The Vakrokti-alarṇkāra.*

Side by side with this larger concept of Vakrokti, which meant poetic speech and Alarṇkāra in general, there must have been a kind of poetic figure of this name involving clever dialogue turning on ordinary and word-split (Bhaṅga-śleṣa) puns. We do not meet with Vakrokti as a special figure in Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, both of whom use the word as a common name for Alarṇkāra in general. But, when Daṇḍin says that in Vakrokti in general, Śleṣa adds charm, he seems to minimise the scope of Vakrokti ; for it is not all kinds of Vakrokti that involve Śleṣa. But much cannot be made out of this remark of Daṇḍin, who simply says that Śleṣa is an element which *can* beautify many other Alarṇkāras. In theoretical writings, it is only when we come to Rudraṭa that we find the first writer who gives the smaller Vakrokti. Rudraṭa never speaks of Vakrokti as a name of Alarṇkāra in general. He gives a Śabdālarṇkāra called Vakrokti, which is a dialogue involving intonation cleverly employed to change the meaning and another variety of the same which employs word-split pun. (II. 14-17). The variety employing Kāku soon ceased to be considered as an instance of Vakrokti and Rājaśekhara criticises it in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*. In Ānanda's time, we have poet Ratnākara writing his minor poem *Vakrokti-pancāśikā*, which contains Vakrokti involving Bhaṅga-śleṣa, one of the two varieties of Rudraṭa. Mammaṭa accepted Rudraṭa completely and gives both the Bhaṅga-śleṣa and Kāku Vakrokti in the Śabdālarṇkāra section. Hemacandra, following Rājaśekhara, refuses to accept Kāku as a variety of Vakrokti ; as follower of Ānanda, he places Kāku

under Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya and accepts only Bhaṅgasleṣa-vakrokti as a Śabdālaṅkāra. Mammaṭa has added Abhaṅgasleṣa also to what Rudraṭa gave and, on this point, Hemacandra follows Mammaṭa. Ruyyaka accepts (p. 175) Mammaṭa's position and gives both Śleṣa and Kāku Vakroktis, though he takes them over to the Arthālaṅkāra section. Ruyyaka decides the future for this Vakrokti; Vidyānātha follows him (p. 296, Bāla. Edn.) and so also Appayya Dīkṣita. Viśvanātha however chooses to follow Mammaṭa completely in retaining Vakrokti as a Śabdālaṅkāra.

Thus, after the time of Rudraṭa, the word Vakrokti was signifying both the particular poetic figure of Śabda or of Artha, and the general concept of Alaṅkāra as such. It is likely that, as a name for that kind of dialogue in which one outwits another by word-split puns, the history of the word goes far back into those days of Poetics of which we have no work left to us. It is very intelligible how this kind of speech came to be called Vakra-ukti, crooked speech. How by Bhāmaha's time the name Vakrokti came to mean Alaṅkāra in general, so much, that we do not see any trace of the particular figure going by that name, is not known. But it cannot be settled whether Śabdālaṅkāra Bhaṅga-sleṣa Vakrokti expanded into the larger Vakrokti or the larger Vakrokti of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin sank to the level of the mere Śabdālaṅkāra of that name in Rudraṭa. In the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānanda, Vakrokti as meaning the larger common name of Alaṅkāra, is met with in Ud. II. Ruyyaka says that the word means both :

“वक्रोक्तिशब्दश्च अलङ्कारसामान्यवचनोऽपि इह अलङ्कारविशेषे संज्ञितः ।” P. 177.

and Vidyānātha also says regarding the Vakrokti-arthālaṅkāra :

‘उक्तिवक्रत्वे कथञ्चित्संभवत्यपि एवंविधलक्षणाभावात् सर्वालङ्कारेभ्यो भिद्यते । P. 296.

In Bhoja, we meet with this smaller Vakrokti meaning a particular poetic figure also, alongside of the larger concept of that name. Bhoja, in common with Mammaṭa, follows Rudraṭa in accepting Rudraṭa's Vakrokti as given by him as a Śabdālaṅkāra. But Bhoja makes it a sub-variety of a new class of Śabdālaṅkāra constituted by himself. All instances of Vakrokti, as seen in Alaṅkāra texts and in such examples of it as the *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā* are dialogues and this element of dialogue is taken and made a major type of Śabdālaṅkāra called Vākovākya by Bhoja.

उक्तिप्रत्युक्तिमद् वाक्यं वाकोवाक्यं विदुर्बुधाः । II. 143. p. 252 S. K. Ā.

One of the six varieties of this dialogue and repartee called Vākovākya is Vakrokti. Bhoja accepts only the Śleṣa variety of Vakrokti of Rudraṭa. The Kāku variety he has separated; Kāku by itself is brought under another Śabdālaṅkāra called Paṭhiti by Bhoja, which is more intelligible. (P. 164, S. K. Ā.) Śleṣa-vakrokti is divided by Bhoja into two kinds—Nirvyūḍha and Anirvyūḍha. The former is sustained Vakrokti running to the end of the verse; the latter is not so sustained. Bhoja cites Rudraṭa's illustration for Śleṣa-vakrokti for his Nirvyūḍha variety. S. K. Ā., P. 253.

Thus in Bhoja's work Vakrokti means :—

(1) Alarṅkāra, Vakratā, the characteristic poetic expression in general ; the very definition of Kāvya.

(2) One variety of no. 1. That is, the Alarṅkāras beginning with Upamā. The two other varieties are Svabhāvokti and Rasokti. These three comprehend the whole realm of poetic expression.

and (3) One of the varieties of the Śabdālarṅkāra called Vākovākya.

### *Vakrokti and the Lakṣaṇā vṛtti*

In the history of Vakrokti, Vāmana holds a striking position, standing somewhat aloof with a singular opinion. Vāmana is the first writer in whose work we meet with the term Vakrokti with the restricted sense, as the name of a particular figure of Artha. Vāmana holds a position altogether different from that of Rudraṭa who, though he also gives Vakrokti only as the name of a particular figure, gives it as a Śabdālarṅkāra. Vāmana gives it as Arthālarṅkāra, involving similarity, Upamā ; an Arthālarṅkāra which is the same as Daṇḍin's Samādhī-guṇa, being based on the transference of attributes of one to another on the basis of similarity. सादृश्याल्लक्षणा वक्रोक्तिः । IV. iii. 8. Vāmana definitely says that it is only Lakṣaṇā based on *Sādrśya*, similarity, that is Vakrokti and not those Lakṣaṇās based on Sāmīpya etc.

“बहूनि हि निबन्धनानि लक्षणायाम् ; तत्र सादृश्याल्लक्षणा वक्रोक्तिरिति । × × असादृश्यनिबन्धनानि तु लक्षणा न वक्रोक्तिः ।” Pp. 130-1. K. A. Sū. and Vṛ.

But writers who want to bring all cases of beautiful poetic expression under Vakrokti will have to say naturally that not only *Sādrśya lakṣaṇā* but other cases of *lakṣaṇā* also form Vakrokti. If even non-*lakṣaṇā* expressions, Abhidhāmūla dhvani for instance, have also to be brought under some kind of Vakrokti, it goes without saying that non-*sādrśya-lakṣaṇās* also are Vakrokti.

In Bhoja's *Śr. Pra.*, there is a significant verse quoted by Bhoja on *Lakṣaṇā* in the beginning of chapter VII, which treats of Abhidhā, *Lakṣaṇā* and Gaṇī vṛttis. While defining *Lakṣaṇā*, Bhoja says

तदुक्तम्—

‘अभिधेयाविनाभूतप्रतीतिर्लक्षणाच्यते ।

सैषा विदग्धवक्रोक्तिर्जीवितं वृत्तिरिष्यते ॥’

*Śr. Pra. Mad. Ms. Vol. I, p. 429.*

For those writers who recognise beyond Abhidhā only one Vṛtti, namely, *Lakṣaṇā* and bring under it all the ideas appearing in the train of Abhidhā, and for those writers who hold all aspects of strikingness in poetic expression as Vakrokti, this verse in Bhoja is fully acceptable. It gives *Lakṣaṇā* as the very life of the poet's Vakrokti. Bhoja simply gives the verse and makes no comment ; he does not utilise it or expand it elsewhere in his work.

As in the case of his other verse on Vakrokti, *Yad avakram*, etc., he leaves us with a meagre Anuṣṭubh. What kind of Lakṣaṇā, whether it is that based on Sādhya only or all kinds of Lakṣaṇā is meant in this verse, is not easy to decide. Perhaps Bhoja means by this Vakrokti, here, not Vāmana's Vakrokti based on Sādhya lakṣaṇā but the larger concept of Vakrokti which occurs so much in his work ; and perhaps Bhoja says here that of all kinds of Vakrokti, i.e., Alamkāra in general, Lakṣaṇā is generally a life-giving element, even as Daṇḍin said that Śleṣa generally adds beauty to all kinds of Vakrokti. At the end of his definition and illustration of all the sub-varieties of the two kinds of Lakṣaṇā, named Lakṣaṇā and Lakṣita lakṣaṇā, Bhoja says that all kinds of Lakṣaṇā are found amply in poets' expressions. Bhoja gives many fine verses in illustration (Vol. II. pp. 14-18), many of which are found given in the *Dhvanyāloka* as illustrations for Lakṣaṇāmūla-dhvani. Surely, of all these, Sādhya lakṣaṇā is the greatest but we can take that, in the above-given verse, Bhoja does not mean a re-statement of Vāmana's Vakrokti based on Sādhya lakṣaṇā, but seems to mean that Lakṣaṇās of all kinds are found to lie at the root of all kinds of Vakrokti as a fecund principle.<sup>1</sup>

Under his Śabdālamkāra called Sayyā, Bhoja gives a variety called 'miscellaneous'—Prakīrṇa Ghaṭanā, S. K. Ā. pp. 159-164. Bhoja here speaks of the presence in poets' expressions of the Śabda vṛttis of Mukhyā, Gaunī and Lakṣaṇā. While commenting on this, Ratneśvara quotes (p. 162) the above-discussed verse on Lakṣaṇā and Vakrokti. And he also seems to con-

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1. The above-discussed Anuṣṭubh in Bhoja on Lakṣaṇā and Vakrokti is introduced by Bhoja with the words तदुक्तम्. We do not know who its author is. Most likely Bhoja himself is its author. The first line 'अभिधेयाविनाभूतप्रतीतिर्लक्षणोच्यते' is not Bhoja's. It is Kumārila's definition of Lakṣaṇā. On p. 242, Vol. II, in a discussion on Gauṇa vṛtti and Upacāra, Bhoja quotes it, as also the definition of Gauṇī vṛtti with the mention of the name of their author, Bhaṭṭa, i.e., Kumārila. It is likely, Bhoja took the first line defining Lakṣaṇā from Kumārila and added to it the second line giving Lakṣaṇā as the Life of Vakrokti. We need not doubt Bhoja's authorship of the second line and of the idea of Lakṣaṇā as the Life of Vakrokti, just because of the words तदुक्तम् introducing the verse. Elsewhere Bhoja quotes his own verses with these words तदुक्तम्. It must be noted that accidentally we meet with in this verse the combination of the words *Vakrokti jīvitam*, which gives the name of Kuntaka's work !

Śāradātanaya who summarises Bhoja's text on Sāhitya, has this verse on Lakṣaṇā and Vakrokti in his *Bhā. Pra.* on page 145.

अभिधेयाविनाभूतप्रतीतिर्लक्षणोच्यते । सैषा विदग्धवक्रोक्तिर्जीवितं वृत्तिरिष्यते ॥

कोशन्ति मन्त्रा इत्यादौ सा वृत्तिरवगम्यते । लक्ष्यमाणगुणैर्योगाद् वृत्तेरिष्टा तु गौणता ॥

Śāradātanaya illustrates the Lakṣaṇā here by the expression "कोशन्ति मन्त्राः" and this shows that Bhoja means in that verse all kinds of Lakṣaṇā. Bahurūpa-miśra, who borrows largely from the *Śr. Pra.* and the *Bhā. Pra.*, reproduces the above from Śāradātanaya. (p. 74, Mad. Ms. R. 4188.) He also quotes the verse of Bhoja on Lakṣaṇā as the life of Vidagdha-Vakrokti.



sider the Lakṣaṇā meant here as the Jivita of Vakrokti, as not merely the one based on Sāṅdrīya but Lakṣaṇā of all kinds.

“—लक्षणा । तदुक्तम्—

‘अभिधेयाविनाभूतप्रतीतिर्लक्षणोच्यते ।

सैषा विदग्धवक्रोक्तिजीवितं वृत्तिरिष्यते ॥’

सा द्विधा—शुद्धा, लक्षितलक्षणा च ।”

Ratneśvara summarises here a part of the *Śr. Pra.* text on Lakṣaṇā (from Vol. II.), giving the same illustrations as given by Bhoja.

That the Lakṣaṇā in this verse described as the life of Vakrokti means all kinds of Lakṣaṇā and that Vakrokti consequently does not mean what it meant to Vāmana but means various kinds of poetic expression, is also proved by Ratneśvara's comments on Bhoja's Vaiśeṣika guṇa of the Paruṣa doṣa. *Ś. K. Ā. I.* 145, p. 114. Bhoja says that Paruṣa doṣa becomes a Guṇa in Viruddha-lakṣaṇā. Commenting on this, Ratneśvara quotes the above-discussed verse of Bhoja on Lakṣaṇā and Vakrokti (in a corrupt form), *S. K. Ā.* p. 114.

## CHAPTER XI

### BHOJA AND SVABHAVOKTI\*

Bhoja's treatment of Svabhāvokti has something new to give us. Firstly, on the nature of this Alambkāra, some valuable information is gained even from his S. K. Ā. Secondly, an original view and a new definition of Svabhāvokti, and a systematic working out of Daṇḍin's view of Svabhāva and Vakra Uktis are available in Bhoj's Śr. Pra.

Bhoja describes Svabhāvokti thus in his S. K. Ā.

नानावस्थासु जायन्ते यानि रूपाणि वस्तुनः ।  
स्वेभ्यस्स्वेभ्यो निसर्गेभ्यस्तानि जातिं प्रचक्षते ॥

अर्थव्यक्तेरियं भेदमियता प्रतिपद्यते ।

जायमानप्रि(मि)यं वक्ति रूपं सा सार्वकालिकम् ॥ III. 4-5.

(The text of S. K. Ā., N. S. Edn., reads here wrongly जायमानप्रियं वक्ति रूपम् but जायमानप्रियं वक्ति रूपम् is preserved in a quotation of this verse by Bhaṭṭa Gopāla in his commentary on the *Kāvya Prakāśa*. T. S. S., p. 187, part II). In the first verse, Bhoja defines his first Arthālamkāra called Jāti. Jāti is another name for Svabhāvokti. 'Jāti' might originally have referred to "Class attribute" which figures in a Svabhāvokti. The name Svabhāva-Ukti or Svabhāva-Ākhyāna emphasises the essential nature of the figure called 'Natural Description'. Bhoja's definition gives a new interpretation to the name 'Jāti'. Bhoja says that 'Jāti' means the exact opposite of the logical concept of class-attributes ! It means those aspects of things that result from particular conditions, but aspects related to the essential nature of the things. There are two ideas in this definition of Svabhāvokti of Bhoja : one, attributes which are due to the changes consequent on particular moods or conditions—नानावस्थासु जायन्ते यानि रूपाणि—and two, these attributes must be of the very nature of the thing—स्वेभ्यस्स्वेभ्यो निसर्गेभ्यः । We shall first examine the second condition, namely, that the attributes shall be such as are born of the very nature of the things. It rules out all cases of conceits and superimposed ideas—Āropita. This is the most essential condition ; for it is the chief and direct meaning of the word 'Svabhāva' in Svabhāvokti. The action or qualities described must pertain to them as theirs. Mammaṭa emphasises this by the word 'Sva' in his definition—

स्वभावोक्तिस्तु डिम्भादेः स्वक्रियारूपवर्णनम् । स्वयोस्तदेकाश्रययोः । रूपं, वर्णं, संस्थानं च ।”  
Attribution or superimposition—असम्बन्धे सम्बन्धोक्तिः and आरोपः, which

\* Vide also the sections in this Thesis on Ukti, Alambkāra and Vakrokti, and my paper on Svabhāvokti in the Indian Culture, Vol. V, pp. 147-165.

result in Atiśayokti and Rūpaka, are prohibited. Commenting on the above-given definition of Mammaṭa, Vidyācakra-vartin says :

“स्वशब्दान् क्रियारूपयोः अनागेपित्वम् । अतः स्वभावोक्तिरिति अन्वर्थता ।”

p. 336. T. S. S.

If something is added by way of comparison or contrast, we have no Svabhāvokti but we land on some Alamkāra based on Aupamya or Virodha. External ideas, our ideas of an object, or reflections on seeing an object,—these again are out of the scope of Svabhāvokti. Ratneśvara clearly explains this as the import of the words स्वेभ्यः स्वेभ्यो निसर्गेभ्यः in Bhoja's definition. Giving an instance of a poet's reflection, he says :—

“इत्यादावापि जातित्वं स्यात्, अत आह—स्वेभ्यः स्वेभ्य इति । स्वभावभूतानि इत्यर्थः ।” p. 266.

Thus the main characteristic of the 'Natural Description' is that it is purely a Svabhāva varṇanā, that the 'Rūpa' described in it shall be 'Svīya' and 'Naisargika'.

In the first qualification, Bhoja makes out some new significance for the word 'Jāyante' from which 'Jāti' is derived. His new meaning of Jāti here restricts the scope of Svabhāvokti. Bhoja emphasises the word 'Jāyante'—'produced in certain circumstances'. As for instance, a horse may be described as sleeping in standing posture in accordance with its nature. The pose, the attitude etc., in the state of its sleep constitute the 'Jāta-rūpa' of the Avasthā of sleep.

Why is it that Bhoja stresses this point that the attributes described in Svabhāvokti shall be those which characterise a mood or state of a thing? His source and greatest Ācārya, Daṇḍin, has nothing like this in his work; Daṇḍin simply says “नानावस्थं पदार्थानां रूपम्”—appearances of things as they exist in their various states and actions. And things can never be separately noticed, apart from their states and actions. It is not possible to find a moment when a thing will not be in some Avasthā and if we must really make any distinction of the nature of things into that which is permanent and basic and that which pertains to the moments, we can justify that distinction as of only relative truth.

Bhoja brings in his new emphasis on 'Jāyante' because he has to accommodate in his system Vāmana's Arthavyakti Guṇa, side by side with the Svabhāvokti Alamkāra. This is not the first or only case where, Bhoja following everybody and borrowing from everywhere, with a hundred hands, has to artificially scheme out certain ways of adjusting all that he has gathered. The second verse in the definition of Svabhāvokti quoted above explains Bhoja more clearly. In it, Bhoja points out that Svabhāvokti Alamkāra is different from the Guṇa called Arthavyakti. It is necessary here to note what Bhoja means by Arthavyakti, what that Guṇa means really, apart from Bhoja's idea of it, how it is related to Svabhāvokti in particular and poetic expression in general, and such other matters.

In Daṇḍin, Arthavyakti is a Guṇa related to the other Guṇa of Prasāda. It has nothing in its nature which overlaps with that of the Alamkāra Svabhāvokti. Vāmana's Śabda Guṇa of this name is identical with Daṇḍin's Arthavyakti and so also is Bhoja's. But Vāmana has an Artha guṇa also of this name and that also Bhoja borrows. Vāmana defines his Artha guṇa Arthavyakti thus :

वस्तु-स्वभावस्फुटत्वम् अर्थव्यक्तिः । III. 2. 13.

वस्तूनां भावानां स्वभावस्य स्फुटत्वं यत्, अमौ अर्थव्यक्तिः ॥

Bhoja gives the first verse given by Vāmana for illustration for his Arthavyakti guṇa of Artha and adds this definition of his own :

“अर्थव्यक्तिः स्वरूपस्य साक्षात्कथनमुच्यते ।”

“अत्र कुमुदस्वरूपस्य साक्षादिव प्रतीयमानत्वेन यत् स्पर्शरूपमिधानमसावर्थव्यक्तिः ।”

S. K. Ā. I. p. 65. This 'vivid portrayal of an object's appearance'—स्वरूपसाक्षात्कथन—is what constitutes the essential mark of Svabhāvokti. This phrase, 'साक्षात्कथन' stands for Vāmana's 'स्फुटत्व' and is borrowed by Bhoja from Daṇḍin's definition of Svabhāvokti Alamkāra :

नानावस्थं पदार्थानां रूपं साक्षात् विवृण्वती ।

The idea that a 'Natural Description' is poetic or constitutes Alamkāra only when it is powerful, effective, and vivid is emphasised by every writer. Bāṇa says 'जातिरग्रामा'. A description of the nature of an object must not be bald and stale. Bhāmaha includes Svabhāvokti also in Vakrokti because of this very strikingness; and natural description devoid of this vivid portrayal is dismissed by him as Vārtā having no Vakrokti or strikingness in it.

गतोऽस्तमर्को भालीन्दुः यान्ति वासाय पक्षिणः ।

इत्येवमादि किं काव्यम् ? वार्तामेनां प्रचक्षते ॥ II. 87. K. A.

Close upon denying Alamkāratā to Hetu, Sūkṣma, and Leśa, Bhāmaha gives the above-given instance and says : Is this Kāvya ? It is but ordinary speech, or mere news. Daṇḍin emphasised that Svabhāvokti must have life and must give us a vivid picture which will conjure up the object before our mind's eye. He stressed the idea in the single word 'Sākṣāt'—‘रूपं साक्षाद् विवृण्वती’—on which Taruṇavācaspati says : साक्षाद् विवृण्वती प्रत्यक्षमिव दर्शयन्ती.<sup>1</sup> Rudraṭa qualifies the general class of Vāstava Alamkāras to which Jāti belongs by the attribute 'Puṣṭārtha'. This emphasises the need for the Jāti to be vivid.

1. The *Hṛdayaṅgamā* interprets 'Sākṣāt' as 'Avyājena' and it is significant in another way. It emphasises the other essential nature of Svabhāvokti that it must be the natural appearance and not the attributed, super-imposed, or conceived form of a thing. This is the idea emphasised by Bhoja in the words—स्वेभ्यः स्वेभ्यो निसर्गभ्यः and by Mammāṭa, by the word 'Sva' in the definition स्वक्रियारूप etc. Rudraṭa emphasises the same by the qualifications अविपरीत, निरुपम, अनतिशय and अश्लेष to his Vāstava. K. A. VII. 10. In VII. 30. Rudraṭa says the same thing again in the words 'तत्कथनम् अनन्यथा जातिः ।'

It is this quality that is born of Arthavyakti. Arthavyakti, though it pertains to all descriptions of the poet in general,<sup>1</sup> is pre-eminently the life of Svabhāvokti. Svabhāvokti without Arthavyakti, without 'Vastu-svabhāva-sphuṭatva' in Vāmana's words, is insipid Vārtā, is Grāmya, is Apuṣṭa. Thus there is little contradiction between the Guṇa of Arthavyakti and the Alarṅkāra of Svabhāvokti.

To Vāmana, the recognition of Arthavyakti Guṇa removes the need for Svabhāvokti Alarṅkāra. So it is that while refuting Vāmana's Artha Guṇa of Arthavyakti, Hemacandra says that it is nothing but Svabhāvokti Alamkāra "अपि च जातिर्नामायमलङ्कारः इति ।" p. 199. Bhaṭṭa Gopāla also says :

वामनमयोदया त्वर्थव्यक्त्या स्वभावैक्यपलापः । p. 187. T. S. S. K. *Pra. Vyā.*

In either case, whether Bhoja follows Vāmana closely and casts off Svabhāvokti having accepted the Arthagūṇa of Arthavyakti, or accepting both, understands that the two do not collide but that one is the Guṇa of the other which is an Alarṅkāra—in either case, Bhoja will have no occasion to give a distinction between Arthavyakti and Svabhāvokti. Feeling that there will be no need for Svabhāvokti when Arthavyakti has been recognised, Bhoja hastens to point out that the two differ. Arthavyakti refers to cases of portrayal of the essential, never-changing, and permanent nature of a thing ; but Svabhāvokti describes only such temporary nature as is born of a particular mood or state—नानावस्थासु जायन्ते यानि रूपाणि ।

अर्थव्यक्तेरियं भेदमियता प्रतिपद्यते ।

जायमानम् इयं वक्ति रूपं सा सार्वकालिकम् ॥

Svabhāvokti is जायमानरूपवर्णन while Arthavyakti is सार्वकालिकरूपवर्णन. This is unnecessary narrowing down of the scope of both Svabhāvokti and Arthavyakti. The former refers to description of the inherent permanent nature as well as the effects of particular states and the latter refers to the clear, vivid, and powerful portrayal of the same picture. Bhoja's position regarding these two resembles that of writers who dragged down the large concept of Bhāvika of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, a Prabandha Guṇa, made it a mere Vākyālarṅkāra and then felt that it collided with Svabhāvokti and consequently distinguished with great ingenuity Bhāvika and Svabhāvokti. (See Ruyyaka and Viśvanātha)<sup>2</sup>

Bhoja's separation of the scope of Arthavyakti and Svabhāvokti is thus stated by his commentator, Ratneśvara.

“वस्तुस्वरूपोद्देशनार्थं ( र्थं ) व्यक्तिः अर्थगुणेषु उक्ता । तत्र सार्वकालिकं रूपं उपजना-  
पायान्तरालव्यापकं इत्यर्थः । अत्र तु ( जात्यलङ्कारे ) जायमानं आगन्तुकनिमित्तं समव-  
धानप्रभवं व्यभिचारितं इत्यर्थः ।” p. 266.

1. See Mammaṭa, K. *Pra.* T. S. S. II. Pp. 186-187, where this Artha guṇa Arthavyakti of Vāmana is included by Mammaṭa in Svabhāvokti.

So also Hemacandra; see K.A. com. p. 199.

2. I have gone into this subject in detail in my paper on Bhāvika published in the *IHQ*.

The Agni Purāṇa also helps us to understand what Bhoja's differentiation between Svabhāvokti and Arthavyakti means, it being one of the works which borrow from Bhoja. In chapter 344 it gives Svabhāvokti as Svarūpa Alarṅkāra.

स्वरूपमथ सादृश्यमुत्प्रेक्षातिशयावपि etc.

It defines this Svarūpa or Svabhāvokti or Jāti thus :

स्वभाव एव भावानाम् स्वरूपमभिधीयते ।

निजम् आगन्तुकं चेति द्विविधं तदुदाहृतम् ॥

सांसिद्धिकं निजं नैमित्तिकम् आगन्तुकं तथा । 344|3-4.

Bhoja is clearly followed here and the nature of things is classified into eternal and temporary. Though the A. Purāṇa borrows this classification of the nature of things into 'Jāyamāna' and 'Sārvakālika' Svarūpa, the Purāṇa does not say that the description of the former only is Svabhāvokti or Svarūpālarṅkāra. The Purāṇa evidently proposes to treat descriptions of both as Svarūpālarṅkāra. Only, the Purāṇa shows two kinds of Svarūpa, even as Daṇḍin showed in Svabhāvākhyāna, varieties like Jāti, Kriyā, etc., and others, varieties like Īmbha, Tiryak, etc.

#### *The Śr. Pra. on Svabhāvokti*

On Guṇa and Alarṅkāra, the Śr. Pra. reproduces the S. K.Ā. and therefore all that has been said above stands as Bhoja's view in the Śr. Pr. also. Besides these ideas just now examined, Bhoja has something more to say in his Śr. Pra. on the general nature of Svabhāvokti.

It has already been pointed out in the sections on Ukti etc., how Bhoja following up Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, classified Kāvya-vacana or Ukti or Alarṅkāra into three departments,—Svabhāvokti, Vakrokti and Rasokti. If Upamā, Rūpaka and such figures predominate, it is Vakrokti. Where Rasa is delineated through the description of the Vibhāvas etc., i.e., where expression is dominated by Rasa, there we have Rasokti. The third is Svabhāvokti, natural description of things. In the realm of ideas or Artha, there are only two classes, namely, the mere nature of things—Vastu svabhāva—and Emotions. In the description of these two, we have Vastu saṁvāda and Citta saṁvāda respectively, and the corresponding cases of expression are called Svabhāvokti and Rasa-delineation or Rasa-Ukti, according to Bhoja. These two are bare descriptions, Vastu svabhāva or Rasa svabhāva being the object of description. When both of these are figuratively described, we have the third kind of Ukti,—Vakrokti.

This is intelligible but Bhoja has sought to confuse us suddenly by a flash of originality here. Something struck him, as it often happens, and he caught a new equation. "Alarṅkāra, Upamā, etc., is Vakrokti; Rasa is Rasokti; . . . ." he pondered over and said, "Guṇa remains; Guṇa is Svabhāvokti!" We cannot understand this equation if we take into consideration particular Guṇas and the nature of the Svabhāvokti Alarṅkāra. Firstly,

Svabhāvokti or Jāti is an Alarṅkāra, the first among Arthālarṅkāras. By saying that Vakrokti is Alarṅkāra-pradhāna, does Bhoja mean to include Jāti or Svabhāvokti in that Vakrokti? If so, why does he say that Vakrokti is Ukti dominated by Alarṅkāras beginning with Upamā? Are we then to throw Svabhāvokti out of the fold of Alarṅkāra? Why should he say that Svabhāvokti is 'Guṇa pradhāna'? Bhoja's Guṇas are not all of a homogeneous nature. Gāmbhīrya Guṇa is a case of Dhvani; Kānti which is 'Dīpta rasatva' is given as a Guṇa but a verse dominated by Kānti will be a case of Bhoja's Rasokti. This Guṇa-Svabhāvokti equation of Bhoja not found in his S. K. Ā. in any plain manner and found plainly stated in his *Śr. Pra.* is not easy to be understood.

Bhoja can be understood in a way if we approach this classification of his from the point of view of his conception of the nature of Guṇas and Alarṅkāras in general. Bhoja follows Vāmana in his conception of Guṇa and its difference from Alarṅkāra. The former is eternally related to Poetry, Nitya, Samavāya sambaddha; and the latter is only optional, Anitya, Saṁyoga sambaddha. The former is absolutely necessary and there can be no Poetry without them; even in the absence of the latter, the presence of the former makes for Poetry. Guṇas are also Śobhākara dharmas but they refer to Svābhāvika śobhā whereas Alarṅkāras are only Kṛtrima śobhā. Therefore, in a piece of Poetry where there is no Upamā etc., there is the beauty resulting from the Guṇas. Svabhāvokti or Jāti is a case devoid of all figures coming under Vakrokti; then it must have the Guṇas in abundance. Thus it seems that Bhoja thought that Svabhāvokti is Ukti dominated by Guṇas. So it is that he said:

“त्रिविधः खल्वलङ्कारवर्गः, वक्रोक्तिः, स्वभावोक्तिः, रसोक्तिरिति । तत्र उपमायलङ्कार-  
प्राधान्ये वक्रोक्तिः, सोऽपि गुणप्राधान्ये स्वभावोक्तिः, विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद् रसनिष्पत्तौ  
रसोक्तिः इति ।” *Śr. Pra. Mad. Ms. Vol. II, chap. XI, p. 372.*

#### APPENDIX

Hamsamīṭṭhu's Hamsavilāsa (GOS, LXXXI), ch. 43, p. 241, restricts the scope of Svabhāvokti to 'Nica-Vasti', i.e., lower class of beings, animals, trees etc.

नीचादिवस्तूनां याथातथ्येन स्वरूपकथनं जातिः ।

## CHAPTER XII

### BHOJA, DHVANI AND ĀNANDAVARDHANA

“तात्पर्यमेव वचसि ध्वनिरेव काव्ये”

Bhoja : *Śr. Pra.* ch. 1.

The beginnings of Dhvani ; ‘the suggested’ idea and the ‘Gauṇa’ idea in Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa and Vāmana.

The anti-Dhvani viewpoints ; the three main Dhvani pratipakṣas mentioned by Ānanda and the twelve mentioned in two Kārikās quoted by Jayaratha. Examination of the twelve anti-Dhvani standpoints with Ānanda’s reply to some of them like the Bhāktavāda and the Anumānavāda.

Elaborate exposition of the Tātparyavāda ; Ānanda’s discussion in *Uddyota* III ; the reply of Dhanika.

Bhoja’s position, a compromise between Tātparya and Dhvani. Bhoja and Ānandavardhana ; Bhoja’s indebtedness to Ānanda ; texts borrowed by Bhoja from the *Dhvanyāloka*.

Bhoja and Dhvani ; criticism of Dr. S. K. DE’s view of Bhoja’s attitude towards Dhvani. Traces of Dhvani in the S. K. Ā. among the Guṇas and Alaṃkāras.

Exposition of the text of the *Śr. Pra.* on Tātparya and Dhvani ; three kinds of Tātparya in Bhoja, Abhidhīyamāna, Pratiyamāna and Dhvanirūpa ; critical examination of the division of the Suggested by Bhoja into the Pratiyamāna and Dhvani ; Hemacandra’s indebtedness to Bhoja’s text on this subject. Critical examination of Bhoja’s view of Dhvani as Tātparya and as part of Tātparya ; Vidyānātha, Kumārasvāmin, Śāradātanaya and Ānanda on it.

Bhoja’s classification of Dhvani into Śabdadhvani, Arthadhvani, Anunādhvani and Pratiśabdadhvani. Comparison with Ānanda’s classification of Dhvani.

Śāradātanaya’s acceptance and succinct exposition of Bhoja’s view of Dhvani. Bahurūpamiśra following Bhoja and Śāradātanaya.

Two texts of Bhoja on Rasa as Vākyārtha and Bhāvas as Padārthas.

APPENDIX I. Vākyaśeṣa, Śrutārthāpatti and Dhvani, Bhoja’s text on Vākyaśeṣa.

„ II. Vivakṣā and Dhvani.

„ III. Sanskrit Texts :

(i) *Śr. Pra.* on Dhvani. Ch. 7.

(ii) *Dhvanyāloka* on Tātparya and Dhvani. U.d. 3.

(iii) The *Daśarūpāvaloka* on Dhvani and Tātparya.

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The origin of the idea of suggestion or Dhvani is to be found in those Alaṃkāras in Bhāmaha and other early writers in which there is an implied sense also imbedded. In II. 34, Bhāmaha speaks of Guṇasāmya *pratīti*, which is a case of implied or suggested similarity, Gamyamāna aupamyā. In II.



79, he defines Samāsokti as suggesting an idea by describing a similar one : यत्रोक्ते गम्यतेऽन्योऽर्थः । Bhāmaha states plainly that an idea, *totally different*, though similar (Tatsamāna viśeṣaṇa) is suggested by saying something. Similarly, in the Paryāyokta defined and illustrated in III. 8-9, Bhāmaha speaks of instances of utterances which are specifically meant to give a different meaning. The 'Abhidhāna' has a meaning which is not the idea sought to be conveyed. यदन्येन प्रकारेण अभिधीयते. In his Apahnuti in III. 21, Bhāmaha says that the idea of similarity is implied, "Antargatopamā."

Similar traces of the 'suggested idea' can be found in Daṇḍin's work. Daṇḍin's Guṇa called Udāra, in its first variety, is the suggestion of a quality by a suggestive description.

उत्कर्षवान् गुणः कश्चित् यस्मिन्नुक्ते प्रतीयते । I. 76.

इति त्यागस्य वाक्येऽस्मिन्नुत्कर्षः साधु लक्ष्यते ॥ I. 78.

While defining the Udātta Alarṅkāra also, Daṇḍin says in II. 303 :

पूर्वत्राशयमाहात्म्यमत्राभ्युदयगौरवम् ।

सुव्यञ्जितमिति व्यक्तमुदात्तद्वयमन्यदः ॥ II. 303.

The implied idea, Pratiyamāna, is also met with in the Alarṅkāra chapter. It is seen in many varieties of Upamā, II. 14, 16 ; Sāmyapratīti in 46 (Prativastūpamā), Pratiyamāna sādṛśya in Vyatireka in II. 189 & 195, also in 205 (Samāsokti) where Daṇḍin says there is the suggestion of another idea, Sūcana (213), and Prakārāntara ākhyāna in Paryāyokta (295).

When we come to the Paryāyokta in Udbhaṭa we find a clear mention of a significative capacity called *Avagama* which means Suggestion, a capacity different from and coming after the well-known Abhidhā of the words and the Tātparya of the sentence as a whole.

पर्यायोक्तं यदन्येन प्रकारेणाभिधीयते ।

वाच्यवाचकवृत्तिभ्यां शून्येनावगमात्मना ॥

Similar traces of Dhvani can be found in Rudraṭa's Bhāvālarṅkāra (vii. 38-40.) where Rudraṭa points out the presence of Avagamana of another idea, and in his Parikara, Samāsokti and Anyokti.

Both Ānanda and Abhinava clearly state that Udbhaṭa showed (in his *Bhāmahavivarāṇa*) cases of Alarṅkāra dhvani, one Alarṅkāra suggesting another. He might not have called those cases Dhvani or Alarṅkāradhvani. Says Ānanda :

अन्यत्र वाच्यत्वेन प्रसिद्धो यो रूपकादिरलंकारः, सोऽन्यत्र प्रतीयमानतया बाहुल्येन प्रदर्शितः तत्रभवद्भिः भट्टोज्झटादिभिः । p. 108.

The *Locana* says :

तद्वयमर्थः—वाच्यलंकारविशेषविषयेऽपि अन्योऽलंकारविशेषः भातीत्युद्धटादिभिः उक्तम् इत्यर्थशक्त्या अलंकारो व्यज्यत इति तैरुपगतमेव । केवलं ते अलंकारलक्षणकारत्वाद् वाच्यलंकार-विशेषविषयत्वेन आहुरिति भावः । p. 108.

When the theory of Dhvani was formulated by the neo-critics headed by Ānanda, there was all-round opposition and one of the many counter-theories put forward against the necessity for Dhvani is the theory of 'Alaṁkāra antar-bhāva', the viewpoint of those who accepted the existence of a suggested element but held it, whether it be a case of Dhvani of Vastu, Alaṁkāra or Rasa, as included in Alaṁkāras, ordinary Alaṁkāras or Rasavadalaṁkāras. This viewpoint is held by Pratiḥārendurāja also, who expounds it at the end of his commentary on Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyaṁkāra-sāra-saṅgraha*.

स (प्रतीयमानः) कस्मादिह नोपदिष्टः । उच्यते । एष्वेव अलंकारेषु अन्तर्भावान् । p. 79.

Vastudhvani is shown to be Paryāyoktālaṁkāra ; in such cases as the Pada-dhvani in the verse रामोऽस्मि सर्वं सहे Pratiḥārendurāja posits Paryāyoktālaṁkāra, by accepting a class of Paryāyokta pertaining to a single word in addition to the generally accepted Paryāyokta in a Vākya.

न खलु पदे पर्यायोक्तेन न भवितव्यमितीयं राज्ञामाज्ञा, सूत्रकारवचनं वा । p. 82.

Besides the realisation of a suggested element in the above given cases of Alaṁkāra, early writers vaguely touched certain other kinds of Dhvani also. Ānandavardhana says in stating the Pūrvapakṣa that those predecessors who recognised certain cases in poetry where a secondary significance of words beyond the primary one added charm, touched the fringes of Dhvani.

“—तथापि गुणवृत्त्या काव्येषु व्यवहारं दर्शयता ध्वनिमार्गो मनाक् स्पृष्टः—” I. p. 10.

Abhinava comments upon this in the following manner :

“भट्टोद्धृतवामनादिना । भामहोक्तं ‘शब्दश्छन्दोऽभिधानार्थः’ ( I. 9. ) इत्यभिधानस्य शब्दाद् भेदं व्याख्यातुं भट्टोद्धृतो वभाषे—‘शब्दानाम् अभिधानम् अभिधाव्यापारः, मुख्यो गुणवृत्तिश्च ।’ वामनोऽपि ‘सादृश्यालक्षणा वक्रोक्तिः ( IV. III. 8 ) इति । मनाक् स्पृष्टः इति । तैस्तावद् ध्वनिदि-गुन्मीलिता ।” p. 10.

While commenting upon Bhāmaha I. 9, where some subjects accessory to poetics are mentioned two of which are Śabda and Abhidhāna, Udbhaṭa pointed out that the first word Śabda referred to words themselves and the latter, Abhidhāna referred to the two-fold significative capacity of words, the primary and the secondary. The presence of the latter in Alaṁkāras, Udbhaṭa must have shown in the course of his commentary on Bhāmaha but we are not fortunate enough to know it owing to the loss of Udbhaṭa's *Bhāmahavivaraṇa*. But in his *Kāvyaṁkāra-sāra-saṅgraha*, a text pretty closely following Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa says there is Guṇavṛtti in Rūpaka. The charm in Rūpaka is said to consist in the prominence of this secondary significance.

श्रुत्या संबन्धविरहाद् यत्पदेन पदान्तरम् ।

गुणवृत्तिप्रधानेन युज्यते रूपके तु तत् ॥

The Guṇavṛtti is very much earlier than Udbhaṭa in philosophical literature. In poetics, we meet with it even in Daṇḍin's *Samādhiguṇa* which is identical

with Vāmana's Vakrokti Alarṁkāra, both of which result from the secondary significance based on similarity, Sādrśyāllakṣaṇā.

निष्ठवृत्तौर्णवान्तादिगौणवृत्तिव्यपाश्रयात् । अतिसुन्दरं—” K. Ā. I. 95.

This Samādhi of Daṇḍin and the Vakrokti of Vāmana are the Sūkṣmālarṁkāra of the Aupamya class of Rudraṭa (VII. 98.). In the Alarṁkāra section also, Daṇḍin speaks of Gauṇavṛtti in connection with varieties of Hetvalarṁkāra. II. 254.

तेऽमी प्रयोगमार्गेषु गौणवृत्तिव्यपाश्रयाः ।

अत्यन्तसुन्दरा दृष्टाः तदुदाहृतयो यथा ॥

This suggested idea was slowly gaining importance. We see Ānanda informing us in the opening verse that, though (as Abhinava points out) none ever put it in the form of a work, the theory of Dhvani was old and was being held by scholars for sometime before him, बुद्धेः समान्नातपूर्वः । When Ānanda was trying to give shape to the concept, and establish the theory in a systematic form, contemporaries like poet Manoratha (p. 9) ridiculed him. To them, there must be something definite in terms of Alarṁkāra, Vyutpanna śabda i.e., Sauśabdaya, and Vakrokti. Ānanda had to meet all objections and in his *Dhvanyāloka* he has given and refuted the following Anti-Dhvani theories :

In the opening Kārikā itself Ānanda says that Dhvani has three Prati-pakṣas : (1) Certain scholars denied it altogether ; (2) certain others considered it as Bhakti or Lakṣaṇā, the secondary significance ; (3) a third set considered it incomprehensible and indescribable. Of these three, the second and the third recognised the idea of Dhvani ; the former included it in Bhakti while the latter, granting the maximum to the Dhvani-theorists, admitted the impossibility of its inclusion in Bhakti, but said that it is something which a few Sahrdayas only see and that it is beyond the capacity of words to define it and put it into a system of thought. These form the three primary anti-Dhvani standpoints. Abhinava puts them succinctly thus : Conventionally sets of ideas are associated with words ; whatever is thus associated and is got at by this conventional association is Abhidhā, the denotation of the word ; beyond this there is no special capacity of words called Vyañ-janā. If the ideas got are to be analysed into those that form the ideas primarily associated through convention and those coming in their train, then the second class of meaning can be classed as the 'secondary meaning', all coming under Lakṣaṇā or Bhakti. If it is held that the suggested idea is not included in Bhakti, then surely it is not to be called by a new name like Dhvani but has to be pronounced indescribable. The first is negation, Abhāvavāda ; the second is inclusion in Bhakti, Lakṣaṇāntarbhāva vāda ; and the third is Anirvacanīyatā vāda.

“( १ ) तत्र समयोपेक्षेण शब्दोऽर्थप्रतिपादक इति कृत्वा वाच्यव्यतिरिक्तं नास्ति व्यंग्यम् ।  
( २ ) सदपि वा तदभिधाक्षिप्तं शब्दावगत-अर्थवत्कृष्टत्वाद् भाक्तम् । ( ३ ) तदनाक्षिप्तमपि वा न वक्तुं शक्यं, कुमारीष्विव भर्तृमुखमतद्वित्यु । ”

Locana. p. 4.

Ānanda takes up the first view-point and analyses it into three arguments (pp. 4-9). Poetry is different from other utterance in that its Śabda and Artha are beautiful in some way. The causes of that beauty have been found out to be Anuprāsa etc., and Upamā etc., Alamkāras of Śabda and Artha, Guṇas of Śabda and Artha on which are based the Vṛttis of both Śabda and Artha as well as the Rītis. Therefore there can be nothing new like Dhvani beyond Alamkāras, Guṇas, Rītis and Vṛttis. Secondly, these exhaust the elements of charm in poetic expression and if there is said to be something which a clique like that of the Dhvani-theorists urge as a feature of poetic charm, the only reply is that this strange thing not coming under any known category, is plainly not a feature of poetic charm at all. Thirdly, even granting that there is something like Dhvani and that it is an element of poetry, it can be shown that it is only a new name for one or the other of the numerous varieties of figures etc., accepted by the ancients or is included in one or the other of the varieties of the same which are infinitely possible. Thus even in this first viewpoint there is a gradual passing from the Abhāva to the Antarbhāva vāda. Thus on the whole there are three Abhāva vādas, one Bhākta vāda and one Anirvacaniya vāda, giving a total number of five anti-Dhvani theories. Abhinava also explains these clearly on pp. 4-5 (*Locana*).

All these are generally answered by Ānanda in the first chapter itself. Between Pp. 35 and 45, Ānanda refutes the Alamkāra vāda. Taking the cases of Alamkāras like Samāsokti, Ākṣepa etc., he says that though there is a suggested element in these cases, it is only the expressed sense of the figures that is the principal idea and that the suggested in those cases is only accessory or subordinate. Dhvani is a case of the suggested dominating over the rest. The general argument is also urged that Alamkāra means "means of decoration"; Dhvani is what is decorated and it cannot therefore be called Alamkāra. The last section of the first Uddyota is devoted by Ānanda to refute the second objection of Bhāktavāda. Dhvani is not identical with Bhakti; there are cases of Bhakti without Dhvani and cases of Dhvani without Bhakti. At best, Bhakti of a certain kind is productive of one kind of Dhvani. This discussion on Bhakti and Dhvani is again taken up in the third Uddyota between pp. 195 and 197 after disposing of the Tātparya Vāda.

Jayaratha, in his commentary on the *Alamkāra-sarvasva* quotes two Kārikās from some unknown writer which give the anti-Dhvani theories as twelve in number.

तात्पर्यशक्तिरभिधा लक्षणानुमिती द्विधा ।

अर्थापत्तिः क्वचित्चन्द्रं समानोक्त्यायलंकृतिः ॥

रसस्य कार्यता भोगः व्यापारान्तरबाधनम् ।

द्वादशेत्थं ध्वनेरस्य स्थिता विप्रतिपत्तयः ॥ N. S. Edn. p. 9.

The twelve theories are not easy to be identified. They may be stated thus :

(1) Tātparya—Mīmāṃsakas. (2) Abhidhā—very old Mīmāṃsakas. (3) and

(4) Two kinds of Lakṣaṇā—the two kinds of Lakṣaṇā are Ajahatsvārtha and Jahatsvārtha ; the latter is also called Lakṣita lakṣaṇā or Lakṣaṇā lakṣaṇā. (5 and 6) Two kinds of Anumāna. The two kinds are not known. (7) Arthāpatti—the Anumāna pakṣa slightly bettered. (8) Tantra—clever expression containing double significance as in the case of Śleṣālamkāra. (9) Samāsokti and other Alamkāras—this is the old Alamkāras held as covering all cases of Dhvani, the viewpoint refuted by Ānanda in Uddyota I. (10) Rasakāryatā—is the view of the old Rasa writers like Daṇḍin and Lollaṭa (the Ārantanas) as shown by Abhinava in his *Abhinavabhāratī*. They are Utpattivādins regarding Rasa. This is an anti-theory of Rasadhvani only. (11) Bhoga—this also refers to Rasadhvani. It is Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory of Rasa and it can be taken as referring to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's Bhāvanā also. (12) The last Pakṣa is given as व्यापारान्तरबाधनम् । I ventured the guess that this may refer to Kuntaka's Vakrokti but Professor Mm. S. Kuppaswamy SASTRI considers Vakrokti as included in the Alamkāra Pakṣa. The *Vakroktijīvita* further accepts Dhvani, though not as the Ātman of poetry. So, according to Prof. SASTRI, the last refers to the Anirvacanīya vāda, the third of the three main anti-theories mentioned by Ānanda. This view accepts that Dhvani is not included in any other Vyāpāra, that it is different from them, but leaves Dhvani there saying that it is not possible to define it.

Of these, we shall consider the Tātparyavāda at length later, for, it forms the main subject of this section. It is the view of some very old writers that words have nothing but one very powerful Abhidhā stretching over the whole length of the expressed, including all the subtle implications of the words. They cited the analogy of the arrow shot forth forcibly which went piercing many things. This is stated and refuted by Abhinava on p. 18 (*Locana*). An analysis of all the ideas conveyed by an expression shows that there is more than one kind or class of idea conveyed. The whole set of ideas is not of one homogenous nature and necessitates the postulation of a power of signification, additional to the mere Abhidhā. Further, the suggested ideas are not like the ideas got at through Abhidhā and conventionally associated and fixed to the words through Samaya.

“ योऽपि अन्विताभिधानवादी ‘यत्परः शब्दः स शब्दार्थः’ इति हृदये गृहीत्वा शब्दद्विधा-  
व्यापारमेव दीर्घदीर्घमिच्छति, तस्य यदि दीर्घदीर्घो व्यापारः, तदेकोऽसाविति कुतः ? भिन्नविषयत्वात् ।  
अथ अनेकोऽसौ तद्विषयसहकारिभेदाद् असजातीय एव युक्तः । सजातीये च कार्ये विरम्यव्यापारः  
शब्दकर्मबुद्ध्यादीनां पदार्थविद्भिः निषिद्धः । असजातीये च अस्मन्नय एव । अथ योऽसौ चतुर्थकक्षा-  
निविष्टोऽर्थः स एव व्रटिति वाक्येन अभिधीयत इति एवं दीर्घदीर्घत्वं विवक्षितम् । तर्हि तत्र संके-  
ताकरणान् कथं साक्षात् प्रतिपत्तिः । ” Pp. 18-19 *Locana*.

This long-long Abhidhāvvyāpāra as comprehending the entire meaning is the view of the Prābhākara mīmāṃsakas. Abhinava says on p. 188 of his *Locana* “ प्राभाकरदर्शनेऽपि दीर्घदीर्घो व्यापारः—” This is the second anti-dhvani theory of Abhidhā.

Under the two Lakṣaṇāpakṣas comes the Bhākta vāda refuted by Ānanda in his work at the end of chapter I and in chapter III. After refuting the possibility of holding Dhvani as Lakṣaṇā, Abhinava says that some writer escaped the difficulties by creating a new name for Dhvani, 'Lakṣita lakṣaṇā', a variety of Lakṣaṇā. अत एव यत्केनचित् लक्षितलक्षणेति नाम कृतं, तद् व्यसनमात्रम् The Avaloka on the *Daśarūpaka* also refers to this view :

नापि लक्षितलक्षणया प्रतिपत्तिः । यथा 'गङ्गायां घोषः' इत्यादौ ।" p. 118.

The reply to this viewpoint is that in any kind of Lakṣaṇā, there is the incompatibility or unintelligibility of the primary meaning. In Dhvani, the primary sense is not cast off. The case of a Lakṣita lakṣaṇā may be one kind of Dhvani, the Lakṣaṇā-mūla-dhvani but Dhvani is of other kinds also. Thus, the two kinds of Lakṣaṇā mentioned as two anti-theories of Dhvani in the Kārikā quoted by Jayaratha may be Lakṣaṇā and lakṣita lakṣaṇā, Ajahat-svārthā and Jahatsvārthā.

Mukulabhaṭṭa, in his *Abhidhāvṛtti-mātṛkā*, defines Lakṣaṇā in such a way as to avoid the element of incompatibility of the primary sense, Mukhyārtha bādha. He calls the Mukhyaśakti only as the Vyāpāra of Śabda par excellence. Compared to it, Lakṣaṇā is the Vyāpāra more of Artha than of Śabda, it is Abhidheya-sāmarthya-ākṣipta.

शब्दव्यापारतो यस्य प्रतीतिः तस्य मुख्यता ।

अर्थावसेयस्य पुनः लक्ष्यमाणत्वमुच्यते ॥

यस्य तु शब्दव्यापारावगम्यमानार्थपर्यालोचनया अवगतिः तस्य लाक्षणिकत्वम् ।

p. 3, N. S. Edn.

He brings many instances of Dhvani under Lakṣaṇā ; in the instance 'रामोऽस्मि सर्वं सहे' he says (p. 11) that the suggested ideas are all conveyed by Lakṣaṇā, "लक्षिताः"। He cites the verse दुर्वाराः मदनेषवः etc. and says that Vipralambhaśṛṅgāra is conveyed in this verse through Lakṣaṇā.

तत् ( वाक्यार्थ ) पर्यालोचनसामर्थ्याच्च विप्रलम्भशृंगारस्य आक्षेपः इत्युपादानात्मिका लक्षणा वाच्यनिबन्धना × × विप्रलम्भशृंगारस्य चाक्षिप्यमाणस्य वाच्यपेक्षया प्राधान्यम् । etc." p. 14, and he concludes on p. 21.

"लक्षणामागावगाहित्वं तु ध्वनेः सहृदयैर्नूतनतया उपवर्णितस्य विद्यत इति दिशमुन्मीलयितुम् इदमत्रोक्तम् ॥ etc."

This way of definition of Lakṣaṇā and illustration of that Vṛtti has been criticised by Mammaṭa in his *Śabdavyāpāra vicāra* and the necessity to accept Dhvani for explaining the Prayojanāśa in Lakṣaṇā has been explained by him. Surely Lakṣaṇā-mūla-dhvani must have everything to do with Lakṣaṇā ; but this cannot mean that Dhvani is Lakṣaṇā ; for there is Dhvani elsewhere, based on Abhidhā also. Above all, there is Dhvani based on no kind of Śabdavyāpāra, neither on Abhidhā nor on Lakṣaṇā. That is, there is Dhvani of Rasa from the sweet sounds of music ; again,

there is Dhvani from non-Śabda element like *Ceṣṭā*. Says Ānanda in *Uddyota* III. pp. 193-4 :

व्यञ्जकत्वं हि कचिद् वाचकत्वाश्रयेण व्यवतिष्ठते, यथा विवक्षितान्यपरवाच्ये ध्वनौ । कचिन् गुणवृत्त्याश्रयेण, यथा अविवक्षितवाच्ये ध्वनौ । तदुभयाश्रयप्रतिपादनायैव च ध्वनेः प्रथमं द्वौ प्रमेदौ उपन्यस्तौ । तदुभयाश्रितत्वाच्च तदेकरूपत्वं तस्य न शक्यते वक्तुम् ; यस्मान् न तत् वाचकत्वैकरूपमेव, कचिल्लक्षणाश्रयेण वृत्तेः । न च लक्षणैकरूपमेव, अन्यत्र वाचकत्वाश्रयेण व्यवस्थानात् । न च उभयधर्मत्वेनैव तदेकैकरूपं न भवति, यावद् वाचकत्वलक्षणादिरूपरहितशब्दधर्मत्वेनापि ; तथा हि गीतध्वनीनामपि व्यञ्जकत्वमस्ति रसादिविषयः ; न च तेषां वाचकत्वम्, लक्षणा वा कथञ्चिल्लक्ष्यते । शब्दादन्यत्रापि च विषये व्यञ्जकत्वस्यापि दर्शनाद् वाचकत्वादिशब्दधर्मप्रकारत्वम् अयुक्तं वक्तुम् । ”

See also *Kāvyaṣprakāśa* V. p. 269. T.S.S. Vol. I.

Anumiti is the view upheld by the Naiyāyikas. Ānanda refutes this Lingalingi-pakṣa as the last counterview in the third *Uddyota*, after pointing out that the Vyākaraṇa-adherent is no enemy to Dhvani. In the post-Ānanda period, and just after Abhinava, Mahima Bhaṭṭa wrote his *Vyakti-viveka* to show inclusion of all kinds of Dhvani in Anumāna or inference. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, in his *Nyāyamañjarī*, casts bitter remarks on Ānanda and considers the poets and literary critics as unfit to discuss such serious problems as Śabdavyāpāra and Pramāṇa. He refutes the Arthāpatti of the Mīmāṃsakas as included in Anumāna and along with it, he includes Dhvani also in Anumāna. Pp. 48-49. Vizianagaram Edn. The chief reply to the Naiyāyika critics of Dhvani is that there cannot be established any logical invariable concomitance between the Vācya and the Vyaṅgya which concomitance is the basis of all inference.

“न तु व्यङ्ग्यम् अनुमेयमिति शक्यं वक्तुम् । न हि वाच्यव्यङ्ग्ययोः प्रतिबन्धग्रहे किञ्चित् प्रमाणमस्ति । ”

Mammatā's *Śabdavyāpāravivāra*.

Arthāpatti. The writer who considered it possible to explain away Dhvani as Arthāpatti is not known.

Now we shall proceed to consider the greatest anti-Dhvani theory, viz., the Tātparya pakṣa which says that the Tātparya or meaning of a sentence comprehends the suggested also and therefore there is no need for a separate Śakti called Dhvani. Mīmāṃsakas must be considered as the upholders of this view. Older Mīmāṃsakas held Abhidhā as giving only Padārthas and the Vākyārtha was given according to them by another Śakti called Tātparya. The definite sentence-meaning got out of the indefinite word-meanings is through a peculiar Śakti of the words formed into a sound sentence called Tātparya. (p. 13, *Locana*) In this Tātparya, Dhvani is sought to be included. It is argued against Ānanda by his critics who advocate Tātparya that at best a meaning other than and different from the expressed, Vācyaḍ atirikta, only can be established. It does not follow that this different meaning is only suggested, Vyaṅgya. Where this idea other than the one that is expressed is primary, Pradhāna, it is as good as expressed. So, it is to be called also the expressed sense, the expression being intended to mean that. In that case,

the first realised primary expressed sense is to be explained as a means to the realisation of the latterly realised Tātparya. Just as word-senses are the means of knowing the sentence-sense, so also the first expressed sense is the means to the further Tātparya.

Ānanda replies to this argument thus : Where an expression gives its first and primary meaning and is said to have another meaning also, there are two meanings for the word or sentence. Are the two distinct and different or identical ? They cannot be identical for their nature and the means of their respective realisation clearly differ. When the first meaning is the meaning of the words themselves, the second cannot be described so. The former proceeds directly from the Śabda ; the latter is got at by the suggestive power of the first expressed *meaning*. If the two were identical, there will be no talk of two meanings.

Further, the former is denotative power of the expressed words having definite sense-associations. The latter is Avagama or suggestion and it totally differs from the former ; for, it pertains even to non-expressing sound (Avīcaka) like music, which suggests emotions. Similarly, an action or Cestā is suggestive and has this power of conveying meaning called suggestion. When these two differ in this manner, it is not proper to call Avagamanaśakti, Vācaka śakti. Surely it is a Śabdavyāpāra, a significative power of the words but it differs in this respect from Vācakatva or primary Abhidhā. Abhidhā pertains only to Śabdas ; Vyañjanā and Vyañjakatva pertain not only to Śabda but to Artha also. When its process is known to be plainly different and it is also known that the sense derived therefrom also differs, it is not proper to call it by the same name Vācakatva. It cannot be contended that a sentence can have only one sense-unit and that according to Dhvani, this law of Ekavākyatva is contradicted. For, the two meanings are explained by the Dhvani theory as being related as chief and accessory. The suggested is the chief meaning and the expressed, its accessory. The two senses are not of equal importance and as such do not go against the principle of Vākya-aikāṛthya.

It is only in that case where the suggested is the dominating idea that the Tātparyavādin holds that it naturally comes under the intention of the speaker and as such is nothing but Tātparya. Where the suggested is not dominant, there he does not hold the Śabdas to be Tatpara, wholly intent on that, but holds that they are intent only on the Vācya or primary meaning. Therefore, even where the Vyañgya is Apradhāna, it is not included in Tātparya. The text of Ānanda's *Dhvanyāloka* bearing on this discussion is given at the end of the section.

We can take up the view of Dhanañjaya and Dhanika, advocates of Tātparya against Dhvani, as a typical reply to Ānanda. The text of the *Daśarūpaka* and the *Avaloka* on it pertaining to this subject is given at the end. Dhanika summarises the case for Dhvani first : The suggested cannot be the Vākyaṛtha ; i.e., Tātparya cannot be the Śakti. For the suggested belongs to the third stage. In such a case as "Bhrama Dhārmika etc.," the first



stage is the Padārthas, the meanings of the words, the Abhidhā. The next is the meaning of the sentence, its Tātparya, in the form of an injunction, Vidhi, as in “Bhrama dhārmika”. The suggested appears in the third stage and is of a different nature being a prohibition, Niṣedha. And this is due to the Śakti called Vyañjanā.

But all cases of Tātparya are not cases of the second stage ; there are instances of expressions like “Viṣam bhukṣva” addressed by a father to his son, which mean the exact opposite. The expressed appears to be an injunction (Vidhi), “eat poison”. But the father intends to say to his son who proposes to eat in a particular person’s house, “do not eat in his house ; better eat poison than eat in his house”. In this utterance, “eat poison”, there are three stages, the second and the third, Vidhi and Niṣedha, appearing in the second and the third respectively. Even the third stage is here only Vākyaṛtha and Tātparya. Therefore the Vyāpti or the law that the third-stage-sense is Vyañgya does not hold good. The reply to this is that a father’s injunction to his son to eat poison is on the face of it absurd ; so the sentence obviously means something else. Hence the real meaning, the prohibition of eating, explained as the third stage, is also only the second stage. The rule that Vyañgya comes after the second stage therefore stands.<sup>1</sup> In cases of realisation of Rasa, in the second stage, only the Vibhāvas etc. are known ; it is in the third stage that Rasa is realised. In fine, it is proper to hold Tātparya in those cases where there is no completeness of sense or exhaustion of the expressed sense and the words tend to mean something else and stop only with that. But in cases where the words stop with conveying what they mean by Abhidhā and there is no incompleteness or unintelligibility in the expressed sense and yet from that first meaning arises another meaning, the case is one of Dhvani.

It can be seen in the above discussion that the chief point is this : The Tātparyavādin presses that Tātparya is not exhausted with the first expressed sense, Aviśrānta. But the Dhvanivādin contends that it is Viśrānta with the expressed sense and that what appears afterwards is got at through suggestion. It can also be seen in the discussion in Uddyota III of the *Dhvanyāloka* that both recognise that there are two meanings and the difference is that while the Tātparyavādin holds both as Tātparya, the first as the means of the second, Upāyamātra, the Dhvanivādin separates the second as the Vyañgya and instead of calling the first Upāya for the further meaning, he says it is Gauṇa and the Vyañgya is Pradhāna or Mukhya. The

1. In the *Locana*, taking cases of Lakṣaṇā also into account, Abhinava describes Dhvani, not as of the third stage, Tṛtīya-kakṣā-viṣaya, but as appearing in the fourth stage, Caturtha-kakṣā-viṣaya : Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā, Tātparya and Dhvani.

भक्तिर्हि लक्षणाव्यापारः नृतीयकक्षानिवेशी । चतुर्थ्यां तु कक्ष्यायां ध्वननव्यापारः । तस्मात् अभिघातात्पर्यलक्षण (णा) व्यतिरिक्तश्चतुर्थ्यां व्यापारः ध्वननद्योतनव्यञ्जनप्रत्यायन-अवगमनादि-सोदरव्यपदेशनिरूपितः अभ्युपगन्तव्यः ।

chief argument of the Tātparyavādin is that there is no such limitation of Tātparya to the expressed sense as held by the Dhvani-theorists. Tātparya extends over the whole range of the speaker's intention and covers all implications coming up in the train of the expressed sense.

एतावत्येव विश्रान्तिः तात्पर्यस्येति किंकृतम् ।

यावत्कार्यप्रसारित्वात् तात्पर्यं न तुल्यवृत्तम् ॥

(Dhanika, *Avaloka* on the *Daśarūpaka*, p. 121) quoted from his own *Kāvya-nirṇaya*).

In the given instance of "Bhrama Dhārmika", surely the prohibition of the mendicant from going to the banks of the Godāvarī is part of, nay the chief, intention of the speaker and is therefore included in Tātparya. There is no need for creating a new faculty for words called DHVANI. तात्पर्यान् तिरेकाच्च व्यञ्जकत्वस्य, न ध्वनिः । As against the powerful argument that the intention of the speaker is the indication of the extent of the Tātparya of his utterance, and therefore, the implied and suggested train of ideas are also Tātparya, the Dhvani-advocates say that the Tātparya of a Vākya like Abhidhā of a Pada. is very limited in scope and can give only the bare meanings of all the words put together in grammatical order ; that the ideas suggested are not invariably associated through Samaya, that Dhvani or suggestion exists in Avācaka-sounds like music and in gesture which is not any śabda, and that above all, Dhvani must be accepted for cases of the realisation of Rasas which can be found out in experience as incapable of realisation by mere Abhidhā, mention of their name. If Dhvani is not accepted, and Tātparya alone is held, it follows for the Tātparyavādin that Rasa is realised by Abhidhā and Tātparya also. That is, they will have to say that Svaśadbopādāna of Rasa is not only not a flaw but is the fact in some cases. This Dhanika accepts. He says that we speak in two ways and our sentence sometimes contains expression of the verb and sometimes not. We say "drive the cow" and the act of driving is mentioned herein ; we also say sometimes "door ! door !", meaning "shut the door". The idea of shutting the door is in our minds and one who runs to shut the door realises that "shutting-action" in our mind from context etc. The case of Rasa-realisation is similar to this. In most cases utterances in poetry would seem to belong to the latter class where the verb is not seen and is understood from context. In poetic utterances, Vibhāvas etc. are described ; and we at once get at the permanent mood of Rati etc., invariably associated with those particular Vibhāvas etc. described. The invariable association between some Vibhāvas etc. and some permanent mood is a thing of the world and experience. Other cases there are where the Sthāyin, like the expressed verb, is seen mentioned by the poet and we easily get at it.

All sentences गमन्याज, द्वारं, द्वारम् etc. terminate in some action ; the poetic ends in the Kriyā called the Svādobhūti, the manifestation of relish which is the Sthāyin that has been nourished to that extent. Towards this end of relish is all poetry addressed. Thus definite Vibhāvas etc. described in a piece of poetic utterance form the word-units, the Padārthas which give what they

mean viz., the sentence-unit, the Vākyaṛtha, the Sthāyin. This Sthāyin known by the Bhāvaka, the tasteful spectator or reader, revolves in his heart and attains relishable state. This is Ābhidhānikī-ratyādi-pratīti; if this does not sufficiently clear the issue, Dhanika says that the understanding of the Sthāyins from the Vibhāvas etc. may be held to be got through Lakṣaṇā, Lākṣaṇika-ratyādi-pratīti. This may resemble Kumārila's position which holds Vākyaṛtha as Lakṣya.

Dhanika further relates his position to that of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who advocated a new relation between Kāvya and Rasa. Strictly speaking, against the Vyaṅgya-vyañjaka sambandha between Rasa and Kāvya of the Dhvani theorist, the Tātparyavādin must say that the relation of the two is Vācya-vācaka or as Dhanika adds in the end Lakṣya-lakṣaka; but the case being one of poetry and there being a need to give a new kind of less prosaic process, the Vācya-vācaka sambandha itself is called Bhāvya-bhāvaka sambandha. Poetic expression has a power called Bhāvanā and this is sanctioned, says Dhanika, by the Bhāvanā-vādins, viz., Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, and is granted also by Bharata's description of Bhāvas :

‘भावयन्ति रसान् यस्मान् तस्माद् भावाः’

The most serious flaw in this theory is its view that Rasa is realised also by express mention of its name. This was the ancient belief and we find Udbhata saying in his definition of Rasavadalamkāra that Rasa has as its seat (Āspada) *Svaśabda*, i.e., its own name, its Sthāyin, its Sañcārīn, its Vibhāvas and their Abhinaya (fourth Varga, 3.). Ānanda has criticised it in the first Uddyota and Abhinava also, both in the *Locana* and the *Abhinava-bhāratī*. In later times, as stated by Mammaṭa in a regular form, the chief of the Rasadoṣas is mention of the name of the Rasa, *Svaśabdā-vācya* of Rasa. Even Vyabhicārīns are allowed *Svaśabdābhidhāna* only occasionally. It is plain that the Rasas cannot be realised in a verse enumerating the nine Rasas one after another. The text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* cannot rouse the emotions which Nāṭya arouses.

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka was a great adherent of Rasa and though an adversary of the Dhvani-theorist, we must gather from Abhinava's words that he did not hold Rasa as *Svaśabda vācya* anywhere. Says Abhinava :—

“—रसस्य च शब्दान्यत्र तेनापि नोपगतमिति व्यङ्ग्यत्वमेव । p. 19.

There is also this additional argument adduced by Ānanda to show that there is something called Dhvani. If Rasa and the suggested Vastu and Alamkāra are not accepted as ‘Dhvanyamāna’ they must be vācya; if they are vācya, anybody knowing the meanings of words must realise them; but the fact is that only a few Sahṛdayas realise them. This is a sure proof of something existing beyond the mere Vācya-vācaka.

It has been pointed out by Ānanda that though the suggested is the primary thing, the expressed forms the means thereof. Between them, it is a question of the former being primary and the latter accessory. When the former

is realised, the latter does not disappear. With the cognition of the latter, the former also arises immediately and during the continuance of the former, the latter does not cease to exist. The Tātparyavādin maintains that Vācya vācaka, the Vibhāvas etc., is Padārtha and the Tātparya of these Padārthas is Rasa which is described as Vākyārtha. If this means generally that the Padārthas are the means, Upāya, of the Vākyārtha, Ānanda accepts this analogy. He says in *Uddyota* I.

यथा पदार्थद्वारेण वाक्यार्थः संप्रतीयते ।

वाक्यार्थपूर्विका तद्वत् प्रतिपत् तस्य वस्तुनः ॥

This does not mean that Ānanda subscribes to the view expounded later by Dhanika that Rasa is Vākyārtha, attained through Tātparya. Ānanda hastens to explain himself in the Tātparya-discussion in *Uddyota* III on the subject of this analogy.

न च पदार्थवाक्यार्थन्यायो वाच्यव्यङ्ग्ययोः । यतः पदार्थप्रतीतिः असत्यैवेति कैश्चिद्विद्वद्भिरास्थितम् । यैरप्यसत्यत्वमस्या नाभ्युपेयते तैः वाक्यार्थपदार्थयोः घटतदुपादनकारणन्यायोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः । यथा हि घटे निष्पन्ने तदुपादनकारणानां न पृथगुपलम्भः, तथैव वाक्ये तदर्थे वा प्रतीतिः पदतदर्थानाम् । तेषां तदा विभक्ततया उपलम्भे वाक्यार्थबुद्धिरेव दूरीभवेत् । न त्वेव वाच्यव्यङ्ग्ययोर्न्यायः । न हि व्यङ्ग्ये प्रतीयमाने वाच्यबुद्धिर्दूरीभवति । वाच्यवभासाविनाभावेन तस्य प्रकाशनात् । तस्मान् घटप्रदीपन्यायस्तयोः । यथैव हि प्रदीपद्वारेण घटप्रतीतावुत्पन्नायां न प्रदीपप्रकाशो निवर्तते, तद्वद् व्यङ्ग्यप्रतीतिर्वाच्यवभासः । यन्तु प्रथमोद्योते 'यथा पदार्थद्वारेण—' इत्याद्युक्तं तदुपायत्वसाम्यमात्रविवक्षया ।

III. p. 190.

This, Abhinava says, is said by Ānanda to refute the Tātparyavāda which holds the Padārtha-vākyārtha-nyāya between Kāvya and Rasa. Regarding the relation between Padārthas and Vākyārtha, there are two main views : The grammarians hold that the Padārtha-jñāna is unreal. This certainly cannot answer for the relation between Vibhāvas etc., and Rasa or between the expressed and the suggested ; for, it cannot be said that the expressed is unreal. The Bhāṭṭa mīmāṃsakas hold that the Padārthas are not unreal and they must then accept that Padārthas are 'Upādāna kāraṇa', material cause, for Vākyārtha. When a pot is made and seen, its component parts, the sherds which made it, are not separately cognisable. Similar is the case with the Padārthas. When one insists on seeing the parts in the whole, the sense of the whole is lost. Therefore, even this relation of Upādāna-kāraṇa does not hold good in the case of Vācya and Vyaṅgya. When the Vyaṅgya is seen, the Vācya does not disappear. Therefore, the analogy of a light manifesting to our eyes the hidden objects has to be chosen. This is Prakāśa-nyāya or Ghaṭa-pradīpa-nyāya. When the pot in the dark room is manifested to our eyes by the lamp, and when we are seeing the pot, the lamplight does not disappear but continues to shine. It manifests itself and manifests another. See *Locana* pp. 189-190.

एवं पदार्थवाक्यार्थन्यायं तात्पर्यशक्तिसाधकं प्रकृतविषये निराकृत्य अभिमतं प्रकाशशक्तिं साधयितुं तदुचितं प्रदीपघटन्यायं प्रकृते योजयन्नाह ॥ *Locana*. p. 190.

In *Uddyota* I also, under the tenth Kārikā mentioning the Padārtha-vākyārtha-nyāya as a general analogy for the idea of means and end, Abhinava remarks :

न तु वाच्यस्य सर्वथा अनवभासः । अत एव तृतीयोद्योते घटप्रदीपदृष्टान्तबलाद् व्यङ्ग्यप्रतीति-  
कालेऽपि वाच्यप्रतीतिर्न विघटत इति यद्वक्ष्यति, तेन सह अस्य ग्रन्थस्य न विरोधः । *Locana*, p. 32.

Dhanika refutes this analogy of the pot and the light, Ghaṭapradīpa-nyāya. He holds Rasas as incapable of being described as Vyaṅgya. 'Vyaṅgya, Vyaṅjaka and Vyṅjanā' are concepts related to that mode of our knowing things in which one object, entirely different and come into existence through its own causes, manifests another independent thing which has come into being through its own causes. Thus the Vyaṅjaka-vyaṅgya nyāya is used regarding a lamp and its light manifesting a pot ; the two things are independent, in origin and nature. The former manifests the latter. But in the case of Vibhāvas etc., which are described by the Dhvanivādin as Vyaṅjaka, there is nothing similar to this state of affairs which can justify the use of the concept of Vyaṅjaka and Vyaṅgya. The Vibhāvas etc. themselves are the conditions that bring Rasa into being. They are so closely related to each other ; they are not utterly unrelated and independent of each other like the lamp and the pot. Surely, the pot is not brought into being by the light ; the pot is made of or produced by the sherds made of mud. Therefore, the case of manifestation through Vyājanā regarding Rasas on the analogy of the lamp and the pot is absurd in so far as the so-called suggesting elements and the suggested in Kāvya are so much inter-related and the former itself brings the latter into being. Says Dhanika :

“ एवं च सति रसादीनां व्यङ्ग्यत्वमपास्तम् । अन्यतो लब्धसत्ताकं वस्तु अन्येनापि ( भि )-  
व्यज्यते, प्रदीपेनेव घटादि । न तु तदानीमेव अभिव्यञ्जकत्वाभिमतैः आपाद्यस्वभावम् । ”

*D. R. A.*, p. 122.

The above-given survey covers the whole ground of the discussion on Tātparya and Dhvani. After the time of Ānanda, the pre-Abhinavagupta commentator and Abhinava's kinsman-predecessor, the author of the *Candrikā* on the *Dhvanyāloka*, inclined towards the Tātparyavādins and held, on the basis of all the suggested ideas being part of the poet's intention, that Dhvani was Tātparya. There are two passages in Abhinava's *Locana* giving clue to this.

(1) p. 20.

यस्तु ध्वनिव्याख्यानोद्यतः तात्पर्यशक्तिमेव विवक्षामूचकत्वमेव वा ध्वननमवोचत्, स नास्माकं  
हृदयमावर्जयति ।

(2) p. 26.

यस्त्वत्रापि तात्पर्यशक्तिमेव ध्वननं मन्यते, स न वस्तुतत्त्ववेदी ।

The latter instance is not very clear but the former plainly says that the author of that view is a commentator on Dhvani, i.e., the *Dhvanyāloka*. What exactly Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka said regarding Tātparya as against Dhvani, we are not able to know. From what we see from the *Avaloka* on the *Daśarūpaka* which

follows the view of Bhāvya-bhāvaka sambandha, we must conclude that Bhāvakatva is only a poetic or a new name based on Bharata's own etymology of the name Bhāva for Tātparya. It is the counterpart of Tātparya of the ordinary utterance in the field of poetic expression. But in criticising Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Abhinava seems to say that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka accepted Rasadhvani and did not hold Rasa to be Vācyā.

रसध्वनिस्तु तेनैवात्मतयाङ्गीकृतः । p. 15.

रसस्य च शब्दवाच्यत्वं तेनापि नोपगतमिति व्यङ्ग्यत्वमेव । p. 19.

This, however, is not clear. No doubt, as a staunch advocate of Rasa, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka emphasised Rasa as Jīvita, the life of poetic expression, as Abhinava remarks on p. 12 of his *Locana*.

“व्यंशे काव्ये रसचर्वणा तावत् जीवितभूतेति भवतोऽपि अविवादोऽस्ति ।”

And for this Abhinava quotes the following text from Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka as authority :

काव्ये रसयिता सर्वो न बोद्धा न नियोगभाक् ।

This, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka evidently said to distinguish poetry from epics from which one takes lessons (Bodha) and from Veda and Śāstra from which one takes injunctions regarding right and wrong conduct. But in Kāvya, one simply enjoys. This verse has to be related to the other oft-quoted lines of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka ‘शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य’ etc., which distinguish in a similar manner poetry from Itihāsa or Ākhyāna and Śāstra. On Dhvani, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka has this definite statement quoted by Abhinava, but which is, it seems to me, rather misinterpreted to twit him :

ध्वनिर्नामापरो योऽसौ व्यापारो व्यञ्जनात्मकः ।

तस्य सिद्धेऽपि भेदे, स्यात् काव्याङ्गत्वं, न रूपिता ॥

This is granted by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in the end, according to the well-known “Tuṣyatu durjana nyāya.” Let there be a separate and distinct Vyāpāra called Dhvani ; it is at best an accessory element in poetry, Kāvya-aṁśa or Kāvya-aṅga but not Kāvya-rūpī or Kāvya-ātman as described by Ānanda. The Kāvya-rūpī or Kāvya-ātman is surely Rasa but not Rasadhvani as Abhinava would put it wrongly as Nāyaka's position. To be correct, Nāyaka's Kāvya-ātman is Rasacarvaṇā or Rasabhoga got at, not through Dhvani to demolish which he wrote his treatise, but through Bhāvakatva and Bhojaktva. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's attitude towards Dhvani at this stage when he accepts it as one of the elements of poetry is similar to that of Kuntaka who also accepts it as an element in poetry though not as something all in all. To Kuntaka, Dhvani comes under some variety of Vakratā. Says Ruyyaka that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka accepted Vañjanā vyāpāra as an element in Prauḍhokti, as part of poetic power or Kavivyāpāra.

भट्टनायकेन तु व्यङ्ग्यव्यापारस्य प्रौढीकृत्याभ्युपगतस्य काव्यांशत्वं वृवता etc. p. 9.

In the text ‘भावनाभाव्य एषोऽपि शृङ्गारादिगणो मतः’ Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka clearly states that Rasa is got at not by Dhvani but by Bhāvanā.

## BHOJA

The position of Bhoja is one of compromise. He follows both Ānanda and the Tātparyavādins. Bhoja is less of a critical and consistent analytical writer and is always for broad synthesis and ignoring of differences, a peculiarly fortunate position which enables him to follow everybody, to follow both parties at the same time. Bhoja is very well acquainted with the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānanda and there is no trace in his works of his acquaintance with either work of Abhinava. Evidences of Bhoja's acquaintance with Ānanda-vardhana's work are available even in the S.K.Ā. On p. 628, Chapter V of the S.K.Ā. Bhoja quotes four Kārikās from *Uddyota* II of the *Dhvanyāloka*. He says that in certain cases of Guṇas which are inherently fused with Rasas, there is no place for Saṁkara or mixture of Guṇa and Rasa. Here Ānanda's *Dhvanyāloka* II, Kārikās viii—xi on the three Guṇas, Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda (pp. 79-82) are quoted and effectively utilised by Bhoja. This point is further explained in the Guṇa section. Similarly on the subject of Rasa and Alamkāra, Bhoja utilises three verses of Ānanda from *Uddyota* II, the first Parikara śloka on p. 87, Kārikā xvii on p. 85 and the Parikara śloka on p. 221 in the third Uddyota with change of the last foot.

“रसवन्ति हि वस्तूनि”, “रसाक्षिप्तया” and “रसभावदि—”

How Bhoja utilises these verses of Ānanda is explained in the Alamkāra section. These two sets of citations or rather ‘unacknowledged appropriations’ from Ānanda occur also in the same places in the *Śr. Pra.* Chapter XI. Vol. II. pp. 398 & 404-5. In the *Śr. Pra.*, in the latter case pertaining to Alamkāra, Bhoja quotes another Parikara śloka from the third *Uddyota* of Ānanda's *Dhvanyāloka* namely, शृङ्गारा चेत् कविः काव्ये etc., (p. 222, *Dhvanyāloka*). In the S. K. Ā. this verse is cited and made part of his Kārikās by Bhoja at the very outset in Chapter V. (S. K. Ā. p. 474, Śl. 3.) Of course, Bhoja pushes into this verse his own interpretation of Śrīgāra as Ahamkāra.

If we leave these two or three instances of citation of a few verses of Ānanda, the only other topic on which Bhoja draws upon Ānanda, and that to a very large extent, is Dhvani. We shall now go into the question of Bhoja's attitude towards Dhvani. Dr. S. K. DE says in Vol. II. of his *Sanskrit Poetics* (p. 229) : “It will be convenient in this connection to take up the school of opinion represented by the writer on Poetics in the *Agniṣurāṇa* and by *Bhoja*, which stands in many respects apart from the Kashmirian school of Ānandavardhana and which appears to have been entirely untouched by the implications of the Dhvani theory.” On p. 261 of the same volume, he says : “The prominence given to Rasa and the absence of the Dhvani theory in *Bhoja*, therefore, need not surprise us.” We again find on the same page : “He (Bhoja) even appropriates Kārikās from the *Dhvanyāloka*, although he does not accept its theory.” On the next page (262) Dr. DE says : “His (Bhoja's) huge compilation . . . . . represents apparently one of the several forms of arranging the teachings (*with*

the exception of ignoring the Dhvani theory).....” These remarks are of course based upon what one can know from Bhoja’s S. K. Ā. One cannot write like this after seeing Bhoja’s *Śr. Pra.* But even in the S. K. Ā the concept of Dhvani is not entirely absent. Bhoja accepts Dhvani in the S. K. Ā. as well as in the *Śr. Pra.* But he follows Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana in bringing down every item under Alarṅkāra or Guṇa ; under Alarṅkāra ultimately, for Guṇa also is Alarṅkāra. Thus Rasas are called both the Artha Guṇa Kānti (as described by Vāmana) and as Rasavad alarṅkāra or Alarṅkāra of the category named Rasokti. In a similar manner, Dhvani is called by Bhoja the Śabda-guṇa Gāmbhīrya.

ध्वनिमत्ता तु गुर्भार्थम्

S. K. Ā. I. 73. p. 55

Just as Rasa is held as Rasavad alarṅkāra because Rasa also is a beautifying factor of expression, so also Dhvani is held by Bhoja as the Guṇa embellishing expression. A Vācypaskāraka may be a Guṇa or an Alarṅkāra ; if Rasa was an Alarṅkāra to Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, it was a Guṇa for Vāmana. In a similar manner, Dhvani was a Guṇa to Bhoja. Stopping with this only, we can say that Bhoja’s position towards Dhvani is a kind of Antarbhāva-vāda, an Antarbhāva in Guṇa and through it in Alarṅkāra.

यद् गुणालंकारव्यतिरिक्तं तच्चाहत्वकारि न भवति । × × × चाहवहेतुश्च ध्वनिः । तत्र तद्व्यतिरिक्तः— । ” *Locana* p. 5.

This apart, we can see traces of Dhvani in other places in the S. K. Ā. of Bhoja. In the Guṇa section itself we find Dhvani in other Guṇas besides Gāmbhīrya. Bhoja’s Artha-guṇa Gati is a case of Dhvani.

गतिरसा स्याद्वगमः योऽर्थार्थान्तरस्य तु ।

Ratneśvara says on this : तेन सहृदयहृदयङ्गमाद् अर्थात् कांस्यतालानुस्वानन्यायेन तादृशमर्थान्तरमवगम्यते सा गतिरिति लक्षणाार्थः ।

Ratneśvara says on I. 121

ध्वननव्यापारोन्मेषाच्च गुणत्वलाभः ।

We meet with Dhvani in Bhoja’s Śabdālarṅkāras also. Dhvani or the getting of some meaning for which there is no word in the expression, presupposes suppression. The idea of suppression or hiding of the idea is used as a concept called Sarivṛti which goes to produce many Alarṅkāras. Thus, Bhoja uses Sarivṛti in his Śabdālarṅkāras, Mudrā, Ukti and Bhaṇiti. (pp. 146 150-1, & 154) All these cases involve Dhvani. Commenting on Bhoja’s Śabdālarṅkāra called Kalpanā bhaṇiti, Ratneśvara says :

सेयं भणितिः विधिनिषेधप्रमङ्गे निषेधघटकद्वारा विधिरूपा भवतीत्यास्तां विस्तरः ।

Bhoja himself says this in his comments on the illustrative verse.

“ —कल्पनाभणितिः विधिनिषेधे निषेधविधिरूपा । ”

We meet with the suggested idea in Bhoja’s Arthālarṅkāra section also. Bhoja’s Arthālarṅkāra called Sūkṣma is a case of pure Rasadhvani from Anubhāva. This Sūkṣma Bhāmaha refuses to accept as any Alarṅkāra (II. 86), whereas Daṇḍin calls it, with a vengeance, Uttamabhūṣaṇa, a great



Alaṁkāra. Bhoja takes it with some change from Daṇḍin. Sūkṣma is the conveying of a subtle meaning or idea through the expression of attendant signs. इङ्गिताकारलक्ष्योऽर्थः सौक्ष्म्यात् सूक्ष्म इति स्मृतः II. 260 K.Ā. In the second instance given by Daṇḍin, it is a case of Rasadhvani from Anubhāva. The first illustration giving the secret symbol of closing the lotus as suggesting the evening as the appointed hour, is cast off by Bhoja. Bhoja also gives two varieties of Sūkṣma : One, suggestion of Rasa from an Ingita or Anubhāva and the other from Ākāra, Sāttvika bhāvas like Romāñca.

तत्र इङ्गितलक्ष्यमभिधीयमानसूक्ष्मं यथा—“तां प्रत्यभिव्यक्तमनोरथानाम्” इति । अत्र स्वयंवर-  
मिलितानां राज्ञां राजपुत्रीं प्रति प्राप्तिलक्षणस्य मनोरथस्य शृङ्गारचेष्टात्मकेन इङ्गितेन व्यङ्ग्यत्वात्  
अयमिङ्गितलक्ष्यः अभिधीयमानः सूक्ष्मभेदः ।  
p. 285 S. K. Ā.

Bhoja recognises another kind of two classes of Sūkṣma, the expressed and the suggested, Abhidhiyamāna and Pratīyamāna.

वाच्यः प्रतीयमानश्च सूक्ष्मोऽत्र द्विविधो मतः । III. 22.

The description of an Anubhāva and a Sāttvikabhāva and the suggestion of Rasa through them is called Abhidhiyamāna Sūkṣma ; the Pratīyamāna Sūkṣma is case of Rasadhvani through a Vyabhicārin being described.

व्याहृता प्रतिवचनं न ददाति, रुच्यत्येकैकस्मिन् ।

आर्या कार्येण विना, प्रदीप्यमाने नदीकच्छे ॥

Commenting on this illustration (p. 286 S. K. Ā.) Bhoja explains the latter case. In the third instance of Pratīyamāna-sūkṣma, we have Irṣyāvīpralambha dhvani (p. 287). Bhoja does not seem to hold seriously that Rasa is anything but Pratīyamāna ; he seems to hold it as Abhidhiyamāna also. If he recognises an Abhidhiyamāna variety of Sūkṣma also, it is because he finds the Svaśabda of the emotion in the two illustrative verses :

“तां प्रत्यभिव्यक्तमनोरथानां” and सा यूनि तस्मिन्नभिलाषबन्धं”

Therefore it is that Bhoja says :

“मनोरथस्य अभिधीयमानस्य × × × इङ्गितेन व्यङ्ग्यत्वात् ।

2. Anyonyālaṁkāra (III. Pp. 294-5) is described by Bhoja as having three varieties, Vācya, Pratīyamāna and Ubhaya. In the illustration for the Pratīyamāna anyonya, the well known Gāthā of a traveller drinking water with fingers widely opened and the girl pouring him water slower and slower, and thinner and thinner, Bhoja says that their mutual (Anyonya) love (Anurāga) is suggested (Pratīyamāna).

3. A case of Alaṁkāra-dhvani is found in the Arthālaṁkāra section. P. 305. S. K. Ā. Bhoja speaks under Vyatireka, of Pratīyamāna Sādrśya.

4. Finally, in his comments on Sambhavālaṁkāra, Bhoja refutes the older conception of Sambhava which clearly shows Bhoja's disapproval of the Anumāna theory of Rasa-realisation. This is not exactly a point showing Bhoja's acceptance of Rasadhvani but is given here as a point that is

bound to be of interest in connection with the question of Dhvani and Rasadhvani. Bhoja says on p. 294 III. S. K. Ā .

अत्र यथा खार्या द्रोणः, शते पञ्चाशत् इति नियमः, नैवं विप्रलम्भे अलकानामकल्पनम्, अनञ्जनम् अक्ष्णोः, मधुनो वा प्रत्यदिशः, सुहृदुदन्तलाभारम्भे वा नयनस्यन्दनानि; संभाव्यन्ते च प्रभूतकारण (णा) लोकादित्येष विधिरूप एव सम्भवः । ”

He says that the Sambhava of Droṇa in Khāri, of 50 in 100 is nothing but Anumāna, सोऽनुमानात् न सिद्यते । S. K. Ā. III. 26. He does not accept that between Rasa, here Vipralambha, and its Vyabhicārins and Anubhāvas there is any Niyama or Vyāpti. There is only probability. This is the chief argument of the Dhvani-theorists against the Anumāna or the Liṅgaliṅgi-bhāva vāda. Says Vidyānātha (p. 41, Bālamamoramā Edn. *Pratāparudrīya*) :

“न च अर्थशक्तिमूले व्यञ्जने अनुमानशङ्का । व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकयोः अविनाभावभावान् । नम्राननत्वादिकार्यस्य अनेककारणकत्वात् । ”

5. Upamā is given as Abhidhīyamāna and Pratiyamāna.

The above points related to Dhvani in the Alamkāra section in the S. K. Ā. are found repeated, though without the comments, in the *Śr. Pra.* also. Besides, in the 22nd chapter of the *Śr. Pra.* (Vol. III. pp. 368-9) Bhoja classifies Anurāga into 24 varieties, two of which form a distinction into Abhidhīyamāna and Pratiyamāna.

These odd contacts with Dhvani apart, Bhoja completely accepts Dhvani as the greatest Vyāpāra ruling in the realm of poetry and embodies much of Ānanda's text in his own treatment of Dhvani in the *Śr. Pra.*, as we shall see presently.

We meet with Dhvani for the first time at the end of chapter VI in the *Śr. Pra.* Bhoja has explained 'Artha' as 'superimposition' (Adhyāsa) or 'transfiguration' (Vivarta) of the Śabda Brahman due to Avidyopādhi. This, it is pointed out, may apply to the meaning which is primarily associated with Śabda, viz., the Abhidhīyamāna Artha; and Bhoja adds, there is another kind of Artha also called the Pratiyamāna. How is it related to the Śabda Brahman? Is it also explainable by Adhyāsa and Vivarta?

Bhoja accepts the existence of the 'implied', the Pratiyamāna Artha. He quotes Ānandavardhana's verse on it प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव etc. (*Dhvanyāloka* I. 4.) It is also accepted here by Bhoja that the Pratiyamāna appears after the appearance of the Vākyaārtha,—वाक्यार्थभावनोत्तरकालमवगतेः. This Pratiyamāna is another 'state', Avasthāntara, of Śabda, a Vipariṇāma of the Śabda Brahman. This theory of Vipariṇāma or transformation is adopted by Bhoja, and Adhyāsa and Vivarta are cast off. Vipariṇāma, he says, explains both the Abhidhīyamāna and the Pratiyamāna. The Pratiyamāna is, as much as the Abhidhīyamāna, a Vyāpāra of the Śabda and this, Bhoja says, is a subject which he will speak of at length in a further section.

Further, Bhoja briefly indicates here the nature of this variety of Artha called Pratiyamāna. He gives an illustrative verse प्राप्तश्रीरेष कस्मात् etc.

(quoted in the *Dhvanyāloka* on p. 109) and explains the full purport of this eulogy on a king. The actual meanings of the words form the expressed sense, the Abhidhīyamāna; the conceiving of the king as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu is *implied* in the verse and this is Pratiyamāna; there is a further meaning also *suggested*, that this king-Avatāra of Viṣṇu is superior to the other Avatāras; this forms the final Tātparya and it is called Dhvani in the realm of poetry.

As promised at the end of Chapter VI, Bhoja takes up Dhvani in Chapter VII. It has been explained in the section on Sāhitya that Bhoja has schemed out a system of poetics under the concept Sāhitya which consists of three departments of relations between Śabda and Artha. The first two departments cover grammatical relations, Vṛtti, Vivakṣā, Tātparya and Pravibhāga; Vyapekṣā, Sāmarthyā, Anvaya, and Ekārthibhāva. Vṛtti covers Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Gauṇī; and other significative capacities known to us as Tātparya and Vyañjanā, we find constituted into a separate category, the third in the first set called Tātparya. Strictly speaking Vṛtti and Tātparya should not have been given as two separate classes; all Śaktis, Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā, Gauṇī, Tātparya and Dhvani, must have been considered together. Bhoja, however, treats of Tātparya and Dhvani separately, because Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Gauṇī are taken as Padaśaktis and under Tātparya, Bhoja investigates the Vākya-artha.

Bhoja's acquaintance with the *Dhvanyāloka* is amply proved in this section of his work. Earlier, we saw, Bhoja quoted Ānanda I. 4. प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव etc., and accepted the suggested idea also and explained it as appearing after the Vākyaārtha. In this section on Tātparya and Dhvani proper, Bhoja, as can be seen by a perusal of the text appended herewith, borrows freely from Ānanda. Ānanda I. 13., the definition of Dhvani, the varieties of Pratiyamānārtha which Ānanda shows as samples in the beginning to prove the existence of a sense separate and different from the expressed one (pp. 16-23 *Dhva. Ā.*), some of the verses given by Ānanda here as illustrations and a few other ideas found in the *Dhva. Ā.* are found here in Bhoja's text on Dhvani. Though Dhvani is accepted by Bhoja, Ānanda is not completely followed by him; Bhoja borrows, adjusts and adapts Ānanda's Dhvani. He reconciles Ānanda to the Tātparyavādin, makes the equation that Tātparya is identical with Dhvani.

Whatever sense is intended to be conveyed by words form their purport, Tātparya. This purport or Tātparya is of wide extent and of more than one kind. It may be expressed, '*implied*' or '*suggested*',—Abhidhīyamāna, Pratiyamāna and Dhvanirūpa. The expressed or Abhidhīyamāna sense is the Vākyaārtha, the meaning of a sentence got at by Ākāṅkṣā, Sannidhi etc., after the separate words have delivered their individual meanings through one or the other or one or more of the three Śabda śaktis or significative capacities of words called Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Gauṇī. In the sentence—गौः गच्छति—, "the cow goes" is the Abhidhīyamāna vākyaārtha.

There are cases of other kinds of sentences which, when the expressed sense alone is taken into consideration, mean nothing or tend to mean more. The expressed sense is in one case displaced by an implied sense and in the other, supplemented by a further and implied sense. The conditions which manifest or aid the manifestation of this additional sense, both in cases of incompatibility of the expressed and compatibility of the expressed, are such as the meaning, the context, propriety etc. If a father says to his son who is about to go to an enemy's house for dinner, "Well, eat poison", the mere expression itself or its expressed sense which is an injunction (Vidhi) to eat poison obviously means little and naturally drives us to explore the context and set our mind at rest by finding out the meaning that the father's real intention is not that his son should die by eating poison but that he should realise that it is better to eat poison and die than dine at such a person's house, that, in short, the son should not go to dine there. This is a case of the primary sense being incompatible and hence calling forth some other implied meaning. Similarly, a primary compatible meaning may be attended by the rise of another wave of meaning. Both the cases are called *Pratīyamāna*.

If, after the appearance of the expressed sense, either *Śabda* or *Artha*, completely subordinating itself gives rise to another sense, it is said that, in those cases, *Śabda* and *Artha* suggest another sense. If an *Artha* or one sense itself suggests another, the suggesting *Artha* is subordinate and the suggested *Artha* shines forth as the chief idea. This is not universal ; for this rise of a suggested sense can be likened to two phenomena,—*resonance*, *Anunāda* and *echo*, *Pratidhvani* ; it is only such metals as bronze which, when struck, give rise to ripples of resonance and it is only a few spots like caves where one's voice is echoed. This *Dhvani* or the suggested idea appears after the rise of not only the expressed sense but also of the implied or *Pratīyamāna* sense. As for instance, when it is said, "She winks"—*निमित्तयेषा*—one gets the primary meaning first that she winks ; the twinkling of the eye is the *Abhidhīyamāna* sense. We also come to know from the winking of eyes that the woman is not a celestial damsel who has no closing of the eye, but only a mortal being. This first extra-meaning is *Pratīyamāna*. There is yet further significance possible in the small expression. The winking raises the vision of a pair of exquisitely sparkling eyes whose beauty excites emotion. This last sense, namely, the beauty of her eyes is said to be the *suggested* sense, *Dhvani*.

The expressed sense, on analysis, shows itself to be one of the four kinds, an injunction, a prohibition, a case of both or a case of neither.

The *Pratīyamāna* is entirely different from the expressed. It is of various kinds. If the expressed is an injunction, it may be that the *Pratīyamāna* is a prohibition. That is, though to all appearance an expression may contain in its words only an injunction, its real purport may be its opposite, prohibition. *Bhoja* points out, illustrates and explains some varieties.

They are :

- 1, 2 : Prohibition from Injunction and vice versa.  
विधौ निषेधः and निषेधे विधिः
3. A further Injunction from an Injunction : विधौ विध्यन्तरम्
4. „ Prohibition „ a Prohibition . निषेधे निषेधान्तरम्
5. Another Injunction from both Injunction and Prohibition :  
विधिनियेधयोर्विध्यन्तरम्
6. ” Prohibition ” ” ” ” ”  
विधिनियेधयोर्नियेधान्तरम्
7. An Injunction from a case of neither Injunction nor Prohibition :  
अविधिनियेधे विधिः
8. A Prohibition from a case of neither Injunction nor Prohibition :  
अविधिनियेधे निषेधः
9. Neither Injunction nor Prohibition from an Injunction : विधावनुभयम्
10. ” ” ” Prohibition : निषेधेऽनुभयम्
11. Neither Injunction nor Prohibition from a case of both Injunction  
and Prohibition : विधिनियेधे अनुभयम्
12. Neither Injunction nor Prohibition from a case of neither Injunction  
nor Prohibition : अविधिनियेधे अनुभयम्.

This forms an amplification of what is found in the *Dhvanyāloka* I. pp. 16-23. Ānanda has only indicated the nature of the suggested sense as being totally different from the expressed by a few examples : विधौ निषेधः, निषेधे विधिः विधावनुभयम्, निषेधेऽनुभयम् and one case of general difference, वाच्याद्विभिन्नविषयः and he concludes अन्ये चैवंविधाः प्रकाराः वाच्याद्विभेदिनः प्रतीयमानभेदाः संभवन्ति । तेषां दिङ्मात्रमेतत् प्रदर्शितम् । p. 23. These are taken by Bhoja as also most of the illustrative Gāthās given here by Ānanda, and similar varieties are elaborated. A few of the other illustrative Gāthās in Bhoja are also taken from other sections of the *Dhvanyāloka* itself, *Uddyotas* II and III.

Dhvani, Bhoja has said, is what appears after the Abhidhīyamāna and the Pratiyamāna. It is not clearly understandable why Bhoja separated the Pratiyamāna and the Dhvanyamāna. In Ānanda, there is no such difference. Pratīti, Avagama, Dhvani, all mean the same thing in the *Dhvanyāloka*. When everyone was denying the very existence of Dhvani, Ānanda tried to prove its existence step by step. He first started by stating that Artha in Kāvya which Sahṛdayas relish is of two kinds, the expressed and the implied or suggested, Vācya and Pratiyamāna (I. 2). Just as the various limbs of the beautiful woman or the body of that woman itself is one thing and besides that there is something hanging over her called Lāvanya, so also there is in poetry something which is totally different from the expressed and the obvious,

the Vācya. This is borne out by experience. This something in poetry is also experienced as being separate and altogether different from the Vācya, the expressed. If in a set of instances it can be shown to exist in this manner, separately and different from the expressed, the first stage is crossed and the opponents must accept that a separate non-expressed sense is a fact. For this purpose, Ānanda avoids the name of Dhvani which he wants to give to that suggested sense and the process of its realisation, and generally introduces his critics and readers to the other unexpressed sense. He accordingly gives five instances of such unexpressed sense, regarding Vastu (Vastudhvani). This Bhoja seems to take by itself and as separate from Dhvani, which according to him is the third kind of Tātparya, appearing after and through the second, named the Pratīyamāna. The Pratīyamāna is defined by him as the extra-meaning immediate to the Abhidhīyamāna. Proper emphasis on the condition “उपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थ” in a case of Dhvani from Śabda or Artha or both is not laid by Bhoja and there is, as a matter of fact, no critical and deep or intense study and exposition of Dhvani in Bhoja's work. After the release of the mere expressed Vākyārtha from a Vākya, the sense, in many cases, goes on revealing more and more. The first revealed ideas which are not directly expressed by so many words in the sentence is the Pratīyamāna ; the next or subsequent or final revelations constitute Dhvani. If we examine Bhoja's explanations of his own illustrations of the several varieties of Dhvani, we shall see that, in each and every case, Dhvani passes through Pratīti or the Pratīyamāna Artha, and the suggested, Dhvanyamāna, always arises at the back of or through the Pratīyamāna. “एतन् प्रत्याययन् इदं ध्वनति” is the phraseology in all cases. We can say that the two do not differ except in the fact that the Pratīyamāna is the first risen Dhvani and Dhvani itself is subsequent Dhvani. Almost all the Gāthās given as illustrations for the varieties of the Pratīyamāna are taken up in the Dhvani section and the suggested idea or Dhvani is pointed out in all of them. As regards these, Bhoja says that the Dhvani is the suggestion of how clever the lover or the lady or her friend is, how much one loves the lady and so on. In the verse शिखरिणि क नु नाम etc., all non-expressed implied ideas are called Pratīyamāna and as for the suggestion or Dhvani, Bhoja says it is the *love* of the man for the lady described in that verse. In the Gāthās भम धम्मिअ etc., Bhoja assigns all implied *ideas*, Arthas or Vastus to the class of Pratīyamāna and gives the Vaidagdhya of the Nāyikā or her Ceṭi as the suggested, Dhvani.

नयवत्या वैदग्ध्यं ध्वनति । प्रार्थनावैदग्ध्यं ध्वनति । स्खलितगोपनेषु सखीगोपनेषु सखीवैदग्ध्यं ध्वनति । वर्णनीयायाः चारुत्वोत्कर्षप्रतीतिं ध्वनति । वर्णनीयायाः स्वानुरागं प्रकाशयति । and so on. Thus, the first risen suggestion is Pratīyamāna ; it is of the nature of *Vastudhvani* only, to adopt here Ānanda's phraseology and classification. The subsequent or final suggested idea is described as Dhvani proper. It is *mostly* of the nature of Bhāva, that is, Sthāyin like Anurāga or Rati as in the case of शिखरिणि क नु नाम etc. which forms the Rasādi dhvani of Ānanda or Anubhāvas etc., like Vaidagdhya, Rūpotkarṣa (Uddīpana vibhāva) and the like, which are Guṇas of the Nāyaka and Nāyikā, and similar things which

however come more and more under the category of Vastudhvani. If however Bhoja had really persued such distinction or made some such clear classification that Vastu-Alaṃkāra Dhvanis form the Pratiṃyāmāna and that Rasa-bhāva dhvani is the Paramatātparya and Dhvani, it would have been interesting. Or, if he had emphasised 'Upasarjanikṛtasvārthatva' in the definition of Dhvani, he could have separated the Pratiṃyāmāna as Guṇibhūtavyaṅgya or cases of Alaṃkaras where Dhvani is not pronounced. As different from this, he could have given Dhvani as cases where it dominates over the subordinated Vācya. He must then have defined and illustrated both differently. As it is, we must say that Bhoja has not made out any point to distinguish the Pratiṃyāmāna and Dhvani. A distinction into Vastu-Alaṃkāra dhvanis and Rasādidhvani, Bhoja did not hit upon at all ; he found the Paramatātparya to be of the form of Vastu also and so he vaguely left the question, leaving it to us to define his position systematically. Hemacandra who reproduces the text of the *Śr. Pra.* on the varieties of the Pratiṃyāmāna considers the whole text as referring to what Ānanda distinguishes as Vastudhvani. See Hemacandra, *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* pp. 26-34.

At best, we can say from Bhoja's text only this much that the Pratiṃyāmāna is 'Avāntara-gamyamāna artha' or 'Abhidhīyamāna-avyavahita-dhvani' and Dhvani is 'Paramatātparya.'

For all practical purposes, we must ignore this vague distinction into Pratiṃyāmāna and Dhvani. Tātparya must be described as having only two kinds, the expressed and the non-expressed or the extra-sense that is implied or suggested. It would have been enough if Bhoja had given Tātparya as being two-fold, Abhidhīyamāna and Pratiṃyāmāna otherwise called Dhvanyamāna. While explaining the relation of the non-expressed, Anabhidhīyamāna or Abhidhīyamāna-atirakta, with the Śabda Brahman as one of Vipariṇāma, Bhoja mentions only the Pratiṃyāmāna, though immediately, he cites a verse and points out in it a set of implied ideas, the former part of which he calls Pratiṃyāmāna and the latter part Tātparya or Dhvani.

#### WHAT IS BHOJA'S TĀTPARYA ?

The Tātparya śakti refuted by Ānanda is the Mīmāṃsaka's. Upholding it, Dhanika says that it is not necessary to recognise a new function called Dhvani. Bhoja follows in the gap between the two and greets both with both his hands. He accepts Ānanda's Dhvani and his adversaries' Tātparya. Tātparya is used by Bhoja in two meanings, one bigger and another a more restricted one. While he speaks of Tātparya as one of the four Kevala-śabda sambandha-śaktis (Vṛtti, Vivakṣā, Tātparya and Pravibhāga), he uses Tātparya in the larger sense. Under it comes the Abhidhīyamāna Vākyaṛtha which Ānanda urges must be the proper meaning of Tātparya. But Bhoja brings under it Ānanda's Dhvani, as Dhanika and other earlier critics of Ānanda urged. The Abhidhīyamāna is not called exactly Tātparya. A special śakti like that is not called forth by Bhoja for the primary import of a sentence, as by the Mīmāṃsakas. The primary sense of a

sentence he says, is got at by Ākāṅkṣā, Sannidhi, Yogyatā etc., when the words themselves deliver the meaning of each through Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā or Gauṇī Śakti. Or, as Kumārasvāmin puts it, the very sentence in proper grammatical build gives its Vākyārtha by its own inherent nature. “नर्ह्यत्र संमर्गरूपो वाक्यार्थः कथं प्रतीयत इति चेत् तार्किकानामिव वाक्यमहिम्ना, न पुनः तात्पर्येण मीमांसकानमिवेति श्रुतः । अत एव ते वर्णयन्ति आकाङ्क्षादिमत्वे सति पदानां पदार्थानां वा समन्वयशक्तिः वाक्यम् तद्गुणायानो वाक्यार्थः ।” Pp. 32-33. *Pratāparudriya Vyākhyā*. Bālaṃanoramā Edn. Therefore, regarding Abhidhīyamāna, Bhoja must be said to follow the Tār-kikas. Tātparya is the general name for his Abhidhīyamāna as well as other kinds of non-expressed meanings. It is the name of the Abhidhīyamāna as well as of the Pratiyamāna and the Dhvanyamāna Arthas. The two, the Pratiyamāna and Dhvanirūpa, can however be clubbed together and Bhoja can, after ascribing the primary Vākyārtha to the power of the Vākya itself (Vākyamahimā), reserve the name Tātparya to the suggested. As a matter of fact, in certain passages he has made such a reservation that Tātparya is Dhvani. In the oft-referred-to discussion of Dhvani at the end of chapter VI of the *Śr. Pra.*, Bhoja gives the Abhidhīyamāna-meanings of the verse and reserves the name Tātparya for the third sense, which he says is called Tātparya in the world of ordinary expression but goes by the name of Dhvani in the world of poetry.

(1) “—तात्पर्यम्, यस्य काव्येषु ध्वनिरिति प्रसिद्धिः ।”

(2) On p. 44 (Vol. II) Bhoja says : “अभिधीयमानम्, प्रतीयमानम्, तात्पर्यं (ध्वनिः) च—।”

Dhanika's view and the view refuted by Ānanda is the extension of the Mīmāṃsaka Tātparya to cover Dhvani also. Bhoja cannot be said to reject this also. It is really a great task to find out whether Bhoja rejects any view. He goes on piecing together all views. Ānanda would agree with Bhoja if the latter could confine Tātparya to the Abhidhīyamāna and leave the Pratiyamāna and Dhvani as being above the Tātparya and as being Dhvani. Dhanika would agree with Bhoja if the latter calls Abhidhīyamāna Vākyārtha the Tātparya and also the Pratiyamāna and the Dhanyamāna as Vākyārtha and Tātparya. Bhoja does so ; all the amount of thought directly and indirectly expressed by a sentence is held as Tātparya by Bhoja, according to the Tātparyavādins ; but here Bhoja votes for an analysis of the mass of ideas expressed directly and indirectly and labelling each variety. At this stage, he says that beyond the Vākyārtha got at by the power of the Vākya itself through Ākāṅkṣā etc., there is a class of ideas got at by suggestion ; and Dhvani is here accepted. He even goes so far as to restrict the name Tātparya to the suggested, that is, to Dhvani, within which we can include his Pratiyamāna also. Therefore, Bhoja's position is a compromise and at a latter stage, it deserts Dhanika and others to follow Ānanda and makes Tātparya a name for Dhvani. A clearer position is held by Vidyānātha who says that there are only three capacities, Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Dhvani ; and Dhvani itself is Tātparya.



“ तात्पर्यार्थोऽपि व्यङ्ग्यार्थ एव, न पुनः पृथग्भूतः । अभिधाक्षणाव्यञ्जनाख्याः तिस्रः शब्द-  
वृत्तयः । ”

Kumārasvāmin explains :

“ ननु चतुर्थे तात्पर्यार्थे जायति कथमर्थत्रैविध्योक्तिः, इत्याशङ्क्य तस्य तृतीयेऽन्तर्भाव इत्याह—  
तात्पर्यार्थ इति । अत्र वक्तुमुद्दिष्टमभिधापितः वाक्यावगम्यः वाक्यार्थः रसादिरूपः तच्छब्देनोच्यते ।  
तस्मिन् पराः तत्पराः तदासक्ताः, तद्विषया इत्यर्थः । तेषां भावः तात्पर्यम् । ननु अभिहितानां पदार्थानां  
अर्थोभिधायिनां वा पदानां विशिष्टार्थप्रत्यायनशक्तिः तात्पर्यमिति मतभेदेन मीमांसकाः वर्णयन्ति ।  
अतस्तन्मते देवदत्त गामानयेत्यादौ देवदत्तकर्तृकदण्डकरणकर्मकानयनरूपः विशिष्टार्थ एव  
व्यङ्ग्यत्वविधुरः तात्पर्यादवगतत्वात् तात्पर्यार्थ इत्युच्यते; कथमस्य व्यङ्ग्येऽन्तर्भावः इति चेत्, सत्यम् ।  
न हि तावन्मात्रे कविसंरम्भविश्रान्तिः । काव्यशब्दानामन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिविषयभूतस्य  
प्रधानस्य प्रयोजनान्तरस्य असंभवात् । किन्तु तदर्थन्यकारेण प्रतीयमाने सामाजिकानन्दास्वादफले  
रसादार्थान्तरे । अतस्स एव तात्पर्यार्थः । तत्प्रत्यायकपदार्थशक्तिरेव तात्पर्यं कविससये । × ×  
× अतो × × व्यञ्जनस्यैवेदं नामान्तरकरणमिति × । ” P. 32.

Bālamānoramā Edn.

तस्माद् व्यञ्जनपरपर्यायमेव तात्पर्यं कविभिरङ्गीकृतम्, नान्यदिति सिद्धम् ।

अत एवोक्तं भावप्रकाशे—

अनो ध्वन्याख्यतात्पर्यगम्यमानत्वतः स्वतः ।

काव्ये रसालंक्रियादिः वाक्यार्थो भवति स्फुटम् ॥ (p. 150. Gaek. Edn.)

उक्तं च ध्वन्याचार्यैः “ यत्त्वभिप्रायविशेषरूपं व्यङ्ग्यं शब्दार्थाभ्यां प्रकाश्यते तद्भवति  
विवक्षितं तात्पर्येण प्रकाश्यमानम् ” इति । (*Dhvanyāloka*. III. P. 199) *Ibid*. P. 33  
Balamānoramā Edn.

Vidyānātha and Kumārasvāmin clearly identify Tātparya and Dhvani. This Tātparya does not mean that of Mīmāṃsakas but is only another name for Dhvani. A general sense of ‘Tatparatva’ i.e., Rasādiparatva is put on Tātparya by Kumārasvāmin and such a general usage of Tatparatva is met with in the *Dhvanyāloka*.

तत्परावेव शब्दार्थौ यत्र व्यङ्ग्यं प्रति स्थितौ ।

At the end of *Uddyota* I., Ānanda says :

“—तात्पर्येण प्रकाशनं यत्र व्यङ्ग्यप्राधान्ये स ध्वनिः : ”

and Abhinava explains this Tātparya as the final and chief purport :

तात्पर्येण विश्रान्तिश्रामतया । प्रयोजनत्वेनेति यावत् ।

and more similar instances are available in the text of the *Dhvanyāloka*. Ānanda will not have any objection to such an interpretation of Tātparya, enabling it to become a synonym of Dhvani. Kumārasvāmin quotes from the third *Uddyota* of Ānanda the concluding part of Ānanda's arguments showing how the Mīmāṃsakas also, if they want to explain the difference between Pauruṣeya and Apauruṣeya Śabda, must accept Dhvani or Vyāñjanā. (P. 199.)

Both the sections on Dhvani in the 6th and 7th chapters of the *Śr. Pra.* close with the following verses :

तात्पर्यमेव वचसि ध्वनिरेव काव्ये

सौभाग्यमेव गुणसंपदि वल्लभस्य ।

लावण्यमेव वपुषि स्वदतेऽङ्गनायाः

शृङ्गार एव हृदि मानवतो जनस्य ॥

and

यदभिप्रायसर्वस्वं वक्तुर्वाक्यात् प्रतीयते ।

तात्पर्यं अर्थधर्मस्तत् शब्दधर्मः पुनर्ध्वनिः ॥

सौभाग्यमिव तात्पर्यम् आन्तरो गुण इष्यते ।

वाग्देवताया लावण्यमिव बाह्यस्तयोर्ध्वनिः ॥

अदूरविप्रकर्षात्तु द्वयेन द्वयमुच्यते ।

यथा सुरभिर्वैशाखौ मधुमाधवसंज्ञया ॥

Bhoja : *Śr. Pra.* Chapters VI and VII.

In ordinary speech and writing, the purport is called Tātparya ; but the purport in poetic expression is called Dhvani. And what is the difference in the nature of the ordinary utterance and the poetic utterance, that purports of the two must be called by two different names, Tātparya and Dhvani ? Ordinary talk and writing is “ Avakra ”, not beautiful ; poetic expression “ Vakra,” beautiful.

यदवकं वचः शास्त्रे लोके च वच एव तत् ।

वकं यदर्थवादादौ तस्य काव्यमिति स्मृतिः ॥

Therefore, a more graceful name for Tātparya is Dhvani; this is the idea we get from the two verses of Bhoja. तात्पर्यमेव वचसि etc. and यदवकं etc. But suddenly he turns the statement the other way and says that the Abhiprāya, the entire intended idea, is a quality of Artha. That is, Tātparya is Artha dharma ; Dhvani on the other hand is Śabda dharma. What does Bhoja mean by this ? Does he mean that Dhvani is the name of the Vyañjakaśabda and that Tātparya is the name of the Vyañgyātha ? That Dhvani is the Vyañjanā śabdavyāpāra and Tātparya is its result ? Or, does he mean that Śabda-dhvani is Dhvani and Arthadhvani is Tātparya ? The last is clearly impossible ; for, he speaks of Dhvani as pertaining to both Śabda and Artha. Again there is more poetry than any scientific analysis, when Bhoja says that Tātparya is internal, is the Saubhāgya of Vāk or speech, and Dhvani is external, the Lāvanya of Vāk. Another attempt, Bhoja makes to clarify the issue ; he says in conclusion that you can call either by either name ; they are identical ; just as the months of Caitra and Vaiśākha, so called from an astronomical point of view, are called Madhu and Mādhava from another point of view, by two other names, so also the purport of an expression can be called Tātparya or Dhvani. To sum up :

1. Bhoja accepts Ānanda's Dhvani.



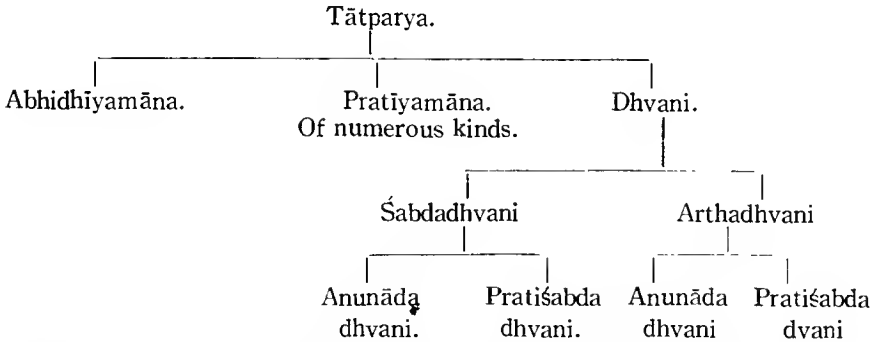
“अत एव अर्थोऽत्र प्राधान्येन व्यञ्जकः, पूर्वत्र शब्दः । शब्दोऽत्र (‘सुवर्णपुष्पम्’ इत्यादौ अविवक्षितवाच्ये) प्रधानतया व्यञ्जकः, अर्थस्तु तत्सङ्कारितया—” P. 49. *Locana*.

In the *Asarṇlakṣyakramavyaṅgya* variety of *Vivakṣitānyaparavācya*, there is the least scope for *śabdadhvani*.

Bhoja gives a simple classification of Dhvani. He has two kinds of classification. One is from the above-noted point of view of the suggesting element, the *Vyañjaka śabda* or the *Vyañjaka artha*. See Ratneśvara also on ध्वनिमत्ता तु गाम्भीर्यम् in S. K. Ā. I. p. 55.

“ध्वननं ध्वनिर्व्यञ्जनात्मा व्यापारः । स द्विविधः—शब्दध्वनिः, अर्थध्वनिश्च । × × ×  
तस्मात् शब्दाश्रितं ध्वननं शब्दध्वनिः, अर्थाश्रितं च अर्थध्वनिः इति वक्तव्यम् ।”

The second classification is into *Anunāda*, a phrase occurring in Ānanda as *Anusvāna* (II. 21.) as a name of the *Sarṇlakṣyakrama-vivakṣitānyaparavācya*; and *Pratiśābdadhvani* or echo. This second is a name created by Bhoja himself. *Anunādadhvani* is explained as *Abhidhīyamāna-pratīyamāna-anusyūta*, closely fused with the expressed and the implied senses or that case which looks like a continuation of the expressed sense, where the suggested does not stand separate. *Pratidhvani* is the suggestion of a different idea standing separate, like echo which is a duplicate of our voice. This variety of *Pratiśābdadhvani* where the suggested idea stands apart—*Prthagbhūta*—is Ānanda's *Avivakṣitavācya*dhvani.



For illustrations and explanations of these varieties, see extract from the *Śy. Pra.* at the end of this section.

Śāradātanaya summarizes Bhoja's treatment of *Sāhitya* in his *Bhāva-prakāśa* and tries to present Bhoja's ideas on Dhvani in the light in which he understood them. Chapter VI. pp. 147 (line 17) to 150 (line 14). *Tātparya* is defined by Śāradātanaya as —वाक्यार्थं प्रति शेषत्वमुच्चारणस्य— and it is divided, as is done by Bhoja into three classes : “स च अग्निधेयः, प्रत्याय्यः, ध्वनिरूपः इति त्रिधा ।” It is at this stage of defining the *Pratyāyā* that Śāradātanaya makes a change. He finds it, as we also found, impossible to distinguish Bhoja's *Pratīti* and *Dhvani*, *Pratīyamāna* and *Dhvanyamāna*. So he made the distinction that such meaning as is called forth to explain a statement whose obvious

expressed sense is clearly incompatible, Anupapanna, is called Pratiyamāna. The example is “Viṣam bhuṅkṣva.” This is partly faithful but not wholly, to Bhoja's text.

यथाभिधीयमानार्थाद् अन्यथानुपपत्तिः ।

प्रतीयमानो वाक्यार्थः यस्स प्रत्याय्य ईरितः ॥

‘विषं भुंक्ष्व’ इति वाक्यादावेप तादृक् प्रतीयते ॥

Bhoja does not restrict Pratiyamānatātparya to cases of Anyathā-anupapatti of the Abhidhiyamāna. For, Bhoja expressly says :

“—वाक्यार्थः उपपद्यमानः अनुपपद्यमानो वा—” (P. 32. Vol. II).

though he illustrates only the latter with example “Viṣam bhuṅkṣva.” In other respects, Śāradātanaya faithfully summarises the whole text of Bhoja on Dhvani. At the end of this section, Śāradātanaya takes up the question of the difference between Dhvani and Tātparya. He quotes the Kārikās on Dhvani “अप्रतिष्ठमविश्रान्तं” etc. quoted in the *Avaloka* on the *Daśarūpaka* and says that this view is wrong. Dhvani and Tātparya are not separate but are identical. Dhvani or the suggested idea is got at only through the Tātparya Śakti of a sentence. The suggested idea is also part of a speaker's intention and everything coming within the speaker's intention, is Tātparya. There is no rule which lays down that the speaker's intention, beyond a certain stage, ceases to be Tātparya and needs a new name. Here Śāradātanaya quotes Dhanika's Kārikā from his lost *Kāvyaniṣṇaya* which his *Avaloka* quotes :

एतावतैव विश्रान्तिः तात्पर्यस्येति किं कृतम् ।

यावत्कार्यप्रसारित्वात् तात्पर्यं न तुलावृतम् ॥

Śāradātanaya does not quote Bhoja's verses on the difference between Tātparya and Dhvani which bring in the similes ‘Lāvanya’ and ‘Saubhāgya.’ Instead, Śāradātanaya gives a single analogy. He says that Dhvani is a class of Tātparya, an Avāntarabheda, even as Brahmācārin is a kind of Brāhmaṇa, the first Āśramī Brāhmaṇa.

ध्वनितात्पर्ययोर्भेदो ब्राह्मणवद्भ्रूचारिवत् ।

तदवान्तरभेदो हि प्रायेण पृथगुच्यते ॥

तात्पर्यमेव वचसि ध्वनिरेव कान्ये । etc. from Bhoja's *Śr. Pra.*

अतो ध्वन्याख्यतात्पर्यगम्यमानत्वतः स्वतः ।

कान्ये रसालंक्रियादिर्वाक्यार्थो भवति स्फुटम् ॥

एवं त्रिरूपं तात्पर्यं तत्तत्तात्पर्यवेदिभिः ।

वक्तृद्वारा वाक्यधर्म एवेति परिकीर्त्यते ॥ *Bhā. Pra.* P. 150.

Bahurūpamiśra, in his commentary on the *Daśarūpaka* (Mad. Ms. R. 4188 pp. 76-79), follows Śāradātanaya closely and puts in prose Śāradātanaya's summary of Bhoja on Dhvani. He ends thus :

अतः तृतीयकक्षारूपेण ध्वनिनाम्ना तात्पर्येण गम्यमानत्वात् रसालंकारादिः वाक्यार्थः । × ×  
× एवं त्रिप्रकारमपि तात्पर्यं वक्तृद्वारा वाक्यधर्म एवेति ।

Bahurūpamiśra follows also Śāradātanaya's own modification of Bhoja's Pratiyamāna. Śāradādātānaya and, following him, Bahurūpa also, say that Tātparya pertains to the speech through the speaker, Vaktṛdvārā vākya-dharmaḥ, but Kumārasvāmin asserts that it pertains purely to the speaker and not to the speech.

उद्देशो नाम वक्तृधर्मः, न मीमांसकानामिव वाक्यधर्म इति । P. 33.

It is not clear what Bhoja's ideas are on the description of Rasa as Vākyaṛtha ; we do not find him discussing the subject in the section on Tātparya and Dhvani. But, while describing the varieties of composition, Dṛśya and Śravya Prabandhas, he says that the Nāṭaka and the other nine Rūpakas as well as the Nāṭikā and the Saṭṭaka (on the whole twelve) form Vākyaṛthābhinaya ; and the rest, twelve Uparūpakas, Śrīgadita etc., form Padārthābhinaya.

वाक्यार्थभिनयोऽयं प्रकीर्तितो नाटकादिभेदेन ।

द्वादशविधपदार्थभिनयमथ यथास्थितं वक्ष्ये ॥ P. 422. Vol. II. *Śr. Pra.*

This by itself cannot lead us far. In this same chapter (XI) we find Bhoja saying regarding Rasa :

— न हि विभावादयोऽलंकाराः, अपि तु भावरसतदाभासानामलंकारणामभिनिष्पत्तिहेतव अर्थविशेषाः ।

नन्वेवमपि अर्थगुणत्वात् अमीषामप्यलंकारत्वं प्राप्नोति ? सत्यमेतत् ; किन्तु अन्यपरतया त उपादीयमानाः तत्रैव न्यग्भवन्ति ; न वाक्यार्थप्रतीतौ पदार्थाः पृथक् स्फुरन्तीति ।

P. 370. Vol. II.

Bhoja states here clearly that Vibhāvas etc., are similar to Padārthas in a Vākyaṛtha. Rasa, Bhāva and their Abhāsa form Vākyaṛtha. While the Padārthas are described, they have no more purpose to serve than the manifestation of the Vākyaṛtha ; the Vibhāvas etc., do not separately exist by themselves and are not ends in themselves ; their ultimate aim is the manifestation of Rasa. This Padārtha-vākyaṛtha-nyāya between Vibhāvādi vācya-vācaka and Dhvanyamāna-rasādi emphasises only the fact that Vibhāva etc., are Rasapara. The former are Upāyamātra, the means, for the latter. This will not go against Ānanda ; for, though Padārthas are real, they are not separately realised when we realise the sentence-meaning ; similarly, so quick is our perception of the Rasa from the Vibhāvas etc., that there seem to be no Vibhāvas etc. nor even a process of transition, Krama, from them to Rasa. Says Ānanda :

स्वसामर्थ्यवशेनैव वाक्यार्थं प्रथयन्नपि ।

यथा व्यापारनिष्पत्तौ पदार्थो न विभाव्यते ॥

तद्वत्सचेतसां मोऽर्थः वाक्यार्थविसुखात्मनाम् ।

बुद्धौ तत्त्वार्थदर्शिन्यां झटित्येवावभासते ॥ *Dhva. A. I.* 11-12.

Rasa is therefore Vākyaṛtha ; and Vibhāva, Anubhāva and Vyabhicārin constitute Padārtha. The Vākyaṛtha, viz.—Rasa, must naturally be got at through Tātparya, otherwise called Dhvani and, as such, Bhoja contradicts

neither Ānanda nor Dhanika. In Dhanika's *Avaloka* we find a clear mention of Rasa being Vākyārtha, those that manifest it, Vibhāvas etc., being the Padārtha, and the Vākya being the Kāvya.

“तत्र विभावादयः पदार्थस्थानीयाः, तत्संगृह्यो रत्यादिः वाक्यार्थः ; तदेव काव्यवाक्यं यदीयौ ताविमौ पदार्थवाक्यार्थौ ।” *D. R. A.* p. 120.

The dramatic and semi-dramatic compositions described by Bhoja as Vākyārthābhinaya and Padārthābhinaya are so designated perhaps after the manner of such a characterisation of those two by Dhanañjaya and Dhanika. Dhanañjaya says : “दशैव रसाश्रयम् । अन्यद् भावाश्रयं नृत्यम् । आद्यं ( नृत्यं ) पदार्थाभिनयः ।” and Dhanika says : “—तथा वाक्यार्थाभिनयात्मकान्नाट्यात् पदार्थाभिनयात्मकमन्यदेव नृत्यम् ।” *D. R. A.* Pp. 2-3.

The major Rūpakas depict Rasa which is like the full Vākyārtha ; so they are called Vākyārthābhinaya. The Uparūpakas depict only Bhāvas and are therefore called Padārthābhinaya.<sup>1</sup>

#### APPENDIX I.

It was noticed above while surveying the position of Dhanañjaya and Dhanika that the *Avaloka* compares the majority of cases of Kāvya-vākya where the Sthāyin is not expressed to such elliptic sentences as “Dvāram dvāram” where the verb mentioning the action “Pidhehi” is absent but is understood from context etc. The understood action of ‘shutting’ in the one case and the understood Sthāyin in the other are both Vākyārtha. Thus they come within the scope of Tālparya (See *D. R.* p. 120).

Bhoja discusses the two concepts of Adhyāhāra and Vākyaśeṣa related to the case of elliptic or incomplete sentences in Chapter IX of the *Śr. Pra.* (Vol. II. pp. 178-184). As an instance of Adhyāhāra, he cites the sentences in which the verbs giving the actions are not expressed, Āśrūyamāṇa kriyas, and sentences in which verbs alone are seen and subjects or objects are not found.

“‘द्वारं द्वारं’ इत्युक्ते संव्रियतां अपात्रियतां चेत्यध्याद्व्रियते । तथा वर्णत्युदेति इत्युक्ते ‘देवः, सूर्यः’ इति ”

Though this understood element is also part of the Vākyārtha, Bhoja says that the understood element is got at by the Pramāṇa of Śrutārthāpatti. For, without that element, the sentence is deficient or unintelligible.

A similar case is Vākyaśeṣa. Bhoja explains it as distinct from Adhyāhāra. Both of them are cases of elliptic expressions, with something left to be understood. But in the former case, we fill up a word, Śabda ; in the latter, an idea, Artha. The sentence is incomplete in the case of Adhyāhāra in respect of words or Śabdās themselves ; but in Vākyaśeṣa the Vākya is complete so far as Śabdās go ; only the sense is yet incomplete,—अर्थः अपरिपूर्णः । Therefore, Bhoja says that Adhyāhāra is Śabdākāṅkṣā nivartaka and Vākyaśeṣa is Arthākāṅkṣā nivartaka.

1. More of this distinction is to be had in the section on Bhoja and Nāṭya Śāstra.

कः पुनरव्याहारवाक्यशेषयोर्विशेषः? शब्दाकाङ्क्षानिवर्तकोऽव्याहारः अर्थाकाङ्क्षानिवर्तकः वाक्यशेष इति । p. 180. Vol. II.

What is Vākyaśeṣa<sup>1</sup>? It is Arthakalpanā, the putting forth of idea to explain an expression, in which that idea is understood but not exactly expressed. The sentence means it certainly but does not actually express it. As for instance, all sentences finally mean either an injunction (Vidhi) or a prohibition (Niṣedha). Even in cases where we do not find express mention of either, we have to imagine and understand them. Thus, when one says on seeing a traveller “अयंनिवासोऽयं देशः” he means to induce him to make a halt in his place, by praising that place as a fit abode, it being the habitation of noble men. Similarly, to request one to stay and dine, one says “मध्याह्ने वनेते”. If one says “सचोरः पन्थाः” he means to say “don’t go that way.”

सर्ववाक्यानां विधिनियेषपर्यवसायित्वात्, साक्षात् तदश्रुतावपि तदुपकल्पनं वाक्यशेषः । तथा—‘अयंनिवासोऽयं देशः’ इत्युक्ते इहैव स्थातव्यम्; ‘मध्याह्ने वर्तते’ इत्युक्ते इहैव भोक्तव्यम्; ‘सचोरः पन्थाः’ इत्युक्ते न गन्तव्यम्; ‘ग्राहास्सरित्यस्यां’ इत्युक्ते न स्नातव्यमिति वाक्यशेषो भवति । p. 179. Vol. II.

And this idea filled in to complete the sense is said to be had not by Pratyakṣa, Anumāna, Upamāna or Śabda but by Śrūtārthāpatti.

अथैष प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दैः अनुपलभ्यमानः किंप्रमाणविषयस्यात्, अव्याहारवत् श्रुतार्थापत्तिप्रमेय इति । P. 180. Vol. II.

The Prābhākara mīmāṃsakas do not accept this Śrūtārthāpatti and they do not have Śabda-adhyāhāra at all. They accept that there are cases of Arthakalpanā but that Arthakalpanā is not through Adhyāhāra or Vākyaśeṣa, operating through Śrūtārthāpatti. The whole idea understood in the case of an elliptic expression is expressed by the Abhidhāvyāpāra of the available expression itself. How can these words express also senses which they do not have and for which other words are needed? The Prābhākaras say that the scope of the Abhidhā is extended far enough to embrace the understood sense also. The Abhidhā shoots like an arrow over a wide field. Bhoja replies that this view will not hold good. For the Abhidhāvyāpāra can mean no more than what the words put together mean exactly. Nor can this long-long Abhidhā be the Tātparya-śakti. Says Bhoja :

यच्चोक्तं—कल्प्यमानस्य अर्थस्य अवैदिकत्वं मा भूदिति श्रूयमाणस्य शब्दस्यैवायमिषोरिव दीर्घदीर्घो व्यापारः इति, तदपि न सम्पक्कः तस्य तथाविधार्थप्रत्यायनासामर्थ्यात् । स हि नमर्थं प्रत्याययन् अभिधाशक्त्या वा प्रत्याययेत्, तात्पर्यशक्त्या वा? (न अभिधाशक्त्या), तस्याः पदार्थप्रतिपादनमात्र एव उपक्षीणत्वात् ।

1. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya gives Vākyaśeṣa as one of the Tantrayuktis in the last chapter. It is illustrated by a case of Upamā in which the Upamāna is missing, but the Upameya and the Samānadharma—as in “Chinnapakṣa iva”—are present. The Upamāna of ‘bird’ is understood and this is Vākyaśeṣa.

Vāmana gives the same idea of Vākyaśeṣa as the *Arthaśāstra*.

रीतिर्नामेयमात्मा काव्यस्य । शरीरस्येवेति वाक्यशेषः । I. ii. 6.

There is no Vākyaūpurnatā, incompleteness of the sentence, in these cases.



नापि तात्पर्यशक्त्या । तात्पर्यशक्तिर्हि प्रतीयमानार्थविषया तत्रैव प्रकाशते, यत्र वाक्य-  
वाक्यार्थयोः परिपूर्णत्वं भवति । यथा 'विषं भुङ्क्ष्व, मा चास्य गृहे भुङ्क्थाः' इति । अत्र तु परिपूर्णं  
वाक्ये नार्थः परिपूर्ण इति तात्पर्यशक्तेरवकाशः । 'न हि तां तथाविधां त्वमत्याक्षीः' इत्यादिप्रयोगं  
विना वाक्यार्थस्य परिपूर्णत्वं भवति ।

× × × × ×

तस्माद् अर्थापत्त्याः पूर्वं शब्द एव प्रत्येतव्यः । तस्मिन् प्रतिपन्ने तत एव अर्थावगमोऽपि  
भविष्यति इति न तात्पर्यतः ध्रुयमाण एव शब्दः परिक्रेशनीयः ॥

Vol. II. Pp. 182-183 Śr. Pra.

तस्मादवदयमेव अन्वयाहारवाक्यशेषसिद्धये श्रुतार्थापत्तिरभ्युपगन्तव्येति ॥

p. 184.

Now, we shall examine the definition of Vākyaśeṣa and its illustrations. Bhoja says that a Vākya as such means Vidhi and Niṣedha, and even where there is no express Vidhi or Niṣedha, we must have it as understood. This holds good also for the Kāvya-vākya. For, beyond Rasa, and in respect of Vyutpatti, the purport of a Kāvya is to induce us to a good action and to dissuade us from a bad action. A Rāmāyaṇa-kāvya means :

रामवद् वर्तितव्यं, न रावणादिवद् ।

Says Bhoja on p. 143, Vol. II, on Vākya-ekārthībhāva :

“यस्तु तद्रूपरामायणादिप्रबन्धार्थानामवधारणोपहितसंस्कारस्य रामवद् वर्तितव्यं न रावणादिवद्  
इत्यादिविधिनिषेधप्रतिभाविशेषः उपजायते, स समस्तविश्वव्यापी चतुर्वर्गकहेतुः परो महावाक्यार्थः  
× × × ।”

Earlier also, Bhoja says, while dealing with Vākyaārtha in Chapter VI, that Bhāvanā, Vidhi and Pratibhā are Vākyaārtha and that Vidhi in Kāvya is the implied injunction to act like Rāma and not to act like Rāvaṇa. Here Bhoja plainly says that this implied Vidhiniṣedha is got at by Vākyaśeṣa.

प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्त्योर्विधायकः अर्थवादादिभिरुपक्रियमाणः लिङ्गलोदतव्यादिवाच्यः शब्द-  
व्यापारो विधिः । × × × सर्वं हि वाक्यं विधिनिषेधयोरेव पर्यवस्यति ।  
यत्रापि च लिङ्गदयो न श्रूयन्ते, तत्रापि विधिनिषेधपरतया सर्ववाक्यानां वाक्यशेषभूताः ते  
अवगम्यन्ते । तद्यथा इह देशे सुमिक्षमित्युक्ते अत्रैव स्थातव्यम् ; मध्याह्ने वर्तते इत्युक्ते इहैव भोक्तव्यम् ;  
सञ्चारः पन्थाः इत्युक्ते न गन्तव्यम् ; ग्राहाः सरित्यस्यामित्युक्ते न स्नातव्यमिति प्रतीयते ।

किञ्च महावाक्यैरपि रामायणादिभिः इदमेव व्युत्पाद्यते—रामस्य पितुराज्ञां पालयतः वनवासिनोऽपि  
तथाविधः अभ्युदयस्संवृत्तः, रावणस्य परदारान् अभिलष्यतः त्रैलोक्यविजयिनोऽपि तथाविधः उच्छेदः ।  
तस्मात् पितुराज्ञां पालयत, परदारान् नाभिलष्यत ; रामवद् वर्तत, न रावणवद् इति ।”

Pp. 408-9 Vol. I.

It is clear from this passage that what Bhoja gives as instances of Vākyaśeṣa, sentences in which 'Vidhi-niṣedha' is not expressed, are of exactly the same nature as Kāvya. Vidhi or Niṣedha is helped by Arthavāda, Stuti or Nindā. Poetry is Arthavāda, and its Vidhi-niṣedha is implied ; it is Vākyaśeṣa. This Vidhi-niṣedha, Bhoja says is the second aspect of Vākyaārtha, called Vidhi. Thus 'रामवद् वर्तितव्यं, न रावणवद्' which is Kāvya-vyutpatti is Vākyaārtha and Vākyaśeṣa for Bhoja. Dhvanivādins hold it to be Dhvanyamāna, suggested. When in the discussion on Adhyāhāra and Vākyaśeṣa, Bhoja says that

this Vākyaṛtha or Vākyaśeṣa of Vidhi-niṣedha is realised through Śrutārthāpatti, he lets down Dhvani which he has elsewhere accepted. He joins the camp of those who, recognising Arthāpatti, have no need for Dhvani, those who hold the Arthāpattipakṣa in the two Kārikās on the anti-dhvani view-points quoted by Jayaratha.

The illustrations given by Bhoja for Vākyaśeṣa form Arthavāda and clearly correspond to Kāvya vākyas. Their implied injunctions and prohibitions correspond to Kāvya-vyutpatti and have to be explained by Dhvani only.

Bhoja gives two illustrations for Vākyaśeṣa from Kāvya and gives us what ideas are left to be understood in those two cases. These remarks themselves prove Vākyaśeṣa to be Dhvani.

“—वाक्यशेषो भवति । यथा च—

त्वं जीवितं त्वमसि मे हृदयं द्वितीयं  
त्वं कौमुदी नयनयोरमृतं त्वमङ्गे ।  
इत्यादिभिः प्रियशतैरनुसृत्य मुग्धां  
तामेव—शान्तमथवा किमतः परेण ॥

यथा वा— पत्युः पितेव स भवान् नलकूबरस्य  
रम्भा स्तुषा धनपतेरिव सा तवापि ।  
यत्स्वन्यदत्र हृदयात्र तदेति कण्ठं  
दोषस्तथापि यदि तत् स्मृत एष रुद्रः ॥

× × × ×

तथा हि—तामेव त्वं तथागौ विशुद्धमाहितगर्भामनागसं विस्रब्धां च धर्मपत्नीमत्याक्षीरिति प्रथमश्लोके,

कामयमानायामपि स्तुषायां कामतोऽपि यत्प्रधर्षणं तन्महापातकेषु प्रकृत्यते, किमङ्ग पुनः अकामयमानायाः शपन्त्याः क्रोशन्त्याश्च हृटेनेति द्वितीयश्लोके — — ।” Pp. 179-180. These are clearly cases of Dhvani, not of Dhvani dominant, but dominated by Alamkāra, Vākya-anatīśāyi. That is, the former verse especially is Ākṣepa alamkāra of the first variety in Bhāmaha and Ruyyaka. The illustration in Bhāmaha is :

अहं त्वां यदि नेक्षेय धनमप्युत्सुका ततः ।  
इयदेवास्त्वतोऽन्येन किमुक्तेनाप्रियेण ते । K. A. II. 69.

Ruyyaka illustrates with a verse of exactly the same nature as the first given by Bhoja :

“— सा नूनं—आः किमथवा हतजल्पितेन ! p. 116. N. S. Edn.

Bhoja gives a similar verse in his Śabdālamkāra section as illustration for the Alamkāra called Saṁhṛtti mudrā.

संश्रुतिमुद्रा यथा—

मणिरत्नं प्रसेनस्य तच्चाचार्येण विष्णुना ।  
लब्धं येनाय योगेन तेन किं कीर्तितेन वः ॥

अत्र 'कथापि खलु पापानामलमश्रेयसे यतः', ततः 'किं तेन वः कीर्तितेन' इति साम्भि-  
प्रायसंवृत्तिकरणात् इयं संवृत्तिमुद्रा । p. 146 S. K. Ā.

Ratneśvara : "आस्ताम् इत्यादिवचनसंकोचः संवृत्तिः "

This is a case of purposeful suppression of a part of an expression and this "तेन किं कीर्तितेन वः" is of the same nature as the expressions "शान्तमथवा किमतः परेण" and "न तदेति कण्ठम्" in the two verses given by Bhoja as illustrations for Vākyaśeṣa. But these are not cases of dominating Dhvani but only cases having an element of Dhvani. Bhoja, however, does not want to call such cases of elliptic expressions where part of the expression is suppressed and the sentence is not complete as cases of Tātparya or Dhvani. They apply only to cases of full Vākyas, where a further meaning is implied. It is for cases of incomplete sentences that he postulates Vākyaśeṣa and Śrutārthāpatti.

तात्पर्यशक्तिर्हि प्रतीयमानार्थविषया तत्रैव प्रकाशते, यत्र वाक्यवाक्यार्थयोः परिपूर्णत्वं भवति ।  
× × × अत्र तु परिपूर्णं वाक्ये नार्थः परिपूर्ण इति तात्पर्यशक्तिरवकाशः । ×

तस्मादर्थोपपत्त्याः पूर्वं शब्द एव प्रत्येतव्यः । तस्मिन् प्रतिपन्ने तत एव अर्थावगमोऽपि भविष्यतीति न तात्पर्यतः श्रूयमाण एव शब्दः परिक्लेशनीयः । *Śr. Pra.* Vol. II. pp. 182-3.  
Abhinava also says that cases of Śrutārthāpatti where the Abhidhā itself has not yet rested, and wants some more ideas to explain itself, are different from cases of Dhvani which operates on full Vākyas, after the primary Abhidhā is at rest having delivered its meaning.

अत एव समाप्तायामेव अभिधायीं सहृदयैरेव स द्वितीयोऽर्थः अपृथग्यत्नेन अवगम्यते ×  
× × एतच्च सर्वोदाहरणेष्वनुसर्तव्यम् । 'पीनश्चैत्रो दिवा नास्ति' इत्यत्र अभिधैव अपर्य-  
वसितेति सैव स्वार्थनिर्वाहाय अर्थान्तरं शब्दान्तरं वाक्यार्थोपपत्तेर्वा  
तार्किकमीमांसकयोः न ध्वनिप्रसङ्गः इत्यलं बहुना । *Locana.* p. 115.

## APPENDIX II.

Bhoja notices some cases of what are instances of Dhvani while dealing with various kinds of Vivakṣā in Chapter VII. (Vol. II. p. 27). Of these, the following deserve to be noticed here—

स्तुत्या निन्दाविवक्षा, निन्दया स्तुतिविवक्षा, विधिना निषेधविवक्षा and निषेधेन विधिविवक्षा । These are cases of Dhvani, where the exact opposite of what is intended to be conveyed is given as the expressed sense. These come under Bhoja's Pratiyamāna class. Bhoja ends the section with these general observations which would attribute Dhvani finally to the poet's power, as Bhaṭṭanāyaka said when he made it a part of the Kavivyāpāra. See Jayaratha, *Alam-kāravimarśinī*, p. 9. Bhoja says :

एवमियमनेकधा विवक्षा विप्रथते । तदेष लौकिकवादः—

अस्मिन्नपारे संसारे कविरैकः प्रजापतिः ।

यथास्मै रोचते विश्वं तथेदं परिवर्तते ॥

अपि च— टिअमठिअं दीसइ अठिअंपि जह टिअं व पडिभाइ ।

जह संठिअं अ दीसइ मुकईण इमाओ पअइओ ॥ (*The Gaudavaho*, 66)

*Śr. Pra.* Vol. II. p. 21.

THE TEXT OF THE ŚRĠGĀRA PRAKĀŚA  
BEARING ON DHVANI  
(Vol. II. Madras MS. Pp. 31-42).  
(from Chapter VII)

“यत्परः शब्दः स शब्दार्थः इति तात्पर्यम् । तच्च वाक्य एवोपपद्यते । पदमात्रेण अभिप्रायस्य प्रकाशयितुमशक्यत्वात् । तच्च वाक्यप्रतिपाद्यं वस्तु त्रिरूपं भवति अभिधीयमानम्, प्रतीयमानम्, ध्वनिरूपं च ।

यत्र यत् उपात्तशब्देषु मुख्यगौणीलक्षणाभिः शब्दशक्तिभिः स्वमर्थमभिधाय उपरतव्यापारेषु आकाङ्क्षासन्निधियोग्यतादिभिः वाक्यार्थमार्थमभिधीयते तत् अभिधीयमानं यथा गौर्गच्छतीति ।

वाक्यार्थावगतेरुत्तरकालं वाक्यार्थः उपपद्यमानः अनुपपद्यमानो वा अर्थप्रकरणौचित्यादिसहकृतौ (तः) यत् प्रत्याययति तत् प्रतीयमानम्, यथा ‘विषं भुङ्क्ष्व मा चास्य गृहे भुङ्क्ष्व’ इत्युक्ते ‘वरं विषं भक्षितं न पुनरस्य गृहे भुक्तम्’ इति प्रतीयते ।

अर्थशब्दोपायाद् उपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थः वाक्यार्थावगतेरनन्तरम् अनुनादरूपं प्रतिशब्द-रूपं वा (यत्) अभिव्यञ्जयति तत् ध्वनिरूपम् । तच्च न सार्वत्रिकम् । तथा हि निवृत्तेऽभिघाते कस्यचिदेव कांस्यादेः द्रव्यस्य अनुनादः जायते, कस्यचिदेव कन्दरादेः प्रतिशब्दः य- (त)था कस्यचिदेव वाक्यस्य प्रतीयमानाभिधीयमानवाक्यार्थप्रतीतेरनन्तरं ध्वनिरुपलभ्यत इति । निमिषत्येषेत्युक्ते अङ्गोनिमेषोऽभिधीयते, देवी न भवतीति प्रतीयते रूपातिशयं च ध्वनन्ति (ति) ।

अर्थेषां प्रयोगः । तत्र अभिधीयमानं चतुर्धा विधिरूपं, निषेधरूपम्, विधिनिरुधरूपम्, अविधि-निषेधरूपं च ।

×                      ×                      ×                      ×  
( उदाहरणानि )  
×                      ×                      ×                      ×

प्रतीयमानं पुनरनेकधा । कच्चिद्विधौ निषेधः—भम धाम्मिअ इत्यादि ( गाथा० II. 75 )<sup>1</sup>.

अत्र विषयव्यो भ्रमेति विधिवाक्ये तत्र निकुञ्जे सिंहस्तिष्ठति, त्वं च शुनोऽपि विमेषि, तस्मात् त्वया तस्मिन् गन्तव्यमिति निषेधः प्रतीयते ।

कच्चिन्निषेधे विधिर्यथा—अत्ता एन्थ णिमञ्जइ इत्यादि ( गाथा० VII. 67. )

अत्र शय्यायां मा निषत्स्यसीति निषेधवाक्ये इयं श्वधूशय्या इयं मच्छय्या इति दिवाभ्युपलक्ष्य रात्रौ त्वया इह आगन्तव्यं इति विधिः प्रतीयते ।

कच्चिद्विधौ विध्यन्तरं यथा—

बहलतमा हतराई अज्ज पउत्थो पई घरं मुण्णम् ।

तह जेगज्जस असअण जहा णं मे मुत्तिजामो ( गाथा० IV. 35. )

[ बहलतमा हतरात्रिः अयं प्रोषितः पतिः गृहं शन्यम् ।

तथा जागृहि प्रतिवेशिन् न यथा वयं मुष्यामहे ॥ ]

यत्र ( अत्र ) यथा वयं न मुष्यामहे तथा जागृहीति विध्यभिधाने रात्रिः अत्यन्वकारा, पतिः प्रोषितः, गृहं शन्यम् ; अतस्त्वमभयो मत्पादर्वमागच्छेति विध्यन्तरं प्रतीयते ।

1. The whole of this text giving the varieties of the Pratiyamāna is an elaboration of what Ānanda has given on pp. 16-20 in ud. I. The whole text of Bhoja, with the illustrations and comments, is reproduced in his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* by Hemacandra. See *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*. Pp. 26-34.

**कचिन्निषेधे निषेधान्तरं यथा—**

आसाइअं अण्णाएण जात्तिअं ताति एण बन्ध अ दिहिं । ( तनुइणबहुआतिइ )

उवरमसु वुसह एहिं रक्खिज्जइ गेहपईखेत्तम् ॥ <sup>1</sup>

अत्र गृहपतिक्षेत्रे दुष्टवृषवारणपरे निषेधवाक्ये उपपतिवारणं निषेधान्तरं प्रतीयते ।

**कचिद्वि (दवि) धिनिषेधे विधिर्यथा**

मुहुएहि किं व पन्थिअ जइ हरसि णि अंणिअंवा । ( णिअसणं णिअंवाओ ) ।

ओवाहेमि कस्स रण्णे गामो दूरे अहं एक्का ॥

[ मधूरैः किमिव पान्थ यदि हरसि विवसनं नितम्बात् ।

आह्वयामि कस्य अरण्ये ग्रामो दूरे अहं एका ॥ ] <sup>2</sup>

अत्र विधिनिषेधयोरनभिधाने अहमेकाकिनी ग्रामो दूर इति विविक्तोपदेशान्नितम्बवासोऽपि मे हर इति विधिः प्रतीयते ।

**कचिद्विधिनिषेधे निषेधो यथा—**

जीविताशा बलवती धनाशा दुर्बला मम ।

गच्छ वा तिष्ठ वा कान्त स्वावस्था तु निवेदिता ॥ काव्यादर्शं २-१३९ ।

अत्र गच्छ वा तिष्ठ वेत्यविधिनिषेधात् जीविताशा बलवती, धनाशा दुर्बला ममेति वचनात् त्वया विनाहं जीवितुं न शक्नोमि इति उपक्षेपेण गमननिषेधः प्रतीयते ।

**कचिद्विधिनिषेधयोः विध्यन्तरं यथा—**

णिअदइआदंसणुक्खित्त पहिअ अण्णेन वच्चसु पहेण ।

गहपइवहूआ दुल्लंघिअवाउरा इह हअगामे ॥

See S. K. A. p. 593.

G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER.

[ निजदयितादर्शनोत्सिक्तपथिक अन्येन व्रज पथा ।

गृहपतिवधूः दुर्लङ्घवागुरा इह हतग्रामे ॥

अत्र अन्येन पथा व्रज ( जे ) ति विधिनिषेधयोरभिधाने हे स्वकान्ताभिरूपताविकत्थन पान्थ अपि ( भि ) रूप [ क ] इह ग्रामे भवतो गृहपतिसुता द्रष्टव्यरूपेति विध्यन्तरं प्रतीयते ।

**कचित् विधिनिषेधयोः निषेधान्तरं यथा—**

उच्चिणसु पडिअ कुसुमं मा धुन सेहालिअं हलिअसुहे ।

एस अवसानविरसो ससुरेण सुओ वलअसइो ॥ <sup>3</sup>

[ उच्चिणु पतितं कुसुमं मा धुनीः शेषालिकं हालिकस्तुषे ।

एष अवसानविरसः श्वशुरेण श्रुतो बलशब्दः ॥ ]

1. Found in the Telugu Recension in WEBER'S Edn. See S. K. A. p. 469, where also it is quoted. Its Chāyā is thus found there :

आस्वादितमज्ञातेन यावन् नावदेव व्रीहीणाम् ।

उपरम वृषभेदानीं रक्ष्यते गृहपतिक्षेत्रम् ॥

2. WEBER'S Edn. G. S. Telugu Recension ; available also in *Vajjālaggam*. Bib. Ind. Edn. II. Gāthā 491.

3. Vide p. 120. *Dhvanyāloka*. We find there विसमविरामो in the place अवसानविरमो of the Śr. Pra. in the third foot. The Gāthā is found in the Telugu Recension in WEBER'S Edn. of the *Gāthā Saptasatī*.

अत्र पतितं कुसुमं उच्चिनु मा धुनीहि शेफालिकामिति विधिनिषेधयोः अभिधाने, सखि, चौर्यरस (रते) प्रसक्ते वलयशब्दो न कर्तव्यः इति निषेधान्तरं प्रतीयते ।

**कचिद्विधावनुभयं** यथा—

सणिअं वच्च किशोरि वहि वयनेन ववमुमहि पंडेदि ।

भञ्जिहिसि विस्थअत्थनि विहिना दुक्खेण णिम्मापिता ॥

[ शनैर्व्रज किशोरि बहु प्रयत्नेन व्यवस्थामः पृष्ठतः ।

भक्ष्यसे विस्तृतस्तनि विधिना दुःखेन निर्मापिता ॥ ]

अत्र शनैर्व्रजेति विध्यभिधाने हि न विधिर्नापि निषेधः । अपि तु वर्णनामात्रं प्रतीयते ।

**कचिन्निषेधेऽनुभयं** यथा—

देआ पसिअ णिवत्तसु इत्यादि ( ध्वन्यालोक उदाहृता गाथा, पृष्ठ २२ ) । अत्र निवर्तस्वेति निषेधाभिधानेऽपि न निषेधो नापि विधिः, अपि तु मुखेन्दुकान्ति ( वर्णनामात्रं ) प्रतीयते ।<sup>1</sup>

**कचिद् विधिनिषेधयोः अनुभयं** यथा—

वच्च महच्चि( विव ) अ एक्केइ—इत्यादि ( ध्व-आ-पृष्ठ २२ )

( अत्र ममैव निश्वासरोदनानि भवन्तु ) मा नवापि नां विना तानि जायन्तामिति विधिनिषेधयो-  
रभिधाने न विधिर्नापि निषेधः अपि तु कृतव्यलीकप्रियतमोपालम्भमात्रं प्रतीयते ।

**कचिद्विधिनिषेधे अनुभयं** यथा—

गोलाणइए कच्छे चक्खन्तो राइआइ पत्ताइ ।

उप्पडइ मक्खो खोक्खणइ पोर्टं च पिट्टेइ ॥ ( गाथा० II. 71. )

[ गोदावरीनदीकच्छे चर्वयन् राजिकायाः पत्राणि ।

उत्पतति मर्कटः खोक्खशब्दं करोति उदरं च ताडयति । ]<sup>2</sup>

अत्र न विधिर्नापि निषेधोऽभिधीयते; नापि अनयोः ( प्रतीतिः अपि तु ) अन्यः ( सं ) केतु-  
( त ) कुटु ( डं ) मे अभ्यागतः, भवान् न गतः इति तं ज्ञापयतीति प्रतीयते ।

**ध्वनिः**

प्रतीयमानाभिधीयमानवाक्यार्थानाम् आनन्त्याद् ध्वनिरूपमप्यनेकप्रकारमेव । ध्वनिश्च द्विधा  
अर्थध्वनिः शब्दध्वनिश्च । तयोरर्थध्वनिः अनुनादध्वनिरूपः प्रतिशब्दध्वनिरूपश्च ।

तत्र योऽभिधीयमानवाक्यार्थानुस्यूतमेव कास्यानुनादरूपम् अर्थान्तरं ( ध्वनति, स अनुनाद-  
ध्वनिरूपः ) ( स यथा )—‘ शिखरिणि क नु नाम कियच्चिरम् इत्यादि

( Vide *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 49. )<sup>3</sup>

अत्र यथाश्रुतवाक्यार्थोऽभिधीयमानः बिम्बफलारुणाधर इत्युपलक्षणेन रागातिशयं प्रत्याययन्  
नाल्पपुण्यस्त्वदधरप्रतिनिधिमपि चुम्बतीति चाटुना वर्णनीयायाः स्वानुरागप्रकाशनं ध्वनति । एतच्च

1. Abhinava has some difference of opinion with other interpreters regarding the inner purport of this Gāthā. Bhoja's interpretation seems to be straight, correct, intelligible and pertinent to the point in illustration.

2. Hemacandra omits this Gāthā and gives here some other illustrative Gāthā and naturally his comments differ. ( K. A. p. 33 ) After this, he also adds Ānanda's last instance “ कचिद् वाच्याद् विभिन्नविषयत्वेन व्यवस्थापितः ” with the illustration “ कस्य वा न भवति रोपः etc.”

3. This is Ānanda's Vivakṣitānyaparavācyadhvani.

कांस्यध्वनिवद् अविच्छिन्नमेव ध्वनद् अनुनादरूपं प्रतीयत इति अनुनादध्वनिः । तथा—

शान्त्यै वोऽस्तु कपालदाम जगतां पत्युर्यदीयां लिपि  
क्रापि कापि गणाः पठन्ति पदशो नातिप्रसिद्धाक्षराम् ।

विश्वं स्रक्षति वक्षति क्षितिम् अपार्माशिष्यतेऽशिष्यते  
नागै रागिषु रंस्यतेऽस्यति जगन्निर्वक्षति धामिति ॥

अत्र गणाः कपाललिपिम् अप्रसिद्धाक्षरां पदशः पठन्तीति वाक्यार्थोऽभिधीयमानः, तानि कपालानि  
व्रद्धादीनाम् इति प्रत्याययन् महाध्वो ( थो )<sup>1</sup> पसंहारे भगवतोऽनुपहतप्रभावस्य एकाकिनः मव ( समव )-  
स्थानम् इव ( इति ) ध्वनति । तच्च विश्वं स्रक्षतीत्यादि पदार्थो ( र्था ) नुस्यूतमेव ( अनुनादरूपं ) पम्  
निरुह्यते इति अनुनादध्वनिः । एवम्—

अण्णत्त वच्च वालअ मज्जन्ति किं पलोएसि एअं ।

र ( रे ) जायामीरुआणु ( णं ) तुहंपिण्होइ ( तुहं तात्थं विअ ण होइ )<sup>2</sup> ॥

[ अन्यत्र व्रज वालक मज्जन्तीं किं प्रलोकस्येवम् ।

भो जायामीरुआणां युष्माकं तीर्थमेव न भवति ॥ ]

अत्र किं मां मज्जन्तीं प्रलोकयसि अन्यत्र व्रज, नेदं जायामीरुआणां तीर्थमित्यभिधीयमानः जाया-  
यास्त्वं विभेषि तेन मां न कामयसे इत्युपालम्भार्थं प्रत्याययन् [ अ ] स्नेहं विना युवतीनां इर्ष्या-  
यितं भवतीति ध्वनति । तच्च तस्या अनुरागार्थवानि ( र्थानुस्यूत ) मेव अनुनादरूपं ध्वनतीत्यनुनाद-  
ध्वनिः । एवं अत्ता एत्थ णिमज्जइ इत्यादि वाक्ये निषेध ( धे ) विधिः प्रतीयमानः कदाचिदयमन्वकारे  
मदभ्रान्त्या श्वश्रूँ प्रति यायाद् इति उत्प्रेक्षमाणयाः स्वलितप्रतिविधानरूपं रात्र्यन्धपदाभिधानमपि  
नयवत्याः वैदग्ध्यं ध्वनति । तच्चाभिधीयमानप्रतीयमानयोः अनुस्यूतमेव प्रतीयत इति अनुनाद-  
ध्वनिः । तथा—“ महुएहि किं व पंथअ ” इत्यादौ अविधिनिषेधे विधिः प्रतीयमानः मधुकापचायि-  
कायाः प्रार्थनावैदग्ध्यं ध्वनति । तच्च प्रतीयमानार्थानुस्यूतमेव अनुनादमिह ( मिव ) उपलभ्यत इति  
अनुनादध्वनिः । अपि च “ उच्चिणुमु पाडिअकुपुमं मा धुण सेहालिअं ” इत्यादि वाक्ये विधिनिषेधयोः  
निषेधः प्रतीयमानः, स्वलितगोपनेषु सखीवैदग्ध्यं ध्वनति । स च शेषालिकापुष्पापचयव्याजेन  
पश्चाद्वाटमुपागतायाः हालिकस्तुषायाः तन्नागतेन उपपतिना सह प्रयुक्ते चौर्यरतकलहे कुड्यान्तरितश्च-  
शुराकार्थ्यमानमनोहरवलयशब्दप्रतिषेधपरतया प्रवर्तमानः स्तुषानुस्यूतमेव शेषालिकाशाखावधूननं सव-  
लयकरावधूननं च कांस्यध्वनिरूपेण अनुनादो ध्वनिं प्रतिपादयन् अनुनादध्वनिव्यपदेशमासादयतीति ।

### प्रतिशब्दध्वनिः

यः पुनरभिधीयमानवाक्यार्थान् पृथग्भूत इव गुहादिप्रतिशब्दानुरूपमर्थान्तरं प्रत्याययन्  
प्रतिध्वनति स प्रतिशब्दध्वनिः<sup>3</sup> । यथा “ लावण्यसिन्धुरपरैव हि केयमत्र ” इत्यादि ( ध्वन्या० पृष्ठम्-  
२०५ ) ( यथा गुहा ) यां पौरुषादिशब्दानां प्रतिशब्दाः जायन्ते, ते च ध्वनिं जनयन्तः उपलभ्यन्ते  
एवं लावण्यसिन्धुरित्येतस्मिन् पदार्थे उपलादिशब्दानां यथा स्वोपमेयलोचनादर्थप्रतिशब्दा जायन्ते  
ते च अर्थान्तरध्वनिं जनयन्तः उपलभ्यन्ते । तत्रेह च यथाश्रूयमाणानामुत्पलादीनामर्थः अभिधी-

1. For the correct word महार्थोपसंहार see Bhoja's Saiva Treatise, *Tattva Prakāśa*, V. 7 and 8.

2. See *Dhvanyaloka*, P. 156.

3. This is Ānanda's Avivakṣitavācyadhvani.

यमानः तस्य लोचनाद्यर्थैः सह सादृश्यं प्रत्याययन् वर्णनीयायाः चारुत्वोत्कर्षप्रतीतिं ध्वनति । सा ततः पृथग्वि उपलभ्यमाना प्रतिशब्दध्वनिः । तथा—

एष्टव्या बहवः पुत्राः यद्येकोऽपि गयां व्रजेत् ।

यजेत वाऽश्वमेधेन नीलं वा वृषमुन्मजेत् ॥ ( मनु० )

अत्र बहवः पुत्रा एष्टव्या इति वाक्यार्थोऽभिधीयमानः पुत्रैः पितृप्रीतये प्रयागगमनादयः कर्तव्या इति प्रत्याययन् पितृणां कामपूरणं परमपुरुषार्थं इति ध्वनति । स च पितृव्यपदंशपरतया प्रवृत्तः पुत्रोद्देशरूपेण तत्प्रवृत्तिषु प्रतिशब्दायमानः पृथग्वि उपलभ्यत इति प्रतिशब्दध्वनिः । एवम्—

“ कस्स न होइ रोसो—” (See *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 23)

अत्र सख्युपालम्भार्थोऽभिधीयमानः पत्युः ईर्ष्योपशान्तये भ्रमरेण अस्या अधरः खण्डितः नोप-  
पतिना इति प्रत्याययन् स्वलितगोपनेषु सखीवैदग्ध्यं ध्वनति । स च अन्योपदंशपरत्वेन प्रवृत्तः  
अन्यस्य चेतसि प्रतिफलित इति प्रतिशब्दध्वनिः । एवं “ भम धम्मिअ बीसत्थो ”

(Vide above)

इत्यादिवाक्ये विधौ निषेधः प्रतीयमानः तस्या नदीकुञ्जके [ न ] केनचित् सह संकेतार्थं ध्वनति ।  
स वाक्यार्थात् पृथग्वि उपलभ्यमानः प्रतिशब्दध्वनिः । “ आसाइअं अण्णाएण जत्तिअं ” इत्यादि-  
वाक्ये वृषनिवारणपरः निषेधः उपपत्तिनिवारणं प्रत्याययन् प्रयोक्तुः वैदग्ध्यं ध्वनति । स चान्या-  
भिधानेन अन्यमभिदधत् ततः पृथग्वि उपलभ्यमानः प्रतिशब्दध्वनिः । एवं “ गोलाणइक्कच्छे चक्खन्त-  
राइआइ पत्ताइ ” ( गा. स. II. 71 ) इत्यपि प्रतिशब्दध्वनिरिति ।

## शब्दध्वनिः

एवं शब्दध्वनिरपि द्विधैव । तत्र अनुनादरूपो यथा—

भक्तिप्रह्वाय दातुं मुकुलपुटकुटीकोटरक्रोडलीनां

लक्ष्मीमाक्रष्टुकामा इव कमलवनोद्धाटनं कुर्वते ये ।

कालाकारान्धकाराननपतितजगत्साध्वसध्वंसकल्याः

कल्याणं वः क्रियासुः किसलयरुचयस्ते करा भास्करस्य ॥ ( मयूर. सू. श. २. )

अत्र भास्करकराः कल्याणं वः क्रियासुः इति वाक्यार्थः । करशब्दशक्तिस्वाभाव्यान् किसलय-  
रुचय इत्यादिसमस्ततुल्यविशेषणयोगाच्च हस्तेषु अनुनादं जनयन् भगवतः तेजोरूपतां पुरुषरूपतां च ध्वनति ।  
तदुभयमपि तदनुस्यूतमेवेह निरूप्यत इति अनुनादध्वनिः । एवम्—

गर्भेष्वम्भोरुहाणां शिखरिषु च शिताग्रेषु तुल्यं पतन्तः

प्रारम्भे वासरस्य व्युपरतिसमये चैकरूपास्तथैव ।

निष्पर्यायं प्रवृत्ताः त्रिभुवनभवनप्राज्ञे पान्तु युष्मान्

ऊष्माणं सन्तताध्वमजमिव भृशं बिभ्रतो ब्रध्नपादाः ॥ ( मयूर. सू. श. ३ )

अत्र पादशब्दस्वाभाव्यात् सर्वमपि योजनीयम् । इयांस्तु विशेषः । पूर्वत्र साधर्म्यद्वारेण, इह तु  
वैधर्म्यद्वारेणेति । अत्र च प्रतिशब्दध्वनिर्यथा—

दत्तानन्दाः प्रजानां समुचितसमयाकृष्टमष्टैः पयोभिः

पूर्वाह्ने विप्रकीर्णा दिशिदिशि विरमत्यहि संहारभाजः ।

दीर्घांशोः दीर्घदुःखप्रभवभवमयोदन्वहुत्तारनावो

गावो वः पावनानां परमपरिमितां प्रीतिमुत्पादयन्तु ॥ ( मयूर. सू. श. ९ )



अत्र दीप्तांशोर्गावो रश्मयः स्तूयमानाः (गो)शब्दशक्तिस्वाभाव्यात् तुल्यविशेषणयोगाच्च धेनुषु प्रतिशब्दं जनयन्त्यः तास्वपि विशिष्टं माहात्म्यशेषं प्रतिध्वनति (न्ति)। एवम्—

मीलच्चक्षुर्विजिह्वश्रुतिजडरसनं विप्लितघ्राणवृत्ति

स्वव्यापाराक्षमत्वकृ परिमुषितमनः श्वासमात्रावशेषम् ।

विस्त्रस्ताङ्गं पतित्वा स्वपदपहरतादश्रियं वोऽर्कजन्मा

कालव्यालावलीढं जगदगद इवोत्थापयन् प्राक्प्रतापः ॥ (मयूर. सू. श. ३१)

अत्र अर्कजन्मा प्राक्प्रतापः कालव्यालावलीढं जगत् उत्थापयन् अश्रियं वः अपहरतादिति वाक्यार्थः । अर्कशब्दशक्तिस्वाभाव्यात् तुल्यकर्मक्रियापदादियोगाच्च अर्कवृक्षजन्मा अगदः कालव्याल-  
दृष्टमपि उत्थापयतीति प्रत्याययन् अर्को विषघ्नानां श्रेष्ठ इति प्रतिशब्दरूपं ध्वनिं उत्थापयति इति । एवं अन्येऽपि महाकविप्रयोगेषु ध्वनिविशेषा गवेषणीयाः । यदुक्तम्—“तात्पर्यमेव वचसि ध्वनिरेव काव्ये” इत्यादि । कः पुनः काव्यवचसोः ध्वनितात्पर्ययोः विशेषः ? ननुक्तं पुरस्तात् (पूर्वाध्यायान्ते)—

यदवकं वचः शास्त्रे लोके च वच एव तत् ।<sup>1</sup>

वकं यदर्थवादादौ तस्य काव्यमिति स्मृतिः ॥

यदभिप्रायसर्वस्वं वक्तुर्वाक्यात् प्रतीयते ।

तात्पर्यमर्थधर्मस्तत् शब्दधर्मः पुनर्ध्वनिः ॥

मौभाग्यमिव तात्पर्यमान्तरो गुण इष्यते ।

वाग्देवताया लावण्यमिव बाह्यस्तयोर्ध्वनिः ॥

अदूरविप्रकर्षात्तु द्वयेन द्वयमुच्यते ।

यथा सुरभिर्वशाखौ मधुमाधवसंज्ञया ॥

## II

Chap. VI. Śr. Pra. Pp. 425-7.

(This is found earlier, in chap. VI. and considers the nature of Dhvani from the point of view of Sphoṭa Philosophy.)

“ननु च अभिधीयमानत्वेन प्रतीयमानतापि वाक्यार्थधर्मो विद्यते । यथोच्यते—

प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव वस्त्वस्ति वाणीषु महाकवीनाम् ।

यत्तत् प्रसिद्धावयवातिरिक्तं विभाति लावण्यमिवाङ्गनाम् ॥ (ध्व. आ. १. ४.)

तस्य च वाक्यार्थभावनोत्तरकालमवगतैः अन्यासपक्षे विवर्तपक्षे वा कथमिव उपपत्तिर्भवति ? उच्यते—**विपरिणामाद्** भविष्यति । वस्तुतोऽपि अवस्थान्तरगमनं विपरिणामः । तत्र यथा मृदादयो घटादिरूपेण, क्षीरादयो दध्यादिरूपेण, चैत्रादयो युवादिरूपेण विपरिणमन्ते तथेदं शब्दब्रह्मापि अविद्यो-  
पाधेः तेन तेन अर्थरूपेण तथा तथा विपरिणमते । तद्यथा—“सन्ति मे पञ्च पुत्राः, मातरं पितरं शुश्रू-  
षितवानास्मि, योऽहं युवा द्रमिडदेशे द्रमिडकन्याभिस्सह अवसम्, सोऽहमिदानीं पश्चिमे वयसि गङ्गातीरे तपश्चरामि” इति । अत्र च शब्दार्थयोः पृथगवभासाद् वाक्यार्थस्य अभिधीयमानतायां प्रतीयमान-

1. Ratneśvara quotes this verse in his commentary on Bhoja's S. K. Ā. I. 43. p. 30. He reads the 2nd line differently, with Anurāga for Arthavāda and Śruti for smṛti. वकं यदनुरागादौ तत्र काव्यमिति श्रुतिः ।

तायां वा न अनुपपत्तिः । न च एतावता शब्दव्यापारो विरस्यति । यतः तात्पर्यमस्य हि अग्रतो विशेषेण वक्ष्यमाणमास्ते तस्योदाहरणमात्रम्—

प्राप्तश्रीरेष कस्मात् पुनरपि मयि तं मन्थस्वेदं विदध्यात्  
निद्रामप्यस्य पूर्वामनलसमनसो नैव संभावयामि ।  
सेतुं बध्नाति कस्मादयमिह सकलद्रूपनाथानुयातः  
त्वय्यायाते वितर्कानिति दधत इवाभाति कपः पयोधेः ॥

अत्र वर्णनीयराजविशेषस्य विजयिनः यथाश्रुतवाक्यार्थः अभिर्वायमानः त्वर्याति पदे विण्ण-  
ध्यासावतारः सप ( त्वम ) सीति प्रतीयमानः तदवतारान्तराणां निद्रालसत्वादिदोषयोगाद् अस्य च  
तद्वचुदासात् ततो वैशिष्ट्यप्रतिपादनं तात्पर्यम्, यस्य काव्येषु ध्वनिरिति प्रसिद्धिः । तदुक्तम्—

तात्पर्यमेव वचसि ध्वनिरेव काव्ये  
सौभाग्यमेव गुणसंपदि वल्लभस्य ।  
लावण्यमेव वपुषि स्वदतेऽङ्गनायाः  
शृङ्गार एव हृदि मानवतो जनस्य ॥ <sup>3</sup>  
कः पुनः काव्यवचसोः ध्वनितात्पर्ययोः विशेषः ? उच्यते—  
यदवकं वचः शास्त्रे लोके च वच एव तत् ।  
वक्रे यदर्थवादादौ तस्य काव्यमिति स्मृतिः ॥  
यदभिप्रायसर्वस्वं वक्तुर्वाक्यात् प्रतीयते ।  
तात्पर्यमर्थधर्मस्तत् शब्दधर्मः पुनर्ध्वनिः ॥  
सौभाग्यमिव तात्पर्यमान्तरो गुण इष्यते ।  
वाग्देवताया लावण्यमिव बाह्यस्तयोर्ध्वनिः ॥  
अदूरविप्रकर्षात् द्वयेन द्वयमुच्यते ।  
यथा सुरभिवैशाखौ मधुमाधवसंज्ञया ॥

*The Discussion on Tātparya and Dhvani in the III uddyota of  
the Dhvanyāloka.<sup>4</sup>*

(Pp. 187—191).

“प्रागुक्तयुक्तिभिः वाच्यव्यतिरिक्तस्य वस्तुनः सिद्धिः कृता, स त्वर्थो व्यङ्ग्यतथैव कस्माद् व्यप-  
दिश्यते । यत्र च प्राधान्येन <sup>5</sup>अवस्थानं तत्र वाच्यता<sup>6</sup>; तथैवासौ व्यपदेष्टुं युक्तः । तत्परत्वात् वाचक-  
त्वस्य । अतश्च तत्प्रकाशिनो वाक्यस्य वाचकत्वमेव व्यापारः । किं तस्य व्यापारान्तरकल्पनया ।  
तस्मात् तात्पर्यविषयो योऽर्थः स तावन्मुख्यतया वाच्यः । या त्वन्तरा तथाविधे विषये वाच्यान्तरप्रतीतिः,  
सा तत्प्रतीतेरुपायमात्रम्, पदार्थप्रतीतिरिव वाक्यार्थप्रतीतिः ।

1. Quoted on P. 109 by Ananda in his *Dhvanyāloka*.

2. भोजेनैव.

3. Introductory verses in Chap. I. *Śr. Pra*.

4. The text given above is as corrected by Professor Mm. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI. The incorrect readings in the N. S. Edn. are given in the footnotes.

5. अनवस्थानं. 6. वाच्यतथैवासा.

अत्रोच्यते—यत्र शब्दः स्वार्थमभिधानः अर्थान्तरमवगमयति तत्र यत्तस्य स्वार्थाभिधायित्वं, यच्च तदर्थान्तरावगमहेतुत्वम्, तयोरविशेषो विशेषो वा ? न तावदविशेषः । यस्मात् तौ द्वौ व्यापारौ भिन्न-विषयौ भिन्नरूपौ च प्रतीयेते एव । तथा हि—वाचकत्वलक्षणः व्यापारः शब्दस्य स्वार्थविषयः गमकत्व-लक्षणस्त्वर्थान्तरविषयः । ततः स्वपरव्याहारो वाच्यगम्ययोरपह्नोतुमशक्यः । एकस्य सम्बन्धित्वेन प्रतीतेरपरस्य सम्बन्धिसम्बन्धित्वेन । वाच्यो ह्यर्थः साक्षाच्छब्दस्य सम्बन्धी तदितरस्त्वभिधेयसामर्थ्या-क्षिप्तः सम्बन्धिसम्बन्धी । यदि च स्वसम्बन्धित्वं साक्षात्तस्य स्यात् तदर्थान्तरव्यवहार एव न स्यात् । तस्माद् विषयभेदस्तावत् तयोर्व्यापारयोः सुप्रसिद्धः । रूपभेदोऽपि प्रसिद्ध एव । न हि यैवाभिधानशक्तिः सैवावगमनशक्तिः । अवाचकस्यापि गीतशब्दादेः रसादिलक्षणार्थावगमनदर्शनात् । अशब्दस्यापि चेष्टादेः अर्थविशेषप्रकाशनप्रसिद्धेः । तथा हि “व्रीडयोगान्नतवादनया”—इत्यादिश्लोके चेष्टाविशेषः सु-कविनार्थप्रकाशनहेतुः प्रदर्शित एव । तस्माद् भिन्नविषयत्वाद् भिन्नरूपत्वाच्च स्वार्थाभिधायित्वमर्थान्त-रावगमहेतुत्वं च शब्दस्य<sup>2</sup> यत्, तयोः स्पष्ट एव भेदः । विशेषश्चेत्<sup>3</sup>, न तर्हि इदानीं<sup>4</sup> अवगमनी-यस्य अभिधेयसामर्थ्याक्षिप्तस्य वाच्यत्वव्यपदेश्यता । शब्दव्यापारगोचरत्वं तु तस्य अस्माभिरिच्यत एव । तन्तु व्यङ्ग्यत्वेनैव । न वाच्यत्वेन । प्रसिद्धाभिधानान्तरसम्बन्धयोग्यत्वेन च तस्यार्थान्तरस्य च प्रतीतेः<sup>5</sup> शब्दान्तरेण स्वार्थाभिधायिना यद्विषयीकरणं, तत्र प्रकाशनोक्तिरेव युक्ता ।

न च पदार्थवाक्यार्थन्यायो वाच्यव्यङ्ग्ययोः । यतः पदार्थप्रतीतिरसत्यैवेति<sup>6</sup> कैश्चिद्विद्वद्भिरास्थि-तम् । यैरप्यसत्यत्वमस्या नाभ्युपेयते तैर्वाक्यार्थपदार्थयोः घटतदुपादानकारणन्यायोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः, यथा हि घटे निष्पन्ने तदुपादानकारणानां न पृथगुपलम्भः, तथैव वाक्ये तदर्थं वा प्रतीते पदतदर्शानाम् । तेषां तदा विभक्ततयोपलम्भे वाक्यार्थवुद्धिरेव दूरीभवेत् । नन्वेव वाच्यव्यङ्ग्ययोर्न्यायः । न हि व्यङ्ग्ये प्रती-यमाने वाच्यवुद्धिदूरीभवति । वाच्यावभासाविनाभावेन तस्य प्रकाशनात् । तस्मात् घटप्रदीपन्याय-स्तयोः । यथैव हि प्रदीपद्वारेण घटप्रतीतावुपपन्नायां न प्रदीपप्रकाशो निवर्तते, तस्मात् व्यङ्ग्यप्रतीतौ वाच्यावभासः । यन्तु प्रथमोद्योते “यथा पदार्थद्वारेण”—इत्याद्युक्तं तदुपायत्वसाम्यमात्रस्य विवक्षया । नन्वेवं युगपदर्थद्वययोगित्वं वा वाक्यस्य प्राप्तम् । तद्भावे च वाक्यतैव विघटते । तस्या ऐकाग्र्यलक्षणत्वात् । नैष दोषः । गुणप्रधानभावेन तयोर्व्यवस्थानात् । व्यङ्ग्यस्य हि क्वचित् प्राधान्यं, वाच्यस्य उपसर्जनभावः, क्वचित् वाच्यस्य प्राधान्यमपरस्य च गुणभावः । तत्र व्यङ्ग्यप्राधान्ये ध्वनिरित्युक्तमेव । वाच्यप्राधान्ये तु प्रकारान्तरं निर्देक्ष्यते । तस्मात् स्थितमेतत्—व्यङ्गपरत्वेऽपि काव्यस्य न व्यङ्ग्यस्य अभिधेयत्वम्, अपि तु व्यङ्ग्यत्वमेव । किञ्च व्यङ्ग्यस्य प्राधान्येन अविवक्षायां वाच्यत्वं तावद्भवद्भिः नाभ्युपगन्त-व्यम् । अतएव तावत् शब्दस्य । तदस्ति तावत् व्यङ्ग्यः शब्दानां कश्चिद्विषय इति यत्रापि तस्य प्राधान्यं तत्रापि किमिति तस्य स्वरूपमपह्न्यते । एवं तावद् वाचकत्वात् अन्यदेव व्यञ्जकत्वम् ।

इतश्च वाचकत्वाद् व्यञ्जकत्वस्य अन्यत्वं, यद्वाचकत्वं शब्दैकाग्र्यमितरन्तु शब्दाग्र्यमर्थार्थं च । शब्दार्थयोः द्वयोरपि व्यञ्जकत्वस्य प्रतिपादितत्वात् ॥

*The Daśarūpaka and the Daśarūpakāvaloka  
on Dhvani and Tātparya. (Ch. IV. Pp. 119-121)*

[The text as printed in the Nirnayasagar Edn. has numerous mistakes. A purified text, with the corrections made by Professor Mm. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, is given here. The readings found in the printed text are given in the footnotes.]

1. अर्थाविशेष. 2. Full stop. 3. चेन्न. 4. अवगमनस्य. 5. Full stop.
6. असत्यैवेति.

नापि वाक्यार्थत्वं व्यङ्ग्यस्य तृतीयकक्षाविषयत्वात् । तथा हि—‘भ्रम धार्मिक’ इत्यादौ पदार्थ-  
विषयाभिधालक्षणप्रथमकक्षातिक्रान्तक्रियाकारकसंसर्गात्मकविधिविषयवाक्यार्थकक्षातिक्रान्ततृतीयकक्षाक्रा-  
न्तो निषेधात्मा व्यङ्ग्यलक्षणोऽर्थः व्यञ्जकशक्त्यधीनः स्फुटमेवावभामते । अतो नासौ वाक्यार्थः ।  
ननु च तृतीयकक्षाविषयत्वमधूयमाणपदार्थतात्पर्येषु ‘विषं भुङ्क्व’ इत्यादिवाक्येषु निषेधार्थविषयेषु  
प्रतीयत एव वाक्यार्थः<sup>1</sup>; न चात्र व्यञ्जकत्ववादिनापि वाक्यार्थत्वं नेप्यते, तात्पर्यादनन्यत्वाद्<sup>2</sup> ध्वनः ।  
तत्र;<sup>3</sup> स्वार्थस्य द्वितीयकक्षायामविश्रान्तस्य तृतीयकक्षाभावात्<sup>4</sup> सैव निषेधकक्षा तत्र द्वितीयकक्षा; विधां  
क्रियाकारकसंसर्गानुपपत्तेः; प्रकरणात् पितरि वक्तुरि पुत्रस्य विषमक्षणनियोगाभावात् । रसवद्वाक्येषु च  
विभावप्रतिपत्तिलक्षणद्वितीयकक्षायां रसानवगमात् ।

तदुक्तम्—

‘अप्रतिष्ठमविश्रान्तं स्वार्थं यत्परतामिदम् ।

वाक्यं विगाहते तत्र न्याय्या तत्परतास्य सा ॥

यत्र तु स्वार्थविश्रान्तं प्रतिष्ठां तावदागतम् ।

तत्प्रसर्पति तत्र स्यात् सर्वत्र ध्वनिना स्थितिः ॥’

× × × ×

अत्रोच्यते—

वाच्या प्रकरणादिभ्यो बुद्धिस्था वा यथा क्रिया ।

वाक्यार्थः कारकैर्युक्तः स्थायीभावस्तथेतैः ॥ (D. R.)

यथा लौकिकवाक्येषु धूयमाणक्रियेषु ‘गामभ्याज’ इत्यादिषु अधूयमाणक्रियेषु च ‘द्वारं द्वारम्’  
इत्यादिषु स्वशब्दोपादानात् प्रकरणादिवशाद् बुद्धिसन्निवेशिनी क्रियैव कारकोपचिता वाक्यार्थः; तथा  
काव्येष्वपि स्वशब्दोपादानात् क्वचित् ‘प्रीत्यै नवोढा प्रिया’ इत्येवमादौ, क्वचिच्च प्रकरणादिवशात् नियत-  
विहित<sup>5</sup> विभावाद्यविनाभावाद्वा साक्षाद्भावकचेतसि विपरिवर्तमानः रत्यादिः स्थायी स्वस्वविभावाभाव-  
व्यभिचारिभिः तत्तच्छब्दोपनीतैः संस्कारपरम्परया परा<sup>6</sup> प्रौढिमानीयमानः रत्यादिवाक्यार्थः । न चापदा-  
र्थस्य वाक्यार्थत्वं नास्तीति वाच्यम् । कार्यपर्यवसायित्वात् तात्पर्यशक्तेः । तथा हि पौरुषेयमपौरुषेयं  
वाक्यं सर्वं कार्यपरम्<sup>7</sup>, अतत्परत्वेऽनुपादेयत्वाद्, उन्मत्तादिवाक्यवत् ।<sup>8</sup> काव्यशब्दानां च अन्वयव्यतिरे-  
काभ्यां निरतिशयसुखास्वादव्यतिरेकेण प्रतिपाद्यप्रतिपादकयोः प्रवृत्तिविषययोः प्रयोजनान्तरानुपलब्धेः  
स्वादोद्भूतिरेव<sup>9</sup> कार्यत्वेन अवधार्यते । तदुद्भूतिनिमित्तत्वं च विभावादिसंस्पृष्टस्य स्थायिन एव अवगम्यते ।  
अतो वाक्यस्याभिधानशक्तिः तेन तेन रसेनाकृष्यमाणा तत्तत्त्वाद्<sup>10</sup>पेक्षितावान्तरविभावादिप्रतिपादन-  
द्वारा स्वपर्यवसायितामानीयते । तदेतद् विभावादयः पदार्थस्थानीयाः, तत्संस्पृष्टो रत्यादिवाक्यार्थः  
तदेतत् काव्यवाक्यम्, यदीयौ<sup>11</sup> ताविमौ पदार्थवाक्यार्थौ । न चैवं सति गीतादिवद् वाच्यवाचकभाव-  
ानुपयोगः,<sup>12</sup> विशिष्टविभावादिसामग्रीविदुषामेव तथाविधरत्यादिभावनावतप्तेव स्वादोद्भूतः<sup>13</sup> । तदनेन

1. वाक्यार्थः 2. अन्यत्वात्, 3. तत्र, 4. The full stop here is wrong and the sentence ends only with the word द्वितीयकक्षा । 5. अविहित, 6. परं.

7. Full stop, 8. No Full stop, 9. स्वानन्द, 10. स्वार्थ, 11. यदीयं.

12. Full stop, 13. No full stop.

अतिप्रमदोऽपि निरस्तः । ईदृशे च वाक्यार्थनिरूपणे परिकल्पिताभिधादिशक्तिवशेनैव समस्तवाक्यार्थावगतेः शक्त्यन्तरपरिकल्पनं प्रयासः । यदवोचाम काव्यनिर्णये—

‘तात्पर्यानतिरेकाच्च व्यञ्जकत्वस्य, न ध्वनिः ।  
किमुक्तं स्यादधुतार्थतात्पर्येऽन्योक्तिरूपिणि ॥  
विषं भक्षय<sup>1</sup> वाक्ये यच्चैवं पितृमुतादिषु ।  
<sup>2</sup>प्रयुज्यते प्रधानत्वाद् ध्वनित्वं केन वार्यते ॥  
ध्वनिश्चेत्स्वार्थविश्रान्तं वाक्यमर्थान्तराश्रयम् ।  
तत्परत्वं त्वविश्रान्तौ; तन्न, विश्रान्त्यसम्भवात् ॥  
एतावत्येव विश्रान्तिस्तात्पर्यस्येति किंकृतम्<sup>3</sup> ।  
यावत्कार्यप्रसारित्वात् तात्पर्यं न तुल्यवृत्तम् ॥  
भ्रम धार्मिक विश्रब्धम् इति भ्रमिकृतास्पदम्<sup>4</sup> ।  
निर्व्यावृत्ति कथं वाक्यं निषेधमुपसर्पति ॥  
प्रतिपाद्यस्य विश्रान्तिरपेक्षापूर्णाद्यदि ।  
वक्तुर्विवक्षिताप्राप्तेः<sup>5</sup> अविश्रान्तिर्न वा कथम् ॥  
परिषेयस्य वाक्यस्य विवक्षापरतन्त्रता<sup>6</sup> ।  
वक्त्रभिप्रेतनात्पर्यम् अतः काव्यस्य युज्यते ॥’ इति

अतो न रसादीनां काव्येन सह व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावः । किं तर्हि ! भाव्यभावकसम्बन्धः । काव्यं हि भावकम्, भाव्या रसादयः । ते हि स्वतोऽ<sup>7</sup>भवन्त एव भावकेषु विशिष्टविभावादिमता काव्येन भाव्यन्ते<sup>8</sup> । न चान्यत्र शब्दान्तरेषु भाव्यभावकलक्षणसम्बन्धाभावात् काव्यशब्देऽपि तथा भाव्यमिति वाच्यम् । भावनाक्रियावादिभिः तथाङ्गीकृतत्वान् । किञ्च मा चान्यत्र तथास्तु<sup>9</sup>; अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यामिह तथावगमात् । .

तदुक्तम्—(N.S. VII. 4)

‘भावाभिनयसम्बद्धान् भावयन्ति रसानिमान् ।  
यस्मान्मादमी भावाः विज्ञेया नाख्ययोकृभिः ॥’

इति । कथं पुनरगृहीतसम्बन्धेभ्यः पदेभ्यः स्थाय्यादिप्रतिपत्तिरिति चेत् लोके तथाविधचेष्टायुक्तस्त्रीपुंमादिषु रत्याद्यविनाभावदर्शनाद् इहापि तथोपनिबन्धे सति रत्याद्यविनाभूतचेष्टादिप्रतिपादकशब्दश्रवणाद् अभिधेयाविनाभावेन<sup>10</sup> लाक्षणिकी रत्यादिप्रतीतिः । यथा च काव्यार्थस्य रसभावकत्वं तथा अग्रे वक्ष्यामः ॥’

1. पूर्वो यच्चैवं परमुतादिषु । 2. प्रसृत्यते. 3. किं कृतम् । 4. आस्पदे ।

5. विवक्षितप्राप्तेः 6. विवक्षा परतन्त्रता. 7. भवन्तः 8. No full stop.

9. No stop. 10. अभिधेया विनाभावेन.

## CHAPTER XIII

### BHOJA AND AUCITYA

This important concept of Aucitya, Bhoja does not deal with anywhere separately. As a chief topic in Poetics, it is not mentioned at all by Bhoja. But Bhoja is not absolutely silent on this concept. Aucitya occurs here and there, underlying many other ideas in Bhoja.

It has been pointed out in my article on Aucitya in the *Journal of the Madras University*,<sup>1</sup> that, long before Poetics began to talk of Aucitya, its related Tantra of Vyākaraṇa was mentioning Aucitya as one of the conditions determining the definite import of a word of many meanings in a given context. Bhartṛhari mentions Aucitya as one of the Śabda-artha-pravibhājakas in II. 316, in his *Vākyapadīya*. In this same connection, Bhoja also mentions Aucitya while treating of Vivakṣā in the seventh chapter of the *Śr. Pra.* (Vol. II. p. 30) ; and this same Aucitya as a determinant of the sense of a word occurs again in chapter xxv of the *Śr. Pra.* (Vol. IV. p. 463).

In chapter xi of the *Śr. Pra.*, Bhoja calls his *magnum opus*, this *Śr. Pra.*, by the name SĀHITYA-PRAKĀŚA and says that among other things, Aucitya is herein inculcated.

“एतस्मिन् शृङ्गारप्रकाशे सुप्रकाशमेव अशेषशास्त्रार्थसंपदुपनिषदाम् अखिलकलाकाव्य-  
औचित्य-कल्पनारहस्यानां च सन्निवेशो दृश्यते ।” Vol. II. Mad. Ms. p. 430.

This, however, has to be taken in a general sense that one of the fruits a reader of the *Śr. Pra.* will reap is acquisition of a sense of Aucitya. That, any work, especially Literature, Poetry and Literary Criticism, must inculcate.

In Poetics proper, Bhoja does speak of Aucitya more than once. He realises that it is a vast and elastic principle and that it pertains to every part of a work of art. There are the main and major Aucityas of Rasa and Itivṛtta as also the subsidiary and minor ones of Guṇas, Alamkāras, Rīti, metre etc.

(1) We first sight Aucitya in Bhoja in his Doṣa prakaraṇa, in his Vākya-doṣa called ‘Apada’. ‘Apada’ is the use of inappropriate vocabulary. The appropriateness or otherwise is tested by a reference to the nature of the characters who speak. A Grāmya speaker must be made to talk as he does in life, using rustic or vulgar expressions, whereas a refined urban character must be made to use a refined language. This is an emphasis on one kind of Aucitya. See Dosa-section for detailed treatment of ‘Apada’. See S. K. Ā I. pp. 19-20.

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1. Vide my paper on the History of Aucitya in the *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. VI. No. 1 and Vol. VII. No. 1.

Aristotle speaks of this Aucitya of Pada, the use of appropriate vocabulary, in his Rhetoric. He says ; “ If then one expresses himself in the language appropriate to the habit, he will produce the effect of being characteristic ; for, a rustic and a man of education will express themselves neither in the *same words*, nor in the same manner.” (Vide my paper on Loka Dharmī, *JOR.*, Madras, Vol. VIII. p. 71. Compare also Rājaśekhara, *K. M.* pp. 30-31).

(2) In the Vākyārthadoṣa called Virasa, borrowed from Rudraṭa, Bhoja speaks of Aprastutarasa, which is a variety of Rasa-anaucitya. *S.K.Ā. I.* 50. p. 35. Ratneśvara quotes here Ānanda’s verse on Aucitya and and Anaucitya—“ Anaucityād ṛte nānyad etc.” Ratneśvara also points out that the following three Doṣas, Hīna, Adhika and Asaḍṛṣa Upamās are all varieties of Anaucitya.

(3) The Doṣa called Viruddha, Loka-viruddha, Kālaviruddha etc., (*S.K.Ā. I.* 54-57, pp. 38-42) is also based on Aucitya. It is only a more definite and particularised name for Anaucitya of various kinds in Vastu or Artha. While explaining in *I.* 56 ‘Anumāna virodha’, Bhoja mentions Aucitya and its breach—Aucitya-viruddha.

युक्ति-औचित्य-प्रतिज्ञादिकृतो यस्त्विह कश्चन ।

अनुमानविरोधस्त कविमुख्यैर्निगद्यते ॥ *I.* 56.

and he illustrates Aucitya-viruddha thus :

औचित्यविरुद्धं यथा—

( छाया )

पट्टांशुकोत्तरीयेण पामरः पामर्याः प्रोच्छति ।

अतिगुरुकूरकुम्भीभरेण स्वेदार्द्रितं वदनम् ॥

अत्र पामरस्य पट्टांशुकोत्तरीयाभरण-अनौचित्याद् औचित्यविरुद्धमिदम् ।”

*S K. Ā. I.* p. 40.

“ किन्तु पामरौचित्यप्रतिसन्धाने पट्टांशुकावगुण्ठनमनुचितम् । विदग्धनेपथ्यपरिग्रहादिनागर-वृत्तापरिचय एव पामरत्वम् । ” Ratneśvara on the above.

This case of Artha-aucitya-anaucitya is plain ; how can a Pāmara be described as dressed in a Nāgaraka’s dress of silk ?

(4) A similar instance of Artha-aucitya-anaucitya is met with in Bhoja’s Śabda-guṇa, Bhāvika, where an elder, out of the overpowering feeling in him, goes to the extent of bowing at the feet of a youngster. *S. K. Ā. I.* p. 58.

“अत्र हर्षवशात् अनौचित्येनापि ‘वन्देऽथवा चरणपुष्करकट्यम्’ इत्यादीनाम् उक्तत्वात् भाविकत्वम् ।”

Here a case of Anaucitya becomes a Guṇa or Aucitya, according to the larger implications of the principle of Aucitya. The larger Aucitya herein involved, which makes Aucitya out of Anaucitya, is an instance of Rasāveśa and Rasa-aucitya.

(5) And the above-mentioned Aucitya which converts Doṣas into Guṇas is the very basis of the last section of the Guṇa-prakaraṇa of Bhoja, the Vaiśeṣika-guṇas or Doṣa-guṇas, Doṣas which turn into Guṇas under certain circumstances. (Vide my paper on Aucitya above referred to) S. K. Ā. pp. 74-120 ; See especially p. 118. Bhoja explicitly states the principle of Aucitya converting certain cases of Anaucitya into Aucitya.

“अत्र स्त्रीत्वाद् औचित्यविरोधेऽपि तत्समयोचितत्वात् गुणत्वम् ।”

*Aucitya in Bhoja's Alamkāra Section*

(6) (a) Above was noticed under the Pada-doṣa called Apada, a kind of Aucitya of language, the Aucitya of appropriate vocabulary. Bhoja opens his Śabdālamkāras with an Alamkāra called Jāti. What is Jāti? And how is it Alamkāra, and a Śabda-alamkāra? Jāti is the various kinds of language, Sanskrit, the various Prākṛts and Apabhraṃśa. Though Language, by itself, is not an Alamkāra, the proper choice of the language suited to the theme etc., is an Alamkāra ; for, this is a feature of beauty in Kāvya. This is Bhāṣā-Aucitya. Certain things are well said when expressed in Sanskrit, certain others in Prākṛt. Says Bhoja :

संस्कृतेनैव कोऽप्यर्थः प्राकृतेनैव वापरः ।

शक्यो रचयितुं कश्चिद् अपभ्रंशेन जायते ॥

S. K. Ā. p. 122.

This intelligent choice and employment of language is an Aucitya and is called by Bhoja as the Śabdālamkāra named Jāti. The principle of Aucitya involved herein is pointed out by Bhoja :

तत्र संस्कृतमित्यादिः भारती जातिरिष्यते ।

सा तु औचित्यादिभिः वाचाम् अलङ्काराय कल्पते ॥ II. 6. p. 121.

and Ratneśvara explains it thus :

“ननु अवश्यं शब्देन संस्कृताद्यन्यतमेन भवितव्यम् । तत्कोऽत्र कवेः शक्तिव्युत्पत्त्योरंशः, येन अलङ्कारता स्यात्, इत्यत आह—सेति । औचित्याकृष्ट एव अलङ्कारः । अस्ति च संस्कृतादेरपि तथाभावः इति भावः ॥ ” p. 121.

Then, according to Ratneśvara's Avatārikās to the succeeding Kārikās on Jāti, Bhoja indicates Aucitī in general, Viśaya-aucitī, Vakṛ-aucitī, Vācya-aucitī, Deśa-aucitī etc.

When, in a drama, the poet adopts the Prākṛt for women and low characters, Bhoja would say, that in his scheme, it is a case of Jāti Śabdālamkāra. It is Vakṛ-aucitya. Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* treats of this Bhāṣā-Aucitya in the chapter called Bhāṣā-vidhāna, XVIII. Bharata says regard-



ing Deśa-aucitya that a drama can be in many languages ; for, in a drama, characters from various provinces and countries may be introduced.

अथवा छन्दतः कार्याः देशभाषाः प्रयोक्तृभिः ।

नानादेशसमुत्पन्नं हि काव्यं भवति नाटके ॥ N.S. XVIII. 34.

(b) In chapter xi of his *Śr. Pra.* Bhoja again emphasises this Bhāṣā-Aucitya. There, he calls this an Ubhaya guṇa of a Prabandha as a whole, the Guṇa called 'Pātra-anurūpa-bhāṣatva' i.e., composed in language appropriate to the character.

“पात्रानुरूपभाषत्वम् इत्यनेन उत्तमपात्राणि संस्कृतेन, उत्तमाधराणि प्राकृतेन × × × × etc. |” p. 432. Vol. II. *Śr. Pra.* Mad. MS.

(Vide Alamkāra and Guṇa sections).

(7) (a) Bhoja's second Śabdālamkāra called Gati is nothing but the Aucitya of the medium of verse, prose or the mixed Campū style, and the Aucitya of the varieties of metres. To decide that a certain idea will be best expressed only in a verse-form and another only in a prose-form is itself an Alamkāra. This appropriateness of form is called Gatyaucitya. The chief controlling factor here, Bhoja himself says, is Artha-aucitya.

पद्यं गद्यं च मिश्रं च काव्यं यत्, सा गतिः स्मृता ।

अर्थोच्चित्यादिभिः सापि वागलङ्कार इष्यते ॥ II. 18.

Again,

यथामति यथाशक्ति यथोच्चित्यं यथारुचि ।

कवेः पात्रस्य चेतस्याः प्रयोग उपपद्यते ॥ II. 21.

(b) Having chosen the verse-form, a poet picks out the proper metres to suit his ideas. This choice of metre is Vṛtta-aucitya. Bhoja says in chapter xi of the *Śr. Pra.* that 'metre according to ideas' is an Ubhaya-guṇa of a Prabandha as a whole.

“‘अर्थानुरूपच्छन्दस्त्वम्’ इत्यनेन शृङ्गारे हुतविलम्बितादयः, वीरे वसन्ततिलकादयः, करुणे वैतालीयादयः, रौद्रे ह्रस्वरादयः, सर्वत्र शार्दूलविक्रीडितादयः निबन्धनीयाः इत्युपदिशति ।”

Vol. II. p. 432.

All these Bhoja does not fail to relate to Rasa and he realises that the final test of the appropriateness or Aucitya of a thing is Rasa, whether it be through Śabda or Artha. For, all Guṇas, Alamkāras and the avoidance of flaws (Doṣa-hāna) are for securing the eternal presence of Rasa, Rasa-aviyoga.

Further, Bhoja also, like Mahima Bhaṭṭa (see section on Bhoja and Mahima Bhaṭṭa), holds all kinds of Doṣas as forms of Anaucitya. In chapter xi of the *Śr. Pra.* Bhoja says that Rasa-aviyoga in a work as a whole is secured by avoiding flaws, and securing Guṇas and Alamkāras ; and there are Doṣas, Guṇas and Alamkāras pertaining to Prabandha, even as to Vākya. Taking a drama, Bhoja illustrates the avoidance of flaw of Prabandha—Prabandha-doṣa-hāna. The story, in the source, may not, in every incident, be

consistent and exhibit an unity. The poet takes it up, eschews certain bits, and renovates the theme for his purpose. This eschewing and renovation in theme are, Bhoja says, Prabandha-doṣa-hāna or *Anaucitya-parihāna*. Anaucitya in the story is eliminated and Aucitya is secured.

“तत्र ( प्रबन्धे ) दोषहानम् अनौचित्यादिपरिहारेण । यथा मायानैकेयीदशरथाभ्यां रामः प्रवासितः, न मातापितृभ्यां इति निर्दोषदशरथे ( बालरामायणे ) etc., etc.”

p. 410. Vol. II. Mad. Śr. Pra.

(See the above-mentioned paper on Aucitya, sections on Bhoja and Mahima Bhaṭṭa. See also the section on Bhoja and Kuntaka and Vakrokti in this thesis). And in this connection Bhoja quotes Yaśovarman's verse in the prelude to his now lost *Rāmābhyudaya* :

“औचित्यं वचसां प्रकृत्यनुगतं, सर्वत्र पात्रोचिता

पुष्टिः स्वावसरे रसस्य— ।”

Śr. Pra. Mad. MS. Vol. II. p. 411.

## CHAPTER XIV

### RĪTI, VṚTTI, AND PRAVṚTTI.

#### *Rīti*<sup>1</sup>

Rīti is dealt with by Bhoja three times, first in the Doṣa-section under the Aritimad-doṣa, then in the Alamkāra section as a Śabdālamkāra, and lastly in the Anubhāva section as one of the three Buddhārambha-anubhāvas. As in the case of Vṛtti, so also in the case of Rīti ; as a Śabdālamkāra, it is of six kinds, but as Anubhāva, it is only of four kinds. In the former case, the number six is purely a result of Bhoja's sense of symmetry.

Bhoja uses all the three names, Rīti, Panthā and Mārga, the latter two of which are synonymous. Bhoja derives the word Rīti from the root  $\sqrt{Ri}$  to go “रीङ् गतौ,” thus connecting it with the other names, Panthā and Mārga. To the three Rītis in Vāmana, Bhoja adds three more. Vāmana gives only the Vaidarbhī, the Pāñcālī and the Gauḍīyā ; Bhoja adds the Lāṭīyā which Rudraṭa was responsible for introducing, and then two more himself, namely, the Āvantī and the Māgadhī. The Āvantī and Māgadhī form Bhoja's additions.

The three verses defining the Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī and Pāñcālī (S. K. A. II. 29-31. p. 134) are reproduced by Bhoja from Vāmana. Bhoja borrows the Lāṭīyā Rīti from Rudraṭa but abandons Rudraṭa's definition of the Lāṭīyā. Rudraṭa defines the Lāṭīyā, as also the other Rītis, on the basis of the number of words compounded in a single instance. K. A. II. 5. But Bhoja arbitrarily says that a mixture of all Rītis is Lāṭīyā !

समस्तरितिर्व्या ( व्या ) मिश्रा लाटीया रीतिरुच्यते । S. K. A. p. 134.

मिश्ररीतिर्लाटीया । Śr. Pra. Vol. II. p. 270 .

The S. K. A. defines Āvantikā Rīti as one standing between Pāñcālī and Vaidarbhī ; with two to three or three to four words in a compound. But the same writer says in his Śr. Pra. that Āvantikā is not any one kind of Rīti exactly, but something approaching all Rītis ! वैदर्भादीनामन्तरालरीतिरावन्तिका. Māgadhī is defined as Khaṇḍa Rīti by both the S. K. A. and the Śr. Pra. i.e., beginning in one Rīti and ending in another !

Such treatment of the subject of Rīti has little reality and Bhoja here shows little grasp of either the historical aspect or the literary and artistic aspect of the subject and is of very little help to a student of the history and development of such an important concept as Style or Rīti in Sanskrit Alamkāra Literature.

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1. See also my paper on Rīti in *Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, pp. 89-118.

While Bhoja is in a mood to follow Vāmana in his definitions of the Rītis, Vaidarbhī, Pāñcālī and Gauḍīyā, in the *S. K. Ā.*, he prefers to accept Rudraṭa's definitions in the same context of Rīti-śabdālamkāras in the *Śr. Pra.* Rudraṭa defines the Rītis on the basis of a single feature called Samāsa; he holds the Vaidarbhī as the name of an un-compounded collocation, and classifies the compounded collocation into the three other Rītis according to the number of words compounded. No doubt Vāmana does include Samāsa as a determining factor in the description of all the three Rītis; but none but Rudraṭa defines the Rīti concept on the basis of Samāsa only. Vāmana defines the Vaidarbhī as having all the Guṇas fully, (*Guṇa-sāmagrya*); the preponderance of Mādhurya and Saukumārya and absence of Ojas and Kānti is Pāñcālī; the emphasis on Ojas and Kānti produces the Gauḍīyā. See Vāmana, *K. A. Sū. and Vṛ.* I. ii. pp. 17-21. Vāñi Vilās Edn. and compare *S. K. Ā.* p. 134. In the *Śr. Pra.* however, Bhoja casts off Vāmana's definitions and gives those of Rudraṭa as follows:

“असमस्तपदा वैदर्भी—।” “समस्तपञ्चपदा पाञ्चाली।” “यथाशक्ति समस्तपदा गौडीया।” “वैदर्भादीनामन्तरालरीतिरावन्तिका।” p. 269. *Śr. Pra.* Vol. II. Rudraṭa: “वृत्तेरसमासाया वैदर्भी रीतिरेकैव।” *K. A.* II. 6. “द्वित्रिपदा पाञ्चाली।” “लाटीया पञ्च सप्त वा यावत्” “यथाशक्ति गौडीया.” *K. A.* II. 5.

Here also it is only on Vaidarbhī, Pāñcālī and Gauḍīyā that Bhoja agrees with Rudraṭa. The Lāṭīyā, he chooses to define according to his own sweet will and not as Rudraṭa defined it.

Rīti, as expounded by Daṇḍin, Bhoja follows in the Doṣa-section while dealing with a Doṣa called Arītimad. *S. K. Ā.* pp. 24-30. More of this I have said in the sections on Doṣa and Guṇa. This is no strange phenomenon in Bhoja's writings that, on the same subject, he follows different and differing writers at different places. On Rīti, he follows Daṇḍin in the Doṣa-section; Vāmana to some extent in the śabdālamkāra section of the *S. K. Ā.*; and Rudraṭa in the same context in the *Śr. Pra.*; and lastly, he follows Rājaśekhara on the Rītis in the 17th chapter of the *Śr. Pra.* where again Bhoja speaks of the Rītis as Buddhyārambha-anubhāvas along with Vṛtti and Pravṛtti.<sup>1</sup>

In the 17th chapter the Rītis appear along with Vṛttis and Pravṛttis, as in Rājaśekhara. Rājaśekhara says at the very beginning of his work that he devotes a separate chapter to Rītis in the statement रीतिनिर्णयं सुवर्णनामः and in the remarks वृत्तिरीतिस्वरूपं यथावसरं वक्ष्यामः” p. 8. “रीतयस्तु तिष्ठः, तास्तु पुरस्तात्।” p. 10. *K.M.* But this chapter on Rītis is lost. Still we are given an idea of Rājaśekhara's conception and definition of the Rītis even in the available part, namely, the Kavi-rahasya section, sub-section 3 on Kāvya-puruṣa-utpatti. Rājaśekhara admits only the three Rītis of Vāmana and so has some difficulty in adjusting the three Rītis to the four Vṛttis and the four Pravṛttis. Bhoja

1. See my paper on Rīti and Guṇa in the *Agni Purāṇa* in the *IHQ.* X, pp. 767-779.

removes the difficulty by accepting the fourth Rīti of Lāṭiyā. Bhoja gives the following equations :

<i>Vṛtti</i>	<i>Pravṛtti</i>	<i>Rīti</i>
Bhāratī	Paurastyā	Pāñcālī
Ārabhaṭī	Uḍhra-māgadhī	Gauḍī
Kaiśikī	Dākṣiṇātyā	Vaidarbhī
Sāttvatī	Āvantiyā	Lāṭiyā

(See p. 52 *JOR.* Madras, Vol. VII, p. 52, My paper on *Vṛttis*).

The *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* gives the following scheme :

Bhāratī	Uḍhra māgadhi	Gauḍiyā
Sāttvatī	Pāñcālī or	Pāñcālī
and	Pāñcāla madhyamā	
Ārabhaṭī		
Sāttvatī	Āvanti	No Rīti !
and		
Kaiśikī	Dākṣiṇātyā	Vaidarbhī
Kaiśikī		

(*K.M.* Pp. 8-9).

The *Kāvya-puruṣa* and the *Sāhitya-vidyā-vadhū* were perhaps struck dumb when they passed through Avanti and adjacent provinces ! For, Rājaśekhara gives no Rīti for that place.

It is not possible to go here deeply into the very origins of the concept of Rīti and trace its history. That I have done in the separate paper on Rīti already referred to, wherein I have also spoken of the place occupied by Rājaśekhara and Bhoja, with whom alone we are concerned here at present. The definitions of Rītis in Daṇḍin and Vāmana are on the basis of ideas called Guṇas. Rudraṭa restricts himself to Samāsa. And Bhāmaha brings into his discussion of the two Rītis other general ideas ; finally, Bhāmaha throws away the Rītis. As distinguished from Bhāmaha and Rudraṭa on the one hand, and from Daṇḍin-Vāmana and the Guṇa tradition on the other, Rājaśekhara adopts for defining the Rītis characteristics and phraseology nowhere else met with, characteristics and phraseology which Bhoja borrows for the 17th chapter of his *Śr. Pra.* and from Bhoja, the *Agni-purāṇa* borrows. The following are Rājaśekhara's definitions along with which I have also given those of Bhoja.

( १ ) “—समासवद्, अनुप्रासवद्, योगवृत्तिपरंपरागर्भं जगाद, सा गौडीया रीतिः ।”, *K.M.* p. 8.

“गौडादिषु भवा गौडीया—यदतिदीर्घसमासम्, परिसकुटबन्धनम्, नात्युपचारवृत्तिमत्’ पादानुप्रासयोगि, योगरूढिपरम्परागर्भं नचः, सा गौडी ॥ ” *Śr. Pra.* Vol. III. p. 213.

( २ ) “ — ईषदसमासम्, ईषदनुप्रासम्, उपचारगर्भं च जगाद, सा पाञ्चाली रीतिः । ”  
K.M. p. 9.

“ पाञ्चालादिषु भवा पाञ्चाली—यदनतिदीर्घसमासम्, ( अनति ) स्फुटबन्धम्, उप-  
( चार ) वृत्तिमत्, पादानुप्रासप्रायम्, योगरूढिमत् सा पाञ्चाली । ” *Śr. Pra.* Vol. III. p. 212.

( ३ ) “ — स्थानानुप्रासवद्, असमासम्, योगवृत्तिगर्भं च जगाद, सा वैदर्भी रीतिः । ”  
K.M. p. 9.

“ विदर्भादिषु ( भवा ) वैदर्भी । यदि ( द ) समस्तम् अतिसुकुमारबद्धं ( न्यम् ) अनु-  
( पचार वृत्तिमत् ), स्थानानुप्रासयोगी, ( योग ) वृत्तिमद् वचः, सा वैदर्भी । ”  
*Śr. Pra.* Vol. III. p. 214.

We shall consider the *Lāṭīyā* of Bhoja which is not found in *Rājaśekhara* separately afterwards. The following table shows the relation between the definitions of the two writers more clearly.

*Gauḍiyā* :

Rājaśekhara	समास	अनुप्रास	योगवृत्तिपरम्परा
Bhoja	अतिदीर्घसमास	पादानुप्रास	योगरूढिपरम्परा.

And in addition to these three, we find Bhoja giving ‘*Parisphuṭa-bandha*’ and a few *Upacāra-vṛtti* usages as characterising the *Gauḍiyā*. The source of Bhoja for these two additional features is not known. Regarding the three features taken from *Rājaśekhara*, Bhoja puts them more definitely ; *Samāsa* is made *Atidīrgha-samāsa* ; *Anuprāsa*, *Pādānuprāsa* ; and the *Yoga-vṛtti* of *Rājaśekhara*, Bhoja makes *Yoga-Rūḍhi*.

*Pāncālī* :

Rājaśekhara	ईषदसमास	ईषदनुप्रास	उपचार
Bhoja	अनतिदीर्घसमास	पादानुप्रास	Same

The additional features in Bhoja are ‘*Anati-sphuṭa-bandha*’ and ‘*Yoga-Rūḍhi*.’

*Vaidarbhī* :

Rājaśekhara	असमास	स्थानानुप्रास	योगवृत्ति
Bhoja	Same	Same	Same

The additional features in Bhoja are ‘*Ati-sukumāra-bandha*’ and ‘*Anu-pacāra-vṛtti*’.

This kind of treatment of the *Rīti* is not after the manner generally found in the writings of the *Ālaṃkārikas* but it is not altogether unrelated to the features of the *Rīti* as they are defined by *Daṇḍin*, *Vāmana* and *Rudraṭa*. *Samāsa* and *Anuprāsa* which play a great part in *Rājaśekhara*’s and Bhoja’s definitions form vital points in *Daṇḍin*, *Vāmana* and *Rudraṭa*. *Upacāra* also is mentioned by *Daṇḍin* as the *Guṇa* called *Samādhi*. But what is a bit striking as new is the terminology of *Upacāra*, *Yoga*, *Rūḍhi* and *Bandha-sphuṭatva*.

In similar terminology, Bhoja defines the *Lāṭīyā* also himself :

लाटीदिषु भवा लाटीया ; यदीपत्समस्तम्, अनतिसुकुमारबन्धम्, नात्युपचारवद्, लाटीयानु-  
प्रासवद् योगरुढिमद् वचः, सा लाटीया । ” P. 215, Vol. III. *Śr. Pra.*

Śāradātanaya records this kind of definition of the Ritis in his *Bhā. Pra.*, borrowing it from the 17th chapter of the *Śr. Pra.* ; and from both Śāradātanaya and Bhoja, Bahurūpamiśra borrows it in his *Daśarūpakavyākhyā*. The *Agni-purāṇa* also borrows it from Bhoja. Of Rīti and Guṇa in the *Agni-purāṇa*, I have spoken in the article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* already referred to.

1. Śāradātanaya, in chapter one of his *Bhā. Pra.* follows Bhoja's treatment of Anubhāvas as found in the 17th chapter of the *Śr. Pra.* On pp. 11-12, Śāradātanaya follows Bhoja's grouping together of Rīti, Vṛtti and Pravṛtti as Buddhārambha-anubhāva.

बुद्धचारम्भानुभावेषु रीतिः प्रथममुच्यते ।

रीतिर्वचनविन्यासक्रमः, सापि चतुर्विधा ॥

The features given by Bhoja are thus classified and stated by Śāradātanaya. The Ritis are distinguished by the difference in (1) Samāsa, (2) Saukumārya etc., (3) Upacāra etc., and (4) Prāsa and Anuprāsa.

समास-सौकुमार्यादितारतम्यात् क्वचित् क्वचित् ।

उपचारविशेषाच्च प्रासानुप्रासभेदतः ॥

Following Śāradātanaya Bahurūpamiśra says in his *Daśarūpakavyākhyā* :

एनासां चतसृणां च रीतीनां समासतारतम्याद्, (1) उपचारतारतम्याद्, (2) बन्धसौकुमार्यादितारतम्याद् (3) अनुप्रासभेदाद् (4) योगादिभेदात् (5) च परस्परभेदः इत्यनुसन्धातव्यमिति । ”

P. 5. Vol. II. Mad. MS. P. 4188.

Śāradātanaya beats Bhoja hollow by first adding two more Ritis, Saurāṣṭrī and Drāviḍī, and by saying finally that Ritis are as many as 105 or even as many as the men who speak.

सौराष्ट्री द्राविडी चेति रीतिद्वयमुदाहृतम् ।

तत्तद्देशीयरचनारीतिस्तद्देशनामभाक् ॥

× × ×

प्रतिवचनं प्रतिपुरुषं तद्वान्तरजातितः प्रतिप्रीतिः ।

आनन्त्यात् संक्षिप्य प्रोक्ता कविभिः चतुर्विधेत्येषा ॥

तासु पञ्चोत्तरशतं विधाः प्रोक्ता मनीषिभिः ।

2. Śīngabhūpāla follows Bhoja in treating of Rīti, Vṛtti and Pravṛtti as Buddhārambha-anubhāvas. R.A.S. Ch. I. pp. 64-88.

बुद्धचारम्भास्तथा प्रोक्ताः रीतिवृत्तिप्रवृत्तयः ।

But Śīngabhūpāla recognises only three Ritis, Komalā, Kaṭhinā, and Miśrā, i.e., Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī and Pāñcālī. On Vaidarbhī, Daṇḍin is followed ; Gauḍī is distinguished by long compounds and aspirated words ; Pāñcālī is midway between the two. Following Śāradātanaya, Śīngabhūpāla also says at the end of the Rīti-section that there are innumerable Ritis and that each

province has its own Rīti. There are Āndhrī, Lāṭī, Saurāṣṭrī and such other Mīśra Rītis. For a description of these, Śingabhūpāla refers us to the works of *Bhoja* and others.

आन्ध्री लटो च सौराष्ट्रीत्यादयो मिश्ररीतयः ।

× × × ×

भोजादिग्रन्थकारैस्तु तदाकाङ्क्षिभिरीक्ष्यताम् ॥ p. 69.

Śāradātanaya mentions such additional Rītis and remarks that Rītis are as many as the provinces. But *Bhoja* never does so, either in the *Śr. Pra.* or the *S. K. Ā.* Perhaps Śingabhūpāla refers to the twelve Vṛttyanuprāsa varieties of *Bhoja* given in the Śabdālaṃkāra section, Āndhrī, Kauṅkī, Kauṅkaṇī, etc.

The *Agni-purāṇa* also gives the three concepts of Rīti, Vṛtti and Prāvṛtti together as Buddhārambha-anubhāvas, in the section on Anubhāvas.

आलम्बनविभावस्य भावैस्तुद्वयसंस्कृतैः ।

मनोवाग्बुद्धिबुधुपुं स्मृतीच्छाद्रेययन्तः ॥

आरम्भ एव विदुषाम् अनुभाव इति स्मृतः । 339/44-5.

Then Mana-ārambha-anubhāvas of males and females and Vāgārambhas are given. And in the last two lines of the chapter, the three Buddhārambhas are introduced.

स बुद्धचारम्भ इष्यते ।

तस्य भेदाः त्रयस्ते च रीतिवृत्तिप्रवृत्तयः ॥ 339/54.

The next chapter, the 340th, called Rīti-nirūpaṇa, speaks partly of Vṛtti also. The text as printed in the Ānandāśrama Edn. is corrupt and incomplete here. The chapter must be called 'Rīti-Vṛtti-Prāvṛtti-Nirūpaṇa' and must have dealt with all these three Buddhārambhas. For, with the next chapter we have Āṅgika-abhinaya or Śārīrārambha-anubhāva beginning. As it is, the chapter (340) ends abruptly with the mention of the Āṅgas of the Ārabhaṭī Vṛtti; only the Rītis and two Vṛttis are available. Vide my paper on Rīti and Guṇa in the *Agni-purāṇa* in the *IHQ*.

Another point to be noted in the *Agnipurāṇa* is that its definitions of the Rītis are taken from the *Śr. Pra.* (17th chapter). The four Rītis of this chapter of the *Śr. Pra.* are accepted and they are defined on the basis of the same features of Samāsa, Upacāra, Yoga, etc. Vide my article on Rīti and Guṇa in the *Agnipurāṇa* above referred to.

### The Vṛttis

Both from the point of view of history and that of dramatic art, I have critically examined and explained the concept of Vṛtti in a long paper entitled the Vṛttis published in the *JOR*<sup>1</sup> Madras. In the third instalment of that paper, I noticed the peculiarities in *Bhoja*'s treatment of Vṛtti in the section called 'Number of Vṛttis'. I shall briefly survey the same here.

1. *JOR* Madras, Vol. VI, pp. 316-370 and Vol. VII, pp. 33-52 and 91-112.



Bhoja describes the Vṛttis as Anubhāvas born of the Buddhi—Buddhyārambhānubhāvas—in chapter xxvii of the *Śr. Pra.* He defines Vṛtti as mode or manner of activity—*Ceṣṭā-viśeṣa-vinyāsa-krama*—and this agrees with Abhinava's definition of it as Vyāpāra and Ānanda's as Vyavahāra. In chapter xxvii of the *Śr. Pra.*, Bhoja describes *only the four* Vṛttis given by Bharata, and there is nothing special, no difference, to be noted in Bhoja's descriptions of each of these Vṛttis. There is some important difference in Bhoja's description of the Aṅgas of the Bhārati vṛtti, which I have dealt with in a separate section below called Vṛtṭyaṅgas.

If Kaiśikī means grace and delicateness, and Vṛtti means the temper and atmosphere of the situation, the Kaiśikī vṛtti covers all such graceful activities and cannot be strictly called Anubhāva. Abhinava explains Ārabhaṭī as Kāya-vṛtti, i.e., *Ceṣṭā* par excellence; Bhārati as Vāg-vyāpāra; and Sāttvatī as Mano-vyāpāra. Bhoja also says that the Vṛttis are 'Vāñ-manah-kāya-vyāpāra' (chap. xii.). If Bhārati is Vāg-vyāpāra, it must be Vāgārambha-anubhāva; if Ārabhaṭī is Kāya-vyāpāra, it must be Śārīrārambha-anubhāva; and Sāttvatī alone can be Buddhyārambha-anubhāva, because it is said to be Mano-vyāpāra. What about Kaiśikī then? It refers to no physiological or psychological department of our activity, of body, speech or mind. It refers to the graceful mode in all activities. How can this be called a Buddhyārambha-anubhāva? But such critical scrutiny, we cannot make even in Abhinava's text; how can Bhoja stand it?

As it is, Kaiśikī is applied to a part of the physical activity of the limbs which exhibit grace and delicateness, ślakṣṇatā and Saukumārya.

As in this chapter xxvi of the *Śr. Pra.*, in chapter v of his *S. K. Ā.* (p. 643) also, Bhoja is satisfied with the old four Vṛttis but in chapter xii of the *Śr. Pra.* which corresponds to the above-noted part of the fifth chapter of the *S. K. Ā.*, Bhoja gives the Vṛttis as five in number. In this chapter xii of the *Śr. Pra.* dealing with Prabandha-aṅgas, most things move in groups of 'Five' and can Vṛtti alone be, in this company, one short? So Bhoja adds the new fifth Vṛtti of his, the Vimiśrā-vṛtti, which is not a really new or additional Vṛtti but is only the jumble of all the other four. Bhoja describes this fifth additional Vṛtti thus on p. 459 in chap. xii of his *Śr. Pra.* (Vol. II).

“यत्रारमय्यादिगुणास्समस्ताः

मिथस्त्वमाश्रित्य मिथः प्रथन्ते ।

मिश्रेति तां वृत्तिमुशन्ति धीराः

साधारणीमर्थचतुष्टयस्य ॥

मुखादिसन्निधु [ च ] व्याप्रियमाणानां ( नाय ) कोपनायकादीनां मनोवाक्कायकर्मनिबन्धनाः पञ्च वृत्तयो भवन्ति—भारती, आरभटी, कैशिकी, सात्त्वती, विमिश्रा चेति ।” p. 459.

“सोऽयं पञ्चप्रकारोऽपि चेष्टाविशेषविन्यासक्रमो वृत्तिरित्याख्यायते ।” p. 459.

What is the scope of this Vṛtti, whether such a Vṛtti is necessary, what has Bharata's text to say on this matter, how Śiṅgabhūpāla notes this Miśrā-vṛtti of Bhoja and refutes it with the authority of Bharata's text—these ques-

tions I have dealt with in the paper on the Vṛttis above-mentioned. (Pp. 102-3, Vol. VII, JOR).

Other writers besides Śiṅgabdhūpāla have noticed this fifth Vṛtti of Bhoja. Earlier than Śiṅgabdhūpāla, Śāradātanaya, who often shows his acquaintance with the *Śr. Pra.*, says that there are others who do not accept the Artha-vṛtti of Udbhaṭa and give in its place a fifth Vṛtti called Miśrā.

भारती सात्वती चैव कैशिक्यारभटीति च ।

औद्धटाः पञ्चमीमर्थवृत्तिं च प्रतिजानते ॥

अर्थवृत्तेरभावान्तु (मि) आं तां पञ्चमीं परे ।

The information in the first two lines is derived by Śāradātanaya from the *Daśarūpaka*. How the view of these two writers, namely, Dhanañjaya and Śāradātanaya, that Udbhaṭa recognised a fifth Vṛtti called Artha-vṛtti is wrong and what exactly is the position taken up by Udbhaṭa, I have elaborately shown in the section on Udbhaṭa in my paper in the *J.O.R.*, VI, on the writers quoted in the *Abhinava-bhāratī* and in the paper on the Vṛttis mentioned above. In the third line quoted above, Śāradātanaya refers to Bhoja's fifth Vṛtti called the Miśrā.

In the two published papers of mine above referred to, I had made a mistake which Mr. K. S. RAMASWAMY SASTRY of the Baroda Oriental Institute, editor of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* in the Gaekwad Series, was kind enough to correct. It was proved by me in the section on the writer named Śakalīgarbha in the article on Writers quoted in the *Abinava-bhāratī*, that this writer on dramaturgy held five Vṛttis, and added the fifth Vṛtti of his which he called *Ātma-sahvitti*. The text of the *Bhā. Pra.* on the Vṛttis on p. 12 reads "विश्रान्तां पञ्चमीं परे" and this view came just after the statement of Udbhaṭa's view and contradicting Udbhaṭa's view. In the *Abhinava-bhāratī*, the view of Śakalīgarbha appears after that of Udbhaṭa, contradicting Udbhaṭa's. So, at the suggestion of Professor Mm. S. KUPPUSWAMY SASTRIYAR, I took Śāradātanaya as referring to Śakalīgarbha's view after that of Udbhaṭa and the word 'Viśrānti' in the text was taken as a synonym meaning the same '*Ātma-sahvitti*' of Śakalīgarbha. Mr. K. S. RAMASWAMY SASTRY drew my attention to his Errata list at the end of his edition of the *Bhā. Pra.* where the correct text of the third line is given : *Viśrānta* must be read as '*Miśrām tām*.' "मित्रां तां पञ्चमीं परे." It is unfortunate that I should have missed the correct reading in the Errata and should have consequently seen in a plain reference to Bhoja's view a reference to Śakalīgarbha's view and should have corrected 'Viśrāntā' in the text into 'Viśrānti', to enable me to equate it with *Ātma-sahvitti*. It is all very smooth sailing now. It must be accepted that the *Daśarūpaka* and the *Bhā. Pra.* misunderstood Udbhaṭa's real view of Vṛttis and that there was a Śakalīgarbha, who held another view of five Vṛttis, but whom neither the *D. R.* nor the *Bhā. Pra.* refers to. It is clear that in the third line of the passage extracted above, Śāradātanaya refers to Bhoja's fifth Vṛtti called Miśrā and this is perfectly natural, well acquainted as Śāradātanaya is, with Bhoja's *Śr. Prā.*

Another writer of about the same time of *Śāradātanaya* who refers to this fifth Vṛtti of Bhoja, called the Miśrā, is Prakāśavarṣa, author of a work called *Rasārṇava-alaṅkāra*. (MS. in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras). Prakāśavarṣa is acquainted with the *Śr. Pra.* and he quotes the Upajāti verse of Bhoja on his new fifth Vṛtti—“यत्रारभद्यादिगुणास्तमस्ताः” etc. from chapter xii of the *Śr. Pra.* But, instead of calling it by the same name by which it is called in the *Śr. Pra.*, Miśrā, occurring in the third line—**मिश्रेति तं वृत्तिं** —, Prakāśavarṣa calls it by the functional name occurring as Viśeṣaṇa in the last line, Sādhārāṇī,—“साधारणीमर्थचतुष्टयम्.” Prakāśavarṣa, however, makes a great mistake in attributing this verse to one Mahā Bhā-maha. (Vide my paper on Prakāśavarṣa's *Rasārṇavālaṅkāra* in the *JOR*, Madras ; Vol. VIII. Part 3.)

The third kind of treatment of Vṛtti by Bhoja, which is however the first and earliest in order in his two works, is the treatment of Vṛtti as a Śabdālaṅkāra along with Language, the Form of Verse or Prose or the Mixed Campū, Rīti etc. Vṛtti treated of in the Śabdālaṅkāra section is not the Vṛtti described in the Rasa section as Anubhāva, with particular reference to Drama. Vṛtti is here applied to the text of the Drama as well as to the pure, read Kāvya. This aspect of Vṛtti also I have studied in the paper on Vṛttis above referred to in the section named ‘The History of Vṛtti in Kāvya’ at the end of the paper. (Pp. 104-112, *JOR*, Vol. VII).

When we speak of the written words, we are at once in the realm of one of the four Vṛttis namely, the Bhāratī-Vṛtti. And if, within its realm, we want to distinguish the graceful and the forceful styles or modes, we must not have Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī Vṛttis but two Rītis like Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī. The whole set of Vṛttis brought from Nāṭya into Kāvya is incongruous. Ānanda says in Uddyota III that Vṛttis are two-fold—of Artha and Śabda—the Artha-vṛttis being Kaiśikī etc., of Bharata and the Śabda-vṛttis being Upanāgarikā, Paruṣā and Komalā. The latter are called by the other name of Rīti also and Mammaṭa equates the Śabda-vṛttis with the Rītis. (*K. Pra.* IX). But Bhoja does not think of these difficulties and quietly makes up his needed number of 24 Śabdālaṅkāras by things like Vṛtti. The following points are to be noted here :—

1. Bhoja increases the number of Vṛttis as Śabdālaṅkāras to six, adding two of his usual jumbles—Madhyama-Kaiśikī and Madhyama-Ārabhaṭī. This really is fine scientific treatment ! The same concept is once sixfold ; at another place it is fivefold ; and in a third place it is only fourfold ! Why should there be this difference ? Does Bhoja think that Vṛtti in these three places, Vṛtti as Śabdālaṅkāra, as Anubhāva, and as a general Āṅga of the Prabandha, should differ ? Vṛtti is primarily Anubhāva. All Ālaṅkāras are Anubhāva ; they appear in the speech of the mood-filled character, in the Vācikābhīnaya, in the Vāgarambha-anubhāva ; and they are intended to convey more quickly and more powerfully the mood. It is again as Anubhāva that Vṛtti becomes a Prabandha-āṅga. There is no need for Bhoja to treat of Vṛttis three times

at three different places ; and there is no justification for varying its number in each case on a diminishing scale from six to four.

2. If there must be a Kaiśikī which is not thoroughly Kaiśikī but is somewhat Kaiśikī—Madhyama Kaiśikī, and if there must be a Madhyama-Ārabhaṭī also like this, why not a Madhyama-Bhārati and a Madhyama-Sāttvati ? The only reason for not having two more is that all the Śabdālaṃkāras of Bhoja are subdivided symmetrically into SIX kinds only ; and, therefore, Bhoja needed only two more and not four more *Madhyama-Vṛttis*.

3. All these *Śabda*-alaṃkāras called Vṛtti are defined as *Artha*-sandarbhas. This is a contradiction. How can *Artha*-vaicitrya be productive of Śabda-alaṃkāra ? It would have been something if Bhoja had made the Vṛttis, Artha-alaṃkāras. That is what Bhoja's great Ācārya, Daṇḍin does. Daṇḍin counts the Vṛttis and their Aṅgas as Alaṃkāras, along with Sandhyaṅgas and Lakṣaṇas towards the end of chapter II of his *Kāvya-darśa* and chapter II deals with Arthālaṃkāras.

There is a lot of loose thinking and haphazard heaping of things in Bhoja's work.

#### *Another concept of Vṛtti*

In the same Śabdālaṃkāra section Bhoja speaks of two other related concepts of Vṛtti coming under Anuprāsa. I have spoken of these also in the closing part of my paper on Vṛttis. (See Pp. 109-110, *JOR*, Vol. VII). Bhoja criticises the old Vṛttis of Udbhaṭa and others, Paruṣā, Komalā and others (which Bhoja increases to twelve !) as unnecessary and as having been included in Guṇas and Vṛttis. In their place Bhoja gives twelve other varieties of Anuprāsa called Vṛttis, named after twelve countries. *S.K.Ā.* Pp. 201-207. See my Vṛtti paper above referred to. See also the Alaṃkāra section in this thesis.

#### *The Vṛttyaṅgas*

Bhoja speaks of sixteen Vṛttyaṅgas, four for each of the four main Vṛttis, leaving out the Vimiśrā.

Of Vṛttyaṅgas in general, I have spoken in a special section in my paper on Vṛttis. (Pp. 44-45. *JOR*, Vol. VII). There is difference in Bhoja's treatment of the Aṅgas of the Bhārati vṛtti. Bharata mentions four Aṅgas of the Bhārati vṛtti : Prarocanā, Āmukha, Vithī and Prahasana. (XXII. 30-35, Kasi Edn). A critical examination of the Bhārati vṛtti and its two Aṅgas of Vithī and Prahasana especially, was made by me in the first part of the Vṛtti-paper. (Pp. 363-370. Vol. VI. *JOR*). Of the four Aṅgas of the Bhārati vṛtti given by Bharata, Bhoja takes only one, namely, Āmukha as constituting the whole Bhārati vṛtti and divides it into four Aṅgas, in the 12th chapter of the *Śr. Pra.* Bhoja differs even there also from Bharata. Bharata gives Āmukha as of five Aṅgas (XXII; 30-35)—Udgāṭyaka, Kathodghāta, Prayogātīśaya, Pravṛttaka and Avagalita. Bhoja omits the third and has no other reason for this omission except to make uniform enumeration of four Aṅgas for each of the four Vṛttis. This kind of equation of the

Bhāratī vṛtti with the Āmukha is not justifiable and contradicts Bhoja's earlier definition of Bhāratī vṛtti as the name for all vocal activity in general. (Vāg vṛtti ; p. 459 Vol. II. *Śr. Pra.*) The *Daśarūpaka*, like Bhoja, gives the same four Aṅgas of Bharata for the Bhāratī vṛtti but, for Āmukha, it adopts an independent attitude like the *Śr. Pra.* It gives only three Aṅgas for the Āmukha. Śiṅabhūpāla follows the *Daśrūpaka*. The Aṅgas of the other Vṛttis are the same and are of the same number as given by Bharata. Pp. 478-480. Vol. II, *Śr. Pra.*

The fifth chapter of the *S.K.Ā.* has a different story to tell. Here also, there is no difference between Bhoja and Bharata on the other three Vṛttis and their Aṅgas. It is on the Aṅgas of the Bhāratī vṛtti here that Bhoja differs not only from Bharata but also from himself. On pp. 643-6 of *S.K.Ā.*, chap. V., Bhoja gives four Aṅgas of *Bhāratī* following almost the text of Bharata : Prarocanā, Vithī, Prastāvanā (Āmukha of Bharata) and Prahāsana. But Bhoja does not understand what Bharata means by regarding Vithī and Prahāsana as two varieties of the Bhāratī vṛtti. The two refer to the two types of Rūpakas of those two names and not to parts of the Prologue. Later writers have made both the Vithī and Prahāsana as part of the Prologue by restricting Bhāratī to Prastāvanā. All this is wrong and the true significance of this has been explained by me in the first part of my paper on the Vṛttis. What Bhoja has done is that he has further misunderstood by putting a completely mistaken meaning into Vithī. Vithī and Prahāsana, Bharata and Dhanañjaya clearly say, are two types of Drama. Like many other writers, Bhoja also takes Prahāsana as a small comic speech in the Prologue ; but he is all alone when he takes the Vithī with thirteen well-known Aṅgas, as having *five* Aṅgas. And what are these Aṅgas ? Here Bhoja makes a great mistake ; he confuses between the Bharata's Āmukha and the Vithī and attributes to the Vithī the five Aṅgas pertaining to Āmukha. In this particular place Bhoja seems to have understood neither Prastāvanā nor Vithī. He says :

“उद्धृत्यकादीनामङ्गानां प्रवृत्तिः वीथी; उद्धृत्यकः, कथोद्धृतः, प्रयोगातिशयः, प्रवर्तकः, अवगलितमिति ।”

Of the five Aṅgas given above, Udghātyaka and Avagalita are two Vithyaṅgas, also introduced in the Prastāvanā, and it is because these happen to be Vithyaṅgas also that the *Daśarūpaka* omits them and gives the remaining three as Āmukha-Aṅgas. These two have misled Bhoja to identify Āmukha and Vithī and give the other three, namely Kathodghāta, Prayogātiśaya and Pravarṭaka, also as Vithyaṅgas. Greater confusion has not been made on any other subject of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The causes for such confusion regarding the Bhāratī vṛtti have been explained by me in the first part of the Vṛtti-paper.

Chapter seventeen of the *Śr. Pra.*—the Anubhāva chapter—has a description of the Vṛttis and their given Aṅgas. The description of the Aṅgas of the Bhāratī here agrees more with that in the fifth chapter of the *S. K. Ā.* than with that in the same work in the 12th chapter. It is strange how, on the same topic, Bhoja has different views at different places. The

four Aṅgas of the Bhāratī are given according to Bharata, Bhoja calling Āmukha by the name Prastāvanā—, Prarocanā, Prastāvanā, Vīthī and Prahasana. But when he comes to the Vīthī, he seems to have realised the mistake he had committed in the S. K. Ā. v. where he forgot that Vīthī was the Vīthī of thirteen Aṅgas. When, however, he sets about to correct, he makes a mess of the whole thing. He gives the Vīthī as that with the thirteen Aṅgas but the thirteen Aṅgas are said to be Udghātyaka, Avagalita, Kathodghāta, Prayogātiśaya and Pravṛttaka, with an etc?

उद्धात्यकादीनामङ्गानां प्रवृत्तिः वीथी । तानि उद्धात्यकः, कथोद्धातः, प्रयोगातिशयः, प्रवृत्तकः, अवगलितमित्यादीनि त्रयोदश ।” P. 216. Vol. III.

Of these, only the first two are Vīthyaṅgas; the other three are Āmukha-Aṅgas as given by Bharata. Firstly it is bad to combine the two together; secondly, it is not explainable how Bhoja made bold to say that these Aṅgas come to thirteen in number. The Vīthī, by itself, has thirteen Aṅgas and when the Kathodghāta, Prayogātiśaya, and Pravṛttaka are added, the number of Aṅgas comes to sixteen. Lastly, it is cowardly for Bhoja to have begun to illustrate but to have left out illustrating all except the Udghātyaka. For a detailed illustration of the Aṅgas would prove the real total number of the Aṅgas to be sixteen and its contradiction with the accepted Vīthī of thirteen Aṅgas will become patent. Therefore Bhoja fights shy and ends thus :

“ एवं कथोद्धातादयोऽपि दशरूपकादेः उदाहार्यम् । ” P. 216. Vol. III.

On the three other Vṛttis and their Aṅgas, chapter xvii of the *Śr. Pra.* also has nothing to differ from Bharata.

There is yet a fourth treatment of Vṛtti and the Vṛtṭyaṅgas in the *Śr. Pra.* and it is in the four chapters devoted to the four Puruṣārtha-Śṛṅgāras of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa. (Chapters xviii-xxi, Vol. III. *Śr. Pra.*). Bhoja lays out a scheme here that each of these four Śṛṅgāras is characterised by particular kinds of men, women, habits, dress, atmosphere and style of speech. That is, Bhoja gives each its appropriate Nāyaka, Nāyikā, Pravṛtti, Vṛtti and Rīti. Of these also I have spoken in the Vṛtti-paper. (Pp. 51-52, *JOR*, Vol. VII). In explaining this scheme of the four Puruṣārthas = four Nāyakas = four Vṛttis etc., Bhoja resorts to a good deal of verbal ingenuity. It is all very clever but is most unreal. The section teems with apt examples for extreme far-fetchedness.

### *The Pravṛttis*

The Pravṛttis and their relation to the Vṛttis, I have dealt with in a separate section in my Vṛtti-paper which has been mentioned here frequently (Pp. 49-51. *JOR*, Vol. VII). Bhoja treats of the Pravṛttis twice, once in chapter xii in the midst of topics of Dramaturgy and again in the midst of Anubhāvas which he deals with in chapter xvii. In the latter case Bhoja gives only four Pravṛttis because he wants their number to agree with that of the four Vṛttis and the four Rītis, all the three of which he clubs together and gives as Buddhyaṛambha-anubhāvas. But in the 12th chapter most items are five in number and to be in harmony with them, he gives the

Pravṛttis also as five. But Pravṛttis are five here only in enumeration (Uddeśa) ; in Lakṣaṇa and Udāharāṇa, however, Bhoja forgets that he has increased the number of Pravṛttis to five and consequently gives only the old four varieties of it.

“—पञ्च सन्धयः पञ्च (वृत्तयः पञ्च प्रवृत्तयः) चतुर्विंशतिः प्रवृत्तयः (प्रवृत्तिहेतवः) इत्येका चतुष्पष्टिः ।” p. 450. *Śr. Pra.* Vol. II, Chap. XII.

“वैषविन्यासक्रमः प्रवृत्तिः, सापि चतुर्धा—पौरस्त्या, उद्गमाग्री, दाक्षिणात्या, आवन्त्या च ।”  
p. 459. Vol. II. *Śr. Pra.* Ch. XII.

If we accept that Bhoja recognises only four Pravṛttis, we cannot get the mentioned number of 64 items ; we get only 63. Bhoja could have easily invented the fifth Pravṛtti with a new geographical name and it is not known why Bhoja contradicts himself by first enumerating five Pravṛttis and then speaking of only four Pravṛttis.

The four Pravṛttis given by Bhoja are the same as found in Bharata. N.Ś. XIV. But Bhoja goes wrong in the naming of one of the Pravṛttis. Bhoja's four Pravṛttis are Paurastyā, Uḍhramāgadhi, Dākṣiṇātyā and Āvantiyā. Though he promises to describe them in detail latterly in chapter xii, Bhoja fails to do so in both the 12th and the 17th chapter. He does not take pains to give the countries coming under each of these four. Bharata does not have a Pravṛtti called Paurastyā. His four Pravṛttis are Pāñcālī, Uḍhramāgadhi, Dākṣiṇātyā and Āvanti. It is in the place of Bharata's Pāñcālī that Bhoja gives his Paurastyā. Now Paurastyā does not mean Pāñcālī but means 'the eastern' and the 'eastern' Pravṛtti is the Uḍhramāgadhi. Bharata clearly enumerates the provinces coming under these four divisions. The Dākṣiṇātyā comprises all the southern countries in general ; the Uḍhramāgadhi, all the eastern ; the Āvanti, all the western and the Pāñcālī, all the north-north-western. All the illustrations found in chapter 17 of the *Śr. Pra.* for these Pravṛttis are those given by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, I. 3. pp. 8-9. And in this source, of Bhoja, namely, Rājaśekhara, we do not find the Paurastyā but see in its place the Pāñcāla-madhyamā (*K.M.* P. 8). 'Pāñcāla-madhyamā' is another and more elaborate name of the same Pāñcālī Pravṛtti ; for, under it come the provinces of the Madhya-deśa also. Bharata's text itself contains the other name of Pāñcāla-madhyamā in two ślokas. Kāśī Edn. XIV. 48 & 49. *Kāvya-mālā* Edn. XIII 36 7 38. Therefore Bhoja follows neither the basic and remoter authority of Bharata nor the secondary and nearer authority of Rājaśekhara when he speaks of the Paurastyā Pravṛtti. Less would have been the mistake if Bhoja had given instead of his Paurastyā, the name Pāścātya meaning 'the western'. Paurastyā and Uḍhramāgadhi are identical. When Bhoja quotes Rājaśekhara's verse describing the dress of the ladies of Mahodaya as illustration for his Paurastyā-Pravṛtti, he does not seem to know what he is doing.

The concepts of Vṛtti, Pravṛtti and Rīti are very intimately related. The one involves the other. But, for the sake of classification and analytical and theoretical study, Rājaśekhara says, it is laid down that physical action is

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